



**CLEMENT STACY  
UNDERGRADUATE  
RESEARCH  
CONFERENCE**

FRIDAY | APRIL 12, 2019

The Clement S. Stacy Undergraduate Research Conference, sponsored by the College of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences at Purdue University Northwest, was convened for the 27th consecutive year on April 12, 2019. We hosted students from Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

Research is an essential part of a university's mission, and Purdue Northwest places great emphasis on affording undergraduates the opportunity to engage in research and disseminate their findings. At the conference, the students presented their research; they honed their skills in public speaking and scholarly presentations; and they responded to vigorous questioning from attendees. In the proceedings, students become authors, polishing research writing skills such as analysis, synthesis, and citation of evidence. I am very pleased their work is published in this electronic proceedings, and I hope you enjoy reviewing the outstanding papers contained herein.

To the faculty mentors, friends and family of the students, I send a heartfelt thanks for your support of the students and their important work. I would also like to publically acknowledge Purdue Northwest's Graduate Assistant Sonja Dimovski for her work in coordinating the conference, our Web & Events Coordinator Rachel Pollack, for her supervision, as well as CHES Administrative Assistant Liz Rodriguez, Graduate Assistant Kirsten Markusic, and Student Clerical Worker Martha Gallegos for their assistance with the conference as well. Their efforts were absolutely crucial to the success of this year's event.

New developments were the addition of poster presentations, research projects by high school students for poster presentations, and the awards ceremony for best papers. We were excited to recognize Elizabeth Davis, Michelle Horton, and Kayla Vasilko for participating in the first poster session within the Clement S. Stacy Undergraduate Research Conference. We would like to thank all of the participants that submitted their full research papers in consideration for an award at our first awards banquet. Our winners were: 3<sup>rd</sup> Place Matthew Ruiz for his research paper titled "Explaining U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel", 2<sup>nd</sup> Place Michelle Horton for her research paper titled "Parental Perception of Public Safety", and 1<sup>st</sup> Place Kayla Vasilko and Joseph Stewart for their research paper titled "The Power of Kindness & Positivity in the College Environment".

I would also like to thank the faculty review committee, Dr. Mary Beth Connolly, Dr. Bethany Lee, Dr. Yu Ouyang, Dr. Christina Ragan, and Dr. Kelly Vaughan for helping make the conference a success.

Again, congratulations to the authors of these papers. I very much hope to see you continue your excellent work in the liberal arts, education, and social sciences.

Sincerely yours,



Elaine K. Carey, Ph.D – Dean  
College of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences  
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## Table of Contents

The Power of Kindness & Positivity in the College Environment .....	1
Kayla M. Vasilko	
Joseph T. Stewark	
Purdue University Northwest	
A Philosophical View of the Importance of Honesty in Romantic Relationships.....	13
Kayla M. Vasilko	
Purdue University Northwest	
Post Conflict Reconstruction.....	24
Fanose Bowerman	
Carroll University	
Discriminatory Practices & Effects on Protest Participation.....	46
Paloma Castaneda	
Purdue University Northwest	
Shirley Chisholm: Unbossed.....	61
Elizabeth Clements	
Purdue University Northwest	
Analyzing the Disaster in “Reflections on Little Rock”.....	78
Arlo Detmer	
Grinnell College	
“Regression Using Urbanization via Natural & Residual Increase to Predict Economic Growth”.....	94
James A. Gross	
Purdue University Northwest	
Women’s Political Consciousness in the Revolutionary Era.....	115
Aaron McWaters	
Purdue University Northwest	
An Investigation of the Isleño Spanish Dialect.....	130
Andrew Miloshoff	
Purdue University Northwest	
American Women’s Wage War for Equal Pay and Work-Life Resources.....	141
BeLinda Rehn	
Purdue University Northwest	
What Turns on the Tap.....	164
Matthew Ruiz	
Purdue University Northwest	

Peggy Guggenheim During World War II: Preserving a Generation of Art.....185  
    Meghan Ruyle  
    Illinois College

Documenting & Exhibiting T. Berry Brazelton’s Multidisciplinary Reach.....200  
    Hunter Saporiti  
    Purdue University Northwest

Does it Matter the Educator’s Race when Teaching about Race?.....219  
    Megan Schmidt  
    Purdue University Northwest

An Analysis of the Implications, Content, & Effectiveness of Sex Offender Registration &  
    Notification Laws.....228  
    Kristen Smith  
    Purdue University Northwest

Language Creation, its Sound, & its Relationship to Gender & Culture.....238  
    Brianna Zimmerman  
    Purdue University Northwest

The Relationship Between Parental Perceptions of Public Safety & Degree of Freedom Given to  
    Children to be Away From Home.....248  
    Michelle Horton  
    Purdue University Northwest

**The Power of Kindness and Positivity in the College Environment**

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Abstract

Research has shown that positivity in school climates has a direct connection to academic success. Building high self-esteem and recognizing the value of kindness in terms of emotional learning are key factors for schools to prioritize when aiming to help students succeed (Gadermann & Reichil, 2016). Additionally, it has been shown that kindness and positivity naturally trigger upward spirals of improvement, and have been noted to promote better social interactions, relationships, and health. Positive emotions, such as happiness, also broaden thought-action repertoires, which in turn builds intellectual, physical, social, and psychological factors in all of us (Otake, 2006; Bhujade, 2017). Despite the power of positivity, we face such an abundance of negativity, both inside and outside the college environment. We are enduring an unsettling increase in bullying from peers and professors, suicide rates, and depressive episodes nationwide (Chapell, 2004; Koskie, 2018; Nutt, 2018). Throughout the course of the research listed above for this project, we have been able to start a student organization at Purdue University Northwest called S.H.I.N.E, which stands for Students Helping Ignite Needed Esteem. It is part of an ongoing mission to promote kindness, positivity, and academic success, learn more about how they are all connected, and create a more positive and welcoming university environment overall.

*Keywords:* kindness, positivity, self-esteem, academic success

## Introduction

Kindness and positivity have been linked to good overall health, stimulated mental health, and increased academic achievement (Otake, 2006; Bhujade, 2017). Throughout this paper, we examine both the statistics that supplement that thesis, and the opposing statistics of negativity in the world that stimulate the opposite effects. We also look strictly at these effects in the college environment while outlining several solutions and discussing at length the action we are taking at our university to promote awareness and produce real results of a more welcoming, positive, and successful campus environment.

Kindness, positive organizational scholarship, and positive abstract and concrete attitudes have all been shown to correlate with satisfying overall performance, success, and subjective happiness. These factors in turn influence these traits in others around someone who practices them while simultaneously leaving the mind of the practitioners more open for innovation and creativity in a variety of situations (Pace, 2010; Gerardi, 2005).

Several studies in the educational and psychological disciplines, projects examining a range of ages and environments, and hands-on experiments at our own university collectively and repeatedly note the benefits of these practices, as we will see throughout the paper (Gerardi, 2005; Stiglbauer, Gnambs, Gamsjager, & Batinic, 2011).

## The Power of Positivity in the College Environment

In correlation with the self-determination theory and the broaden and build theory of positive emotions, another recent study of the effects of positivity in the school environment notes that positive school experiences have a stable effect on happiness, and in turn, that happiness affects future positive school experiences in a cycle (Stiglbauer, et. al, 2011).

This study looked at the reciprocal effects of positivity and happiness on the wellbeing of 215 students over the course of an academic year. Additionally, it was noted that these theories are recently being explored and applied heavily in educational research and by school psychologists and counselors in an attempt to combat increasingly severe problems of violence, bullying, and depressive symptoms. Moreover, positive school experiences have been linked to higher levels of resilience and subjective wellbeing (Stiglbauer, et.al, 2011, p. 1).

Looking specifically at the power of positivity in the workplace, we can apply those same theories to classroom and study space settings as well. Positive organizational scholarship concepts of virtue, compassion, and positivity prove to be crucial implements for broader general success (Pace, 2011).

Positive organizational scholarship stresses value toward virtuousness, positive processes, and elevation in organizations. It focuses on outlining the life-giving dynamics, optimal functioning, and enhanced capabilities and strengths that result from these practices (Pace, 2011, p. 3). Companies with more positive climates perform significantly better in profitability, productivity, and innovation, as a positive atmosphere allows for positive emotions and thoughts to predominate over negative emotions and productivity to ensue (Pace, 2011). Logically, it follows that these same benefits apply to school atmospheres as well.

Furthermore, as we look at the theory of abstract and concrete attitudes, we see these principles transcend here as well. Abstract attitudes involve ideologies about education, merit, and opportunity. Concrete attitudes are indicators of realized benefits of social mobility and education. It followed from the study of these theories that those with high abstract and concrete attitudes perform better than those with low abstract and concrete attitudes (Gerardi, 2005, p.



189). The positive side of abstract and concrete attitudes has a specific influence on retention and growth, two extremely useful abilities in academic and non-scholastic work and everyday problem solving (Gerardi, 2005).

#### Negativity Faced Everyday

Overall subjective well-being has been linked to positive school experiences (Stiglbauer, 2011, p. 2). More specifically, life satisfaction is an indicator of *cognitive* well-being and school connectedness. Academic performance, academic competence, and social support all contribute to perceived self-efficacy. The collective school climate, and teacher and classmate support above others are key contributors to ensuring these factors rank on the positive end (Stiglbauer, 2011, p. 2). That is why creating a positive, welcoming campus environment is so important, especially against all of the harsh statistics we are facing in the world today (“The Stigma of Mental Illness,” 2019; Koskie, 2018; Nutt, 2018; “Bullying Statistics,” 2017; Suicide Statistics and Facts,” 2019).

- 800,000 people die by suicide in the world each year.
- Suicide is the 10<sup>th</sup> leading cause of death in the U.S., and 44,965 Americans die by it annually.
- Suicide rates have increased by 30% since 2017.
- Every minute, twenty people are victims of physical abuse in a relationship.
- Each year, ten million Americans are subjected to emotional abuse.
- 16.2 million Adults identify as being depressed.
- 90% of the news that we have access to portrays something negative.
- **1 in 4 students *report* being bullied.**

Bullying is widespread throughout the world, and it has been observed to start occurring severely as early as the second grade, according to a study by *Adolescence*. Bullying however, does not end in grade school. “Bullying graduates to college.” **60%** of students in the study attested to that being true. **60%** either witnessed or endured bullying from a peer or a professor. Bullying can lead to low self-esteem, depression, shyness, anxiety, and stress. Which can in turn lead to low exam grades and success in college (Chapell, et al., 2004).

Forbye, attending college brings so much stress all on its own. Students in the college age group have so much in their lives to manage: home responsibilities, studying, grades, income, jobs, rent, relationships; the list goes on, and bullying only compiles upon it all, when it does not even have to exist. Why should bullying even be a part of the equation in college? Why should bullying be a part of the equation at all? Peers and professors should ease the college experience, not make it worse (Chapell, et al., 2004; Bhujade, 2017; Anxiety, 2017).

### Positive Solutions

But there is a way to fix it. According to the *Measuring Kindness at School* study, recognizing the importance of kindness for the factor of emotional learning is very important, as a positive school climate and peer support within it play big roles in academic success as we have been outlining. So much of the achievement of academic success stems from self-esteem and bullying directly depletes that (Gadermann, & Reichil, 2016).

Withal, according to the *Journal of Happiness Studies*, there is a direct relationship to kindness and subjective happiness overall (Otake, et al., 2006). In this study, 294 undergrad students were surveyed, and it was found collectively that happy people scored higher on their motivation to perform. The survey also noted that happiness is increased by counting acts of

kindness, such as noting when kindness is gifted to you or instances when you were kind to others (Otake, et al., 2006). The study asserted that happy people interpret life events more positively than unhappy people, and that happiness and kindness naturally trigger upward spirals of improvement. Happiness as a whole promotes better social interactions, relationships, and health overall.

The study suggests also that the bulk of events in which people connotate as happy or as stimulation for happiness, come from acts of kindness that they put forth or receive, and taking special note of that. Simply by counting acts of kindness for one week, participants reported a great shift in their personal happiness and well-being. Additionally, the study put forth that positive emotions, such as happiness, broaden thought-action repertoires, which in turn builds intellectual, physical, social, and psychological factors in all of us (Otake, et al., 2006).

#### Current Action at Purdue University Northwest

Following this research, we founded a new student organization at Purdue University Northwest called S.H.I.N.E, which stands for students helping ignite needed esteem. The purpose of S.H.I.N.E is to promote kindness, positivity, and esteem on campus through special events, and combat the negative statistics we have found to be so prevalent. So far, we have had “Day of Encouragement” and “Day of Laughter” events, during which students made brightly colored flyers with encouraging messages to decorate the bulletin boards around campus, and S.H.I.N.E representatives passed out jokes to students and faculty on campus. Members of S.H.I.N.E are recruited through these pop-up events, and are invited to then join the organization at meetings where these important issues are discussed and for “random act days”, where they are required to complete a unique act of kindness on campus or in their community. Looking ahead, S.H.I.N.E

will be helping fundraise for Purdue's Day of Giving through the week long student organization competition. S.H.I.N.E will also be represented at Discover PNW. The overarching goal of S.H.I.N.E is to create a more welcoming and positive university environment so that students are happier and more successful overall.

We are also continuing this research by looking at the effects of kindness and positivity in specific areas of college life. For instance, for the next two semesters we will be examining the repercussions a negative atmosphere in a public study space can have on student success. We will be surveying Honors College students with questions designed to evaluate how negativity and positivity from those they encounter in these spaces correlate to their productivity while studying in Honors dedicated spaces on campus.

As student satisfaction with the college experience is imperative due to its direct ability to influence students' persistence and performance, implement programs like S.H.I.N.E is just as important for creating a welcoming campus environment that *is* satisfactory as it is for stimulating an atmosphere and cycle of positivity designed to invoke the many additional noted benefits that stem from positivity itself (Gerardi, 2005).

### Conclusion

Based on all of the research that we have found, we strongly believe that students would greatly benefit from the implementation of Positive Organizational Scholarship (Pace, 2010). The S.H.I.N.E organization will contribute to this environment by increasing the amount of positive deviance that students experience in their daily campus life in the form of seemingly random acts of kindness. The increase in positivity will then correlate to an increase in quality of life, cognitive well-being, heightened self-esteem, and increased academic success.

The benefits of increased positivity would be very relevant for college honors students as well. These students strive for greater success in their personal and academic lives, but consequently experience more scholastically related stress. This stress can affect the mental well-being of these students, thereby decreasing the level of their success and creating more stressful thoughts in the process. This is a serious issue, but one which can be countered by an increase of positive thought and action to allow students to focus on more uplifting and happier events in their lives. These students would in turn contribute to the well-being of their fellows and classmates by promoting a positive and supportive atmosphere.

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**A Philosophical View of the Importance of Honesty in Romantic Relationships**

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Honesty, integrity, loyalty, and good morals when it comes to the modern romantic relationships of our time are imperative to mental and physical health, peace and harmony, and our overall well-being. Yet, it is seldom found when these relationships are examined. Instead, it is sadly more common to find *dishonestly, disloyalty, and emotional abuse* in modern relationships; a concept that is both disheartening and unethical (Guthrie & Kunkle, 2013; Roggensack & Sillars, 2013).

Repercussions of this impure and dangerous trend are damage to both partners of the relationship, and an overall, negative light to the connotation of relationships themselves. The aftermath of dishonesty can result in decreased confidence, severe pain, and the desire to seek revenge, which in turn results in a vicious cycle of pain repeated (Sheppard & Boon, 2011).

For this project, I was able to closely examine these repercussions and effects, and contrast them with the wise views of many great philosophical writers. I was able to look at the negative effects of the relationship crisis we are so often faced with and weigh it with other daily challenges and stressors we face.

Guthrie and Kunkle cite that lies and deception in romantic relationships are often purposeful acts in an attempt to control (p. 142). For, lies in romantic relationships directly parallel abuse, and abuse is centered on the need to control; the situation, the relationship overall, the direction entirely, and the other partner.

And that is just the type of relationship that Epictetus warns against in the *Enchiridion* (p. 43). He states that we must, in respect to anything that is beloved to us in any context, any object of fancy or joy for us, any trifle or item of use, regard those things with an understanding of *exactly* what they are (p. 43). We must acquaint ourselves with them beyond our personal

view and attached tendencies. We must say, relating to our partner in our relationship, instead of “you are my dear beloved with a smile that warms me, hair I find beautiful, and a voice that enchants me, who I love with all my heart, and from whom I cannot bear to be separated,” that “you are mortal. You have a life independent from mine.” Following this principle, we would be able to then handle a loss should it arise.

This kind of conscious detachment, in my opinion, is the purest kind of *attachment*; one that gives great respect to *both* partners in the relationship, aids immensely in the health of their union, and most certainly “aligns their moral purpose in harmony with nature.” Thus, the relationship would be harmonious and have greater chance of success.

Guthrie and Kunkle also say, that partners in a romantic relationship may want honesty in their union, but they might not want the consequences of that honesty (p. 153). Great philosophy shows however, that the consequences of *dishonesty* are far worse. For, Buddha asserts that a man who foregoes truth, who denies it and does not take part within it, enters then into the dark. That man embarks on suffering in the next world for the truth that they offended (p. 14). For, he fell into darkness, he did not give up his honor, but lost it when he fell; especially if he went against the law and pursued another man’s wife (Buddha, p. 15).

That is such a strong and clear message, so universally meant, so clear in its advocacy against dishonesty, against adultery, yet still we encounter such deception in romantic relationships of our time. Why does such disloyalty exist? As we have progressed, we have somehow departed from these wise teachings, much to the detriment of the greatness in ethical love.

Buddha advises that departing with truth at all fills the heart with desire, should we confuse the false for truth and truth for what is false, we set ourselves up for ruin, for folly, for slumber (p. 3). Yet we do it all the same. We do more than confuse or mistake what is false and what is true, we actively mislabel them.

Why do we not follow the Buddha's teachings, his universal message to recognize how our thoughts shape our world, how we must think purely to allow happiness to follow us in our wake (p. 3)? If we kept our thoughts pure **and** honest, we *would* be happier, as would those around us. We would not face the negative impact of the law of Karma. When he states that we must not seek joy from indulging in the senses, that we must master ourselves; be strong against temptation, keep our thoughts free of deceit (p. 3), if we adhered to that and we did not indulge in what our senses desire, if we did not give in to what we want that may not be morally *right*, then we would not be tempted to lie or hide anything.

Buddha advises us to be wakeful, watchful, mindful of our thoughts, to seek freedom by following the awakened through meditation. He states that then the light of refuge, of an island, will grow within us, and lead us to inner peace (p. 4). The Buddha puts forth that we must find freedom by cleansing our thoughts, by ceasing their thrashing caused by desire. He states we must not be distracted by our senses which thirst, vainly, for pleasure from the world. We must glide through the world without disturbing it, we must not pass judgement on others, and instead look within ourselves, onto our own faults (p. 5). He offers that we must not be foolish, we must be fully awake in the presence of a master, we must not concern ourselves with wealth or other outside areas of control, when we are not yet even masters of ourselves. He warns of the fool who looks for recognition and fame, who allows knowledge to be harmful for the greed it stimulates (p. 6). He asks us how we could argue, could quarrel, when we consider the fact of

our morality. He notes that virtue is so indefatigable a fragrance that it can travel against the wind, whereas the passions will not hold against it at all (p. 5).

If we followed all of this, if we were always mindful and watchful of our thoughts, we would not go blindly into any wrong situation, we would not commit an act that would need a lie to explain it in a light that paints it *not* as a mistake. If we were present and awake as he encourages, we would never miss the example of those wiser than us, we would be gifted the chance to learn more and forever improve, without showing greed in the face of what we learn. If we did not fault others for their wrongs against us, for their deception however unjust, we would be infinitely more peaceful and focus instead on being truthful ourselves. If we thought before engaging in an argument, our tempers would not get the better of us, blind us, and allow lies to follow from us. And if we recognized the power of virtue, of honesty as a virtue, then we would not fall victim to the passions, and lead ourselves down the road of deception.

Each one of these wise messages, while applying to many different areas, all provide insight into the problem of deception. So much sapience is laced into the writings of these great philosophers, and each piece of advice they put forth is applicable in some way to the importance of honesty, and the feat of understanding deception. We may use deception to be kind, to spare another's feelings, (Guthrie & Kunkle, p. 154) but in turn we commit the ultimate act of unkindness.

St. Augustine writes though, that we all, as humankind, endowed with incorruptible good, as we were crafted by the Creator, and that incorruptible good can never be diminished (p. 172). Yes, we are also entwined with acquired goodness, and thus there is good within us that *can* be corrupted by evil. But that is a matter of freewill (p. 172). We must not allow deception, i.e. evil,

to exist in us and impose a loss in our acquired goodness (p. 172). We must remember that good *can* exist without evil, (though not the other way around) and strive not for an imperfect good tainted with evil, but a perfect good we don't allow to be corrupted, forever respecting our great good that corruption can never touch (p. 173). We must beware that though they *are* contraries, both good and evil can exist at the same time, for evil needs good to survive (p. 173). We must always be aware of evil's temptation. If only we would not allow the good soil we are all endowed with, to grow thorns of deception. If only we all nurtured instead good, honest trees that bear great fruit (p. 174).

Why do we allow our acquired good to be corrupted? Why do we knowingly lie, and fall into the prophetic condemnation when we were warned to beware (p. 173)? We frequently call evil good and good evil, (Augustine, p. 173) we often mistake the true for the false and the false for the true, (Buddha, p. 3) we actively lie and *choose* to do wrong; we collectively as human, leaving us as humankind wondering just how we could rightly be called kind.

Aristotle states that there is only one way in which we are good, but several, many in which we are bad (p. 33). As disconcerting as that may seem, his earlier claim is more hopeful. He puts forth that virtues, such as the virtue of truthfulness, is a state of character. It is something we must choose (p. 32). The important, hopeful word there, is choice; we can be good, we can be honest, we just must actively seek it, we have that power with virtues as modes of choice unlike the passions that move *us* (p. 32). Seek honesty as a virtue and then choose to carry it out, which is what we have to do. In the voice of Aristotle, to be honest, we must keep performing acts of honesty in habit, before the moral virtue of honesty can be called our own (p. 31). In my opinion, honesty as a virtue cannot be measured in terms of a relative mean, for the right dosage of honesty should not vary per person, we should all be honest always and never

vary, and there should be no rightness or balance mean when it comes to honesty either. We should apply honesty to any situation as a rule, towards any person, so long as our motive is right (p. 33). We should only apply the arithmetic mean, as it is the same for everyone. Honesty as a golden rule with no exceptions. Furthermore, there is no excess or deficiency of such a thing as adultery, for the name itself is bad, and there is no scenario in which it can be right (p. 33). To this, I would add only that deception should be among Aristotle's list of these such actions that can never be done in a way that is morally right. I only disagree with Aristotle in terms of honesty and deception in these instances based on what I see from my research. The consequences of dishonesty, in my opinion, outweigh any repercussions honesty may bring.

Clearly, it is often bothersome and hurtful when our partners or others in our lives *don't* choose to be honest. Sheppard and Boon attest that victims of deceit in romantic relationships frequently justify seeking revenge (p. 129). Additionally, being the victim of deceit can make someone feel worthless, hurt, and very confused following deception in their romance. All of which are frighteningly damaging to our well-being, peace, and harmony. To this, Epictetus would offer that it is the view we take of this dishonest abuse that provokes and offends us in this way (p. 44). He states in this approach that so long as we attempt to not be bewildered by semblances or appearances, it will allow us to command ourselves. He further states quite powerfully, that one must allow or consent for themselves to be hurt in order for inflicted pain to penetrate and affect them in that way (p. 44).

If we all adopted this powerful advice in the face of emotionally abusive romantic relationships, not only would we be happier, more peaceful, and more unaffected by the abuse, but also, we would stop any additional pain from being dealt. The vicious cycle of hurt resulting in more hurt would at least be lessened or ceased finally. Such a thought aligns with the wisdom

of Buddha, for he states the importance of us letting go and abandoning thoughts of how we were hurt, wounded, abused or thrown down. Instead, he advocates for us to “live in love” (p. 3). He states that we cannot quell hatred with hate on top of it. Only love can meet such evil and combat it. Though in anger it might be natural to turn to vengeance, it is almost as foolish as one who seeks recognition, fame, and wealth for what he knows, and in turn that knowledge “cleaves his head” (p. 6). It is much more effective and powerful in the purest sense to recognize that you’ve been hurt, but push your mind beyond judgment of those who have hurt you (p. 4). Meet their evil instead with love and peace.

Additionally, all the words of Epictetus in the *Enchiridion*, like St. Augustine, apply to upholding honesty both in a direct and indirect manor. Epictetus states that we should only claim what is our own, try to control what is in our control, and shun only what is in our power to shun (p. 42). We could use this in the face of dishonesty and acknowledge that we cannot control the person who lied to us, but we can control our reactions. We can choose not to hate the one who lied to us and shun *our* hatred instead. Epictetus advises also, that we should bear in mind always the nature of actions before we partake, wish for things to happen as they are meant to, take a moderate share of what is offered to us in life and wait without desire for it to reach us, and find ourselves highly worthy should we forego what is offered to us completely (p. 43). Such advice pertains highly to honesty; if we did not desire for what was not offered to us and instead let it come to us and let things happen as they should, we would never lie to get ahead. If we recognized our goal of maintaining our harmony with nature in conjunction with the goals of our actions, we would not become bothered should we face dishonesty from others that we meet in the actions that we do.



If we did not stray too far from the ship in our lifetimes, if we acknowledged always that the author is in control, then we would not concern ourselves with petty lies to sway our lives in the direction we want to go. We would take comfort from the perfect wisdom of the gods and from obeying them (p. 44). If we discriminated semblances and were not bewildered by appearances, if we chose only to combat that which was in our power to triumphantly do so, if we recognized all terrible things in the world, and expected from all relations only what is implied to come from those relations, then the factor of our honesty would also be better off. We would then not be hurt when members of our relations are dishonest, for it was not the duty of the relation to be honest (p. 44). We would not be overcome when we face dishonesty, for it will not take us by surprise should we have previously examined the possibility. We would not war with those who wrong us with deceit and partake themselves in semblances, for they are not in our control and their battle is not one that we can win (p. 44).

The role of communication in relation to honesty in romantic relationships and lack thereof is notable also. Guthrie and Kunkle assert that many partners withhold information to avoid discussions, and that there is often not a clear understanding between romantic partners regarding expectations (p. 142; Roggensack & Sillars, p. 184). We should be advocating for and educating about communication skills, which are arguably virtues themselves of both moral *and* intellectual context. If we teach positive and productive communication and humankind then habituates it, we will become just communicators as men become well-tempered by partaking in the appropriate actions and circumstances (Aristotle, p. 31-32).

Though studying these academic sources with insight into the results of deception in romantic relationships and contrasting these tendencies with the theories of these great philosophers, this reveals to us just how severely unethical our relationships are today, yet I feel

a strong sense of hope all the same (Guthrie & Kunkle, 2013; Roggensack & Sillars, 2013; & Sheppard & Boon, 2011).

This quote from one of my survey responses is a big part of what stimulates that hope. The responder wrote, when asked if they felt the existence of an ethical romantic relationship is possible, that: “ethics and morals absolutely exist in relationships, it’s just a matter of people finding kindred spirits in our moral codes. What I value must be valued by my partner, and I must do the same.” I felt that that response just further drove home the importance of communication, harmony, and respect. At least if there are some of us in the world who believe in and endorse these principles there is always the possibility that they could be spread and will be, as we obtain intellectual virtues from teachings (Aristotle, p. 31).

The writings from our great philosophers examined throughout this paper have gifted us with the wisest outlooks to approach this strife of romantic deception, and they have taught us how to begin and maintain relationships in ethical and harmonious ways (Buddha, p. 3-15; St. Augustine, p. 172-173; Aristotle p. 31-33; & Epictetus p. 42-44). By bearing this wisdom in our hearts always, constantly assessing the motives behind our actions, and placing great value in communication with our partners, I believe that we may yet remedy the crisis of our current time and move forward with the power to have wonderful romantic relationships in harmony with nature, our partners, and ourselves.

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**Post Conflict Reconstruction**

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## Abstract

Sub-Saharan Africa is a region that frequently encounters ethnic conflicts and civil wars. In particular, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are two states that have a long history of conflicts, especially during the 1990s. These conflicts have political, economic and social consequences which need to be addressed in their post-conflict reconstruction policy. The purpose of this research paper is to examine the genocide and civil war in Rwanda and the two civil wars in the DRC and, to develop a reconstruction policy that could be integrated into future efforts in the region. By looking at various academic sources, government and NGO reports and news articles, this paper was able to compare and contrast both Rwanda and the DRC by analyzing the role of colonization, the conflicts itself and finally the post-conflict reconstruction efforts in both states. Through the research, the results indicated that both states focused their post-conflict reconstruction efforts on political, economic and social reform, and development. However, the results showed that Rwanda's reconstruction efforts were more successful due to the rise of a dominant political party, economic growth through international aid and cohesive reconciliation process. Finally, I was able to utilize Rwanda's reconstruction policy to create a policy that focuses on security, reconciliation, and development. It is important to point out that while on paper, reconstruction policies may seem well formulated; however, many factors make it difficult to predict whether or not it would succeed in the real world.

## Post Conflict Reconstruction

Ever since the past century, there has been an increasing amount of wars and conflicts around the world. Sub-Saharan Africa is one of those regions that frequently experiences a lot of conflicts, from ethnic conflicts to civil wars. Many factors contribute to these conflicts including political, social, and economic instability in numerous Sub-Saharan states. Once these conflicts eventually end, countries need to focus on post-conflict reconstruction which centers around security, reconciliation, and development. Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are two states that have experienced devastating civil wars that had socio-economic, political and humanitarian consequences. These two states share many similarities and differences in their history, conflicts, and their path to post-conflict reconstruction. By looking closer at their post-conflict reconstruction and development strategies, a reconstruction policy can be developed and perhaps integrated into future reconstruction efforts.

### **Colonization**

The role of European colonization had a monumental effect on both Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo and, therefore, is a precursor to many of the conflicts that these two states would experience in their future. Although Belgium colonized both of these states, the colonial rule in the two territories was completely different. In the early 1900s and up until World War I, Rwanda was under German colonial power. However, “Rwanda subsequently came under Belgian rule as a League of Nations mandated territory and later as a United Nations trust territory, until independence in July 1962” (Newbury, 1983, p. 257). Belgium ruled Rwanda indirectly by placing local elites in power and in charge of administrative duties. It was not until Colonialism that distinction between the two ethnic groups was distinguished, which also lead to the

establishment of the Tutsi elites in a superior status (Clapham, 1998, p.197). In 1959, a Hutu uprising took place which stripped the Tutsi elites from power and established themselves as the ruling majority. Over this period and up until independence, hundreds of the Tutsi population were killed, and many others were forced to flee into exile in neighboring states (“Rwanda: A Brief History of the Country,” n.d.). The impact of the Belgian colonization was that it reinforced ethnic division that would fuel future conflicts in the late 1990s.

On the other hand, Belgium colonial rule in the Democratic Republic of Congo was completely different. Rather than the Belgian government ruling the DRC, King Leopold II of Belgium controlled it as his personal territory and ultimately exploited the state for his own use. From 1885 to 1908, The DRC was established as the Congo Free State and was under Leopold’s rule. Congolese people were forced to be slaves in order to harvest Congo’s natural resources such as ivory, rubber, and diamonds. During Leopold’s 23 years rule, many horrific atrocities were committed against the native Congolese. These acts include the mutilation of people’s hands, massacres, and deliberate starvation and diseases. There are estimates that the death toll was between six to ten million (Weisbord, 2003). It was not until 1908 that Leopold’s actions gained international attention and was condemned by the international community. Leopold was forced to give up the colony, and the Belgian government took the territory as part of their colony until their independence (Weisbord, 2003). Ever since their independence, the Democratic Republic of Congo faced many political, economic and social instability which contributes to future conflicts and wars in the state.

## **Conflict**

The Belgian colonization of both Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo laid the foundations to many of the conflicts and wars in their future; particularly the impact they had on ethnic divisions among the people. After independence, factors such as lack of political, economic and social power in both of these states set the stage for the states' failures in the future. Recent conflicts and civil wars in both Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have taken place in the late 1990s.

Between 1990 and 1994, Rwanda consecutively had a civil war and a genocide. The civil war began when exiled Rwandans, composed of mainly Tutsis, formed a group called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), who composed of Tutsi refugees and exiles, invaded northern Rwanda from their home-base of Uganda (Kuperman, 2000). The invasion intensified ethnic tensions between the two ethnic groups and efforts by the government took place in which all Tutsis in Rwanda were labeled as accomplices of the RPF. In 1993, the civil war ended and peace negotiations resulted in a power-sharing agreement known as the Arusha Accords; which was made between the RPF and the Rwandan government. The agreement would allow for the return of refugees and a coalition Hutu-RPF government. However, Habyarimana, the Rwandan president, and other Hutu extremist groups rejected the terms of the agreement and developed a plan that would carry out the Rwandan Genocide. Their preparation for the genocide included training militias, broadcasting anti-Tutsi hate on the radio, and plotting to kill moderate Hutu leaders and Tutsi civilians (Kuperman, 2000). Everything was set into motion when Habyarimana's plane was shot down at the beginning of April 1994 (Kuperman, 2000; Power, 2001). Many of the perpetrators of the genocide were Hutu militiamen, soldiers and ordinary Rwandan civilians who were encouraged through the



government-sponsored radio to partake in the genocide. Throughout the genocide between April and July of 1994, nearly one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed (Corey & Joireman, 2004, p.73). According to Verwimp (2004), “In just three months, more than 10 percent of the general population and approximately 75 percent of the Tutsi ethnic minority population were killed” (p.233). It was already too late by the time regional and international interventions took place in Rwanda. In July 1994, the RPF was able to capture the Rwandan capital of Kigali and eventually the rest of the country; which led to the collapse of the Hutu government (Clapham, 1998). This drove the Hutu government and other perpetrators of the genocide to flee to the Democratic Republic of Congo, then known as Zaire, as well as thousands of refugees affected by the genocide.

The aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide had a profound effect on the Democratic Republic of Congo and would become the prelude to the state’s civil wars. The end of the Rwandan genocide was marked by a massive influx of refugee migration and set into motion the collapse of the already weak DRC government. According to the UNHCR (2000), “...there were over two million refugees in neighboring countries, including some 1.2 million in Zaire, 580,000 in Tanzania, 270,000 in Burundi and 10,000 in Uganda” (p.246). The majority of refugees settled in the Eastern part of the DRC which included Hutu Rwandan military groups (ex-FAR) and militias, known as the génocidaires (UNHCR, 2000). The group used the camps as an operating base where they regrouped and trained. This created tension between the Rwandan government and the DRC. The Rwandan government was afraid that they would regroup and return to Rwanda to continue the genocide. This led to Rwanda invading the DRC with the aim “of destroying Rwandan Hutu refugee camps and establishing a buffer zone for Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi against border rebel attacks” (Reyntjens, 2007, p. 307). The invasion led to the First Congo War (1996-1997)

which caused the Rwandan government to set a coup against the DRC's president Mobutu Sese Seko, and installed a new government with Laurent Kabila as president. However, the tension between the DRC and Rwanda continued to escalate which led to the Second Congo War, also known as Africa's First World War, which lasted from 1998 to 2003 (McGreal, 2008). The conflict forced neighboring states to intervene and take sides in the civil war. Uganda and Burundi allied with Rwanda while Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Chad backed Kabila and his government (Reyntjens, 2007; Clark, 2001). The civil war eventually ended with a stalemate which produced a ceasefire known as the Lusaka Accord in 1999 (Reyntjens, 2007). Subsequently, the aftermath of the war would lead to political instability and the exploitation of the DRC's natural resources by neighboring states and rebel groups.

### **Post Conflict Reconstruction**

When civil wars and conflicts eventually end, states attempt to restore peace and development becomes a top priority in their post-conflict reconstruction agenda. In Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, the core reconstruction focus was on political, economic, and social restoration and development.

The political reconstruction and transitional phase of post-genocide Rwanda were led by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The political transition was dominated by the RPF in which they enforced the terms of the Arusha Accords and installed a transitional coalition government and parliament. Most political parties in Rwanda were able to take up seats in the government and parliament with the exception of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and the extremist Hutu party Coalition for the Defense of the Republic (CDR) (Reyntjens, 2004, p.178). Both of these parties were banned from taking government positions due to their role in

the genocide. The coalition government consisted of a Hutu president and prime minister while the RPF placed their military leader Paul Kagame as Vice-President and defense minister (Uvin, 2001; Reyntjens, 2004; Reed, 1996). However, while the government was said to be a coalition, there was no doubt that the Rwandan government was dominated by the RPF and, especially, its military leader Paul Kamage (Uvin, 2001; Reyntjens, 2004). According to Reyntjens (2004), “While it officially rejected ethnic discrimination and even the notion of ethnicity, the RPF rapidly reserved access to power, wealth and knowledge to Tutsi. The only exception was the Cabinet, where a number of Hutu served as ministers in order to give a symbolic expression of national unity” (p.187). The transitional period lasted from 1994 to 2003. It ended with the adoption of a new constitution and followed with a presidential and legislative election.

The Rwandan genocide had a devastating impact on its economy. After the genocide, thousands of people were either slaughtered, fled the country, or became internally displaced persons. While the government had completely collapsed, so had the economy. It is estimated that in 1994, the GDP had fallen to 50 percent of the previous year’s size. Also, livestock herds, which contributes to 5 percent of the GDP, were almost completely wiped out (IMF, 2000). Since the genocide, the government has focused its attention on economic and social development. In 2000, the Rwandan government adopted its ‘Vision 2020’ policy strategy that outlined goals to transform Rwanda into a middle-income country by 2020 (Curtis, 2015). The Vision 2020 identifies six interwoven pillars including: good governance and a capable state, human resources development and a knowledge-based economy, a private sector-led economy, infrastructure development, productive and market-oriented agriculture, and regional and international economic integration (‘Rwanda Vision 2020’, 2000, p.13). In addition, Rwanda’s economic development relied heavily on international aid. Western countries such as the USA, the UK, and the Netherlands become

important donors partly due to getting criticisms over their inadequate response to the genocide (Curtis, 2015). For example, during the transitional period between 1994 to 1999, USAID gave economic assistance to Rwanda with about \$61 million (USAID, 2018). During the Rwanda transitional period, its GDP growth rates averaged more than 10% per year between 1994 and 2004 and have been greater than 5% a year since then (Curtis, 2015). Overall, Rwanda's economic growth and development were seen as a success in the international community.

Both the civil war and genocide took a devastating toll on Rwanda's population. Since 1994, the Rwandan government has focused on justice, reconciliation, and unity as their top priority. The government adopted a national reconciliation strategy with four objectives: "the provision of assistance to people hurt by the war; the restoration of internal security; the strengthening of the justice system; and the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons" (IMF, 2000, p.7). In 1999, the government established the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC). The NURC has worked to organize meetings, conferences, and workshops to promote unity and reconciliation. Since its creation, the NURC has started running solidarity camps to educate Rwandans on their history, civic education, and national unity and reconciliation (Waldorf, 2009). According to Waldorf (2009), "the camps have been used to reeducate demobilized soldiers, former insurgents, and released *génocidaires* before their reintegration into society" (p.103). Other community interventions include a monthly service day known as Umuganda. According to Specia (2017), "For the monthly day of service known as Umuganda, every able-bodied Rwandan between the ages of 18 and 65 must work on a designated project for three hours." The hope is that through these interventions, the community is able to work together in rebuilding their community as well as reconciling with each other.

In efforts to create national unity, the government has dismissed the ethnic identity terms of “Hutu” and “Tutsi.” Instead, they have created an all-encompassing Rwandan identity known as *Banyarwanda*, the people of Rwanda (Zorbas, 2004, p.43). In addition, Article 9 of their constitution calls for “eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions and promotion of national unity” (“Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda,” 2003; Waldorf, 2009). As well as various constitutional amendments, the government has also passed multiple laws that prohibits divisionism and discrimination. Another part of Rwanda’s reconciliation process was the establishment of a judicial court in the international, national, and community level. In 1994, the United Nations responded to the Rwandan genocide by establishing the International Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) which was intended to prosecute those responsible for organizing the genocide (Corey, 2004). In addition to the Tribunal courts, Rwanda had a national court system that tried people for genocide crimes. It is important to note that the genocide had a substantial effect on the Rwandan judicial system, nearly all of the judges and lawyers fled or were murdered (Corey, 2004). After the genocide, the remaining legal professions had to work in poor conditions that lacked resources and staff. The insufficient staffs and the overwhelming caseload led the government to pursue a traditional community court system known as Gacaca. The goal of the Gacaca courts was to promote reconciliation and healing by providing community members a platform for victims to tell their story and to hear cases brought against the accused genociders (Corey, 2004; Zorbas, 2004).

Post-conflict reconstruction and development in the Democratic Republic of Congo revolved around peace agreements. In 1999, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was signed between the DRC and five regional states. However, the ceasefire was often violated, and the peace process was stalled. This caused even more violence and insecurity in the country. Following the ceasefire,

the United Nations established a peacekeeping mission, the UN Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), to help with the peace process. MONUC was the largest and most expensive mission with 17,000 troops and an annual cost of \$1 billion (Reyntjens, 2007, p.310). The mission was responsible for implementing and monitoring the ceasefire, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of armed fighters, and helping out with the election process. In 2002, a peace agreement was made through the Sun City Accord and was signed between the DRC's president Joseph Kabila and Rwandan president Paul Kagame.

After the Sun City Accord, the government went through a stage of democratization. The accord established a power-sharing agreement among the five major parties. During the transitional period, "Kabila was given the presidency, and four vice presidents were appointed alongside him, one from each of the major political-military forces in the country" (Dobbins et al., 2008, p.127). In addition, efforts took place to set up a government that composed of a National Assembly and a Senate (Reyntjens, 2007). A referendum on a new constitution and election was scheduled for 2005; however, it was postponed to 2006 due to logistical issues. The DRC had its first democratic election in 2006, and Joseph Kabila was elected as president. However, since 2006 the DRC would face many corruption and instability within their government.

The two civil wars took an economic toll on the DRC's already weak economy. The instability in the late 1990s, caused the overall per capita GDP to fall from \$380 in 1960 to \$141 in 1997 (Dobbins et al., 2013, p.183). The economic decline was partly due to the state losing control of critical mines in the east which was an important source of the state's revenue. Many of the mines are owned by rebel groups which have led to armed conflicts over the control of the mines. Foreign aid played a crucial role in economic reconstruction and development. Reconstruction efforts were led by the European Union with the support of the World Bank, the

IMF, the African Development Bank and other organizations (Dobbins et al., 2008, p.130). According to Dobbins et al. (2013), “Total foreign assistance, excluding expenses for peacekeeping operations, elections, and humanitarian assistance, rose from \$200 million in 2001 to some \$800 million in 2004 and 2005” (p.191). In addition, the transitional government relied on international aid for their budget, with more than 40% of the budget coming from foreign donors (Dobbins et al., 2013, p.191). Since its economic reconstruction efforts, the DRC has struggled with economic growth and getting control of their mining resources.

During the transitional period, the government focused mainly on security, economic stabilization, and their election process. As a consequence, there was not a lot of efforts in the reconciliation processes. In 2003, as part of the Sun City Accord, the government started their peace and reconciliation efforts with the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). As part of the agreement, the commission was to last temporary; only during the transitional period. However, the commission ultimately failed due to ongoing violence which prevented them from conduct investigations and the TRC instead focused on conflict prevention and mediation activities (ICTJ, n.d). In addition, the DRC’s judicial system was in disarray that lacked independence and trained personnel; which has led to corruption within the system. Lastly, the overall insecurity has caused fighting and ethnic tension to continue throughout the years especially in the eastern part of the DRC (Dobbins et al., 2008).

### **Compare and Contrast**

There are many similarities and differences in the post-conflict reconstruction process in Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Both of the states pursued a reconstruction policy that involved in political, economic and reconciliation development. However, overall post-

conflict reconstruction was successful as a whole in Rwanda compared to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

First, political reconstruction started with the implementation of a transitional government in both of the states. Both of the governments in the transitional period focused on creating a multi-power government. The Rwandan government set up a coalition government while the DRC appointed a president and had four vice presidents from different political parties. The main reason that Rwanda was successful in political development was due to the fact that RFP had clear control over the government. On the other hand, the political environment was unstable in the DRC which caused one of their presidents to be assassinated. Both of the states attempted to democratize by ending their transitional period with a presidential and legislative election.

Next, both of the states relied heavily on international aid for their economic development. In fact, the transitional government's budget came from foreign assistance and donation. In Rwanda, with the help of international assistance and various economic reforms, the country was able to have economic development and growth. On the other hand, the DRC faced many challenges to their economic development. International aid had a small impact on their economic growth, and the government had a hard time controlling mining areas in the eastern region. In addition, constant fighting in the DRC, particularly in the east, prevented its economy from developing.

The reconstruction efforts in the DRC primarily focused on political and economic development. As a result of this, not a lot of effort was placed in reconciliation. The DRC attempt of reconciliation was with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2003. However, this was seen as a failure due to lack of funding and corruption. As a consequence, the state faced a lot of



ethnic tension and violence. However, Rwanda's reconstruction policy consisted of a well-established reconciliation process. Due to the nature of the genocide, everyone in Rwanda was impacted by it. The reconciliation process first started with the government promoting national unity by creating one Rwandan identity and by banning ethnic classification. Next, justice and reconciliation were pursued through the international, state and community level courts. A lot of the reconciliation success came from the community level with the implementation of Gacaca courts and community education. In general, by having a stable government and international assistance, Rwanda was able to rebuild itself after their genocide. Their reconstruction policy and its success were able to help Rwanda towards a more positive direction. On the other hand, The DRC was not able to reunite itself socially, politically and geographically which set the stage of failure in their future.

## **Policy**

State building and reconstruction are essential in post-conflict states. Post-conflict states have taken various reconstruction policies; however, many of them share the need for establishing security, political reform, economic development, and reconciliation processes. Based on the cases of Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, many elements contributed to the success and failure of the states' reconstruction efforts. Between these two states, Rwanda has taken great strides in its reconstruction efforts. By looking at Rwanda's post-conflict reconstruction, a policy can be developed. I recommend a reconstruction policy that focuses on three main objectives: security, reconciliation, and development.

The first step to a state's reconstruction process is providing security. This is done through ending a conflict through a peace agreement and then enforcing it whether through an internal or

external actor. The political transformation starts with the establishment of a transitional government which is composed of a coalition of both a dominant party and smaller political parties. Over the transitional period, government institutions need to be rebuilt in order to restore the government's legitimacy. This is done through a gradual democratization process that consists of a presidential, legislative and judicial elections and reforms. Depending on whether or not a state has any experience with democratic elections, help from external actors such as the United Nations would benefit them in their electoral process. For example, the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division (UNEAD) have provided short-term electoral assistance for countries who are democratizing.

Next, a reconciliation process is vital in the post-conflict reconstruction policy. As we all know, the consequences of civil conflicts are devastating on a state's population who ended up either dead, displaced or as refugees. Moreover, the population suffers from severe psychological trauma. Modeling off Rwanda's reconciliation process, a state should establish a national and community court system to prosecute people who were responsible for the civil conflicts and other mass atrocities. In the community level, members of the community should come together to reconcile whether it means through a Gacaca court or educational workshops.

The last part of the reconstruction process is economic and social development. Economic development would include the following objectives: stabilize the economy, revive the agricultural sector, restore social services and implement economic reforms. With these objectives, the hope is that the economy can be repaired and it would help facilitate economic growth. Economic development is not possible without the help of international aid. Organizations like the World Bank, IMF, relief agencies and other international NGOs would be key external actors that would help with a state's economic development. Social development is another crucial element in

reconstruction. First, the state needs to be able to provide social protection for their people so that they feel safe to stay in the state or return. Next, a poverty reduction program should be implemented by the government to promote poverty reduction, employment, and social development. Socially, the state needs to find a way to reintegrate ex-combatants into society as well as starting a reconciliation process for them. Lastly, the government needs to help resettle and promote the development of displaced personnel and refugees.

While this policy only scratches the surface to post-conflict reconstruction, it is, however, a good starting point and guideline. Before states can start their reconstruction efforts, they need to assess their situation and look at past reconstruction efforts in neighboring states. Many post-conflict African states can look at reconstruction efforts in Rwanda and perhaps be able to model off on their reconstruction policy. One benefit of my policy is that it takes the main reconstruction points from Rwanda's post-conflict reconstruction efforts. The policy has three main objectives (security, reconciliation, and development), which are an essential part of any state's post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

Some people might critique this policy by saying that it is too idealistic. First, the policy assumes that a state is capable of meeting the three objectives of security, reconciliation, and development in their post-conflict reconstruction efforts. However, many states have failed to meet even two of these objectives due to the fact that they focus their attention on other development strategies. Another criticism of the policy would be that economic development relies greatly on international aid. A key issue would be coordinating the aid efforts and providing enough financing that would help a state recovery and rebuild. In addition, efforts need to be in place so that a state can sustain its own economy once international recovery aid eventually stops. The last critique focuses on the broadness and vagueness of the policy. The policy only lays out reconstruction

recommendations that a state can take. However, my policy can be improved with time and by assessing a state's post-conflict condition, and finding where reconstruction efforts are most needed.

### **Conclusion**

Throughout much of their history, both Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo have gone through a lot of devastating conflicts that had a tremendously impacted on their overall stability. The consequences of European colonialism had set the foundations for both of these countries to struggle economically, politically and socially. Throughout much of the 1990s, both of the countries have gone through civil conflicts which consequently has led to millions of its people dying as well as being displaced. Once the civil conflicts ended in both states, the overall objective was post-conflict reconstruction through political, economic and social development. However, the two states would pursue different reconstruction efforts which would set the stage of success and failure in their future.

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**Discriminatory Practices and Effects on Protest Participation**

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### Abstract

Why do some people participate in political protests, but other do not? I argue that minorities and those who have faced discriminatory practices are more likely to engage in protest marches.

Using data from the 2016 American National Elections Studies Pilot Project, I assess the individual-level determinants of protest participation using regression models. Results have implications for better understanding how individual's experiences affect protest participation.

As political protests are one method of participating in politics, results also improve our understanding of the relation between individuals and the democratic society we live in.

### Introduction

Why do some people engage in political protest, but others do not? Since his inauguration President Trump has engaged in multiple controversies and received many criticisms of his policies. After his initial executive order to initiate a "Muslim ban", restricting travels to the U.S. by certain groups, protests in opposition to the President's executive order ensued shortly after.

The Muslim travel ban, or Executive Order 13769, lowered the number of refugees to be admitted into the United States in 2017 to 50, 000, suspended the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program for 120 days, suspended the entry of Syrian refugees indefinitely, and directed some cabinet secretaries to suspend entry of those whose countries do not meet adjunction standards under the U.S. immigration law for 90 days. Approximately 27 air passengers coming into airports around the United States were either detained or sent home on January 28. By January 29 and estimated 375 travelers had been affected by the order. However, the largest protest organized against President Trump came the day after his inauguration, millions across the United States and across 30 countries protested on January 21, 2017, during the Women's March, making it the largest single-day protest in the history of the United States. (Editors 2018)

The question on why some people are willing to sacrifice wealth, social status, and sometimes even their lives for a common cause is something to consider. The real knowledge lies in understanding why some people who are seemingly in the same situation and will suffer the same consequences respond so differently. Protest behavior itself can be exhibited differently due to how strongly you feel about a grievance. At the center of every protest are the grievances of a group, be that they experience illegitimate inequality, feelings of relative deprivation, feelings of injustice, or moral resentment about some state of affairs (Klandermans, 1997). This distinction is important in the context of protest, because in a conflict of interests' people are more inclined to take an instrumental route to protest to enforce changes, whereas a conflict of principles more likely leads to protests in which people express their views and indignation (Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, Van Kessel, & Ellis, 2009). In addition, scholars believe that people will only become mobilized if efficacy, emotion, and a threat to their identity is present (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013).

To add to our understanding of protest participation, I examine the impact of discrimination on the likelihood of participation in a protest. Specifically, using data from the 2018 American National Election Studies Pilot study, I assess how discrimination based on race and ethnicity and on skin color affects protest participation and petition. I find that discrimination based on race and ethnicity reduces an individual's likelihood of participating in a protest and petition, while discrimination due to skin color increases the likelihood of protest participation and petition.

In the rest of this paper I begin by providing a literature review on what may cause an individual to engage in the political sphere. Then I turn specifically to focusing on protests and petitions and provide testable hypothesis on how discrimination effects protest and petitioning.

### Literature Review

Political scientists have identified a set of factors that contribute to protest participation. While methods of inquiry vary considerably, literatures for protest participation can fall into a few broad categories: sex or gender, political engagement, education, income, and political knowledge or party identification. Citizens have increasingly participated in new forms of political activity. Whether categorized as “protest” or “unconventional” participation, these new activities are more focused on single issues. Examples of these protest activities include signing a petition, attending a demonstration, or boycotting a product. Moreover, engagement with the political process is one of the most direct and important factors in predicting participation. Since the 1970’s, studies of political behavior show that men are more interested in politics and more frequently discuss politics, tune into public affairs programs on television, read newspapers, and report reading stories about political events. In a study of social networks of political discussion partners, Mendez and Osborne (2010) found that both men and women perceive women to be less politically knowledgeable than men, without regard to actual levels of knowledge. Given that political knowledge is often regarded as a prerequisite for political discussion and other forms of political involvement, perceptions of women’s political knowledge may inhibit subsequent political activity. Women, or the sex of an individual can challenge the likelihood of protest participation in many ways. Often, women face oppression in the work field, as well as in their homes and communities, and potentially across all aspects of their lives.

While education is widely recognized as having a strong correlation with multiple forms of civic and social engagement, literature has proposed multiple aspects of formal education that could conceivably have an impact on civic and social engagement. A compelling explanation for the link between education and political engagement is that education sorts people according

their relative social status. The research literature on civic and social engagement, both old and new, is replete with references to the impact of education. Written over 30 years ago, Converse (1972) memorably phrased his description of the tight link between education and engagement: “Whether one is dealing with cognitive matters such as level of factual information about political or conceptual sophistication in its assessment; or such motivational matters as degree of attention paid to politics and emotional involvement in political affairs...” (Campbell 2006). However, the more education means a higher level of political tolerance, regardless of one’s educational environment, because education increases “democratic enlightenment”—better known as political tolerance.

Moreover, Low-income citizens are far less likely to be political engaged. It can be said that “low- income people lack funding to effectively advocate” therefor their needs and their political involvement are under-represented as a result. However, existing literature explains the low levels of political engagement can take many shapes. Conservatives argue that receiving government assistance fosters dependency and decreases personal motivation—traits that are not likely to lead to the entrepreneurial spirit needed to undertake acts of political participation (Mead 1997). Others suggest that government assistance serves as a lifeline for many poor citizens and thus, suppresses any anger or resentment that might inspire political participation (Edelman 1964). All political activities require an input of either time or money, but certain activities, such as contacting a public official or working on a campaign, also require certain "civic skills" that can be acquired in various nonpolitical settings, but when applied to politics, can allow for more meaningful and effective participation. Because impoverished citizens are "so poorly endowed with these participatory factors," they have become "a very inactive group" (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:398; see also Gant and Lyons 1993). Verba, Schlozman,

and Brady do note that individuals are more likely to participate in the political system when they are motivated by personal needs, such as jobs, housing, health care, and neighborhood crime. Ultimately, though, resources are more indicative of patterns of political participation than are the issues around which citizens might participate. (Lawless and Fox 2001) For, example just two percent of Americans at the bottom of the income and education ladder attend campaign meetings and rallies or conduct campaign work, compared to 14 percent of people at the top, a factor of seven to one. Economic inequality depresses political engagement, and especially that of people with lower incomes. (McCarty n.d.)

### Thesis & Hypothesis

People respond to the world as they perceive and interpret it. To better understand why individuals may protest, I examine the categories of why someone might protest or become politically engaged, like having faced discrimination of their race and ethnicity or by their skin color. Discrimination can occur in any human community or settlement, highlighting the difference in treatment between members of different groups, intentionally singled out and treated worse, or not given the same opportunities. Attitudes towards minorities have been marked by discrimination historically in the United States. Nearly seven in 10 adults in the U.S. report having experienced any discrimination, with 61 percent reporting experiencing day-to-day discrimination, such as being treated with less courtesy or respect, receiving poorer service than others, and being threatened or harassed. Almost half of all adult's report experiencing major forms of discrimination, which include police unfairly stopping, searching, questioning, physically threatening or abusing them; neighbors making life difficult for them or their family upon moving into a neighborhood, a teacher or advisor discouraging them from continuing their education; or experiencing unfair treatment when receiving health care. Individuals who have

experienced discrimination, come across this unfairness in all realms of their lives, i.e., employment opportunities, education, housing, voting, borrowing or getting approved for credit, and throughout government. Thirty-four percent of American Indian/Alaska Natives, 23 percent of Blacks, 19 percent of Hispanics, 11 percent of Whites and 11 percent of Asians report experiencing these slights almost every day or at least once a week. Around half or more Black (60 percent), AI/AN (50 percent), Asian (49 percent) and Hispanic (45 percent) adults say their lives have been at least a little harder because of discrimination, with one in 10 AI/AN and nearly the same percentage of Black adults (8 percent) saying it has made life a lot harder. (American Psychological Association 2015)

Recently, at least 50 people were killed and 50 wounded, in a hate filled terror attack targeting two mosques in the New Zealand city of Christchurch during Friday prayer. The gunman apprehended on his way to his third location, posted a 73 page manifesto titled “The Great Replacement“, a reference to the Great Replacement and white genocide theories. Emailed to over 30 recipients, including the Prime Minister’s office and several media outlets, just minutes before the attacks, the gunman expressed several anti-immigrant sentiments in his manifesto, including hate speech against migrants, white supremacist rhetoric, and called for all non-European immigrants in Europe to be removed. Protests condemning the attacks in Christchurch have taken place around the world. The attack has caused outrage amongst Muslims and immigrants, but the conversation in Australia was already in motion on whether racism and hate speech had become normalised. Within hours of the mass shootings, Fraser Anning, described as far-right senator issued a statement in which he blamed the attack on Muslim religion, “The real cause of bloodshed on New Zealand streets today is the immigration program that allowed muslim fanatic to migrate to New Zealand in the first. Sparked with outrage, 1.4 million people signed an



online petition demanding the senator resign for “supporting right-wing terrorism“. Thus, I hypothesize that:

*H1: The more discrimination someone has experienced the more likely they are to protest or petition.*

### Research Design & Methods

To assess the impact of protest participation I use data from the 2016 American National Elections Studies Pilot Project. My study has two dependent variables, first, protest: During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? It has been recoded to 1's and 0's. Second, is petition: During the past 12 months, have you signed a petition on the Internet or on paper about a political or social issue, or have you not done this in the past 12 months? It has been recoded to 1's and 0's.

This study also has two independent variables, first, discrimination based on race and ethnicity: How much discrimination have you personally faced because of your ethnicity or race? Second, discrimination based on skin color: How much discrimination have you personally faced because of your skin color (e.g. light, medium, or dark)?

I also control for gender (female): If R indicates gender is not male or female: What is your gender?, education: What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?, age, and party ID.

### Analysis

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	protest			petition		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Discrimination of race/ethnicity	-0.069 (0.414)		-0.860*** (0.286)	0.113 (0.188)		0.383 (0.241)
Discrimination of skin color		0.402 (0.454)	1.100*** (0.404)		-0.174 (0.227)	-0.472 (0.292)
Female	-0.178 (0.370)	-0.161 (0.371)	-0.174 (0.372)	0.140 (0.165)	0.133 (0.166)	0.135 (0.166)
Age	-0.033*** (0.010)	-0.032*** (0.011)	-0.032*** (0.011)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.017*** (0.005)	-0.017*** (0.005)
High School Graduate	0.038 (0.768)	0.066 (0.795)	0.119 (0.810)	0.322 (0.439)	0.301 (0.441)	0.327 (0.437)
College Graduate (Bachelor's)	0.442 (0.375)	0.508 (0.381)	0.500 (0.381)	0.411*** (0.157)	0.390** (0.158)	0.387** (0.158)
Party ID	-0.334*** (0.116)	-0.313*** (0.116)	-0.318*** (0.116)	-0.128*** (0.044)	-0.138*** (0.044)	-0.134*** (0.043)
Constant	-0.779 (1.067)	-1.096 (1.133)	-1.028 (1.137)	-0.451 (0.510)	-0.274 (0.519)	-0.376 (0.516)
Observations	1,234	1,234	1,234	1,234	1,234	1,234
Log Likelihood	-191.866	-190.452	-188.985	-676.778	-676.580	-674.675
Akaike Inf. Crit.	397.732	394.903	393.969	1,367.556	1,367.161	1,365.349

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

In this section, I test whether discrimination affects likelihood of engaging in protest and petition. Since my dependent variables are binary, and American National Election Survey is a survey, I fit the models using logistic regression with survey weights. Table 1 presents the results of the logistic regression models. Again, the dependent variable, respectively is protest, which is coded as 1 if the individual protested in the last 12 months, and petition is coded as 1 if they petitioned in the last 12 months.

In Table 1, Model 3, notice that the result has a negative relationship with the discrimination of race and ethnicity, meaning that while discrimination based on race and ethnicity does have statistical significance, it did not increase the likelihood of an individual

protesting. Notice the relationship between discrimination based on skin color and Model 3 is positive, meaning that discrimination based on skin color and the likelihood of an individual protesting is not only statistically significant, but also relevant.

Bringing about different results, Model 6 demonstrates that discrimination based on race and ethnicity and discrimination of skin color are not significant enough to say the two have a relationship. We can conclude that discrimination based on race and ethnicity, discrimination based on skin color, age, and party ID all have a statistically significant relationship with the likelihood of an individual choosing to participate in a protest or petition.

Figure 1 shows the substantive impact on protest participation based on discriminatory practices against race and ethnicity. Again, notice that the relationship between discriminatory practice against race and ethnicity is negative. This figure demonstrates that even though individuals have experienced discriminatory practices based on their race and ethnicity, it does not mean that they are more likely to participate in a protest or petition.

However, in Figure 2, showing a positive relationship between the probability of an individual participating in protest and those who did perceive more than a moderate amount of discrimination based on their skin color more than doubled the likelihood of protest participation than that of those who perceived discrimination based on their race and ethnicity.

Figure 1

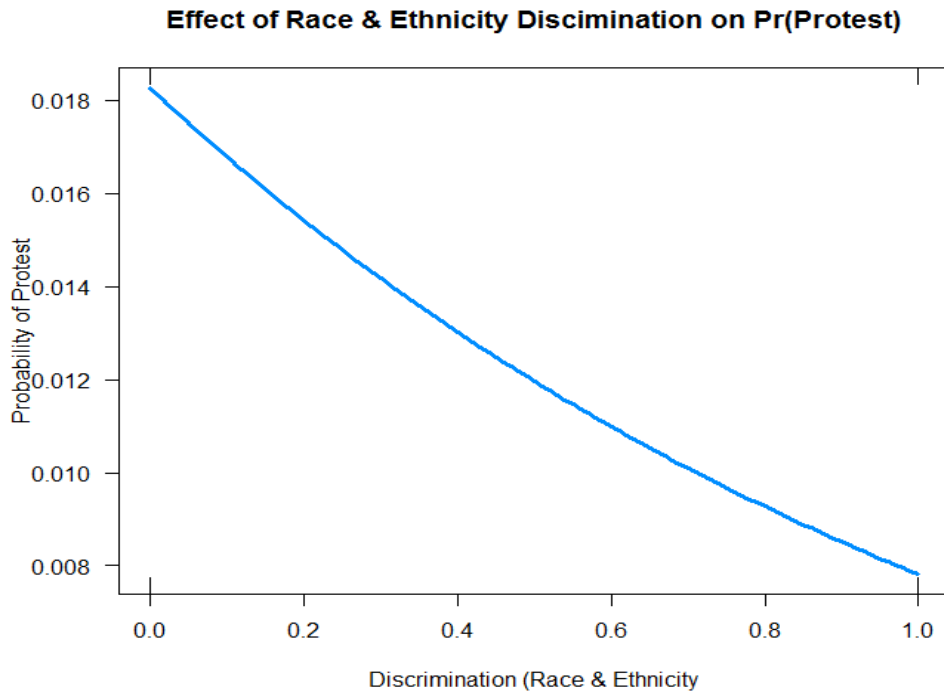
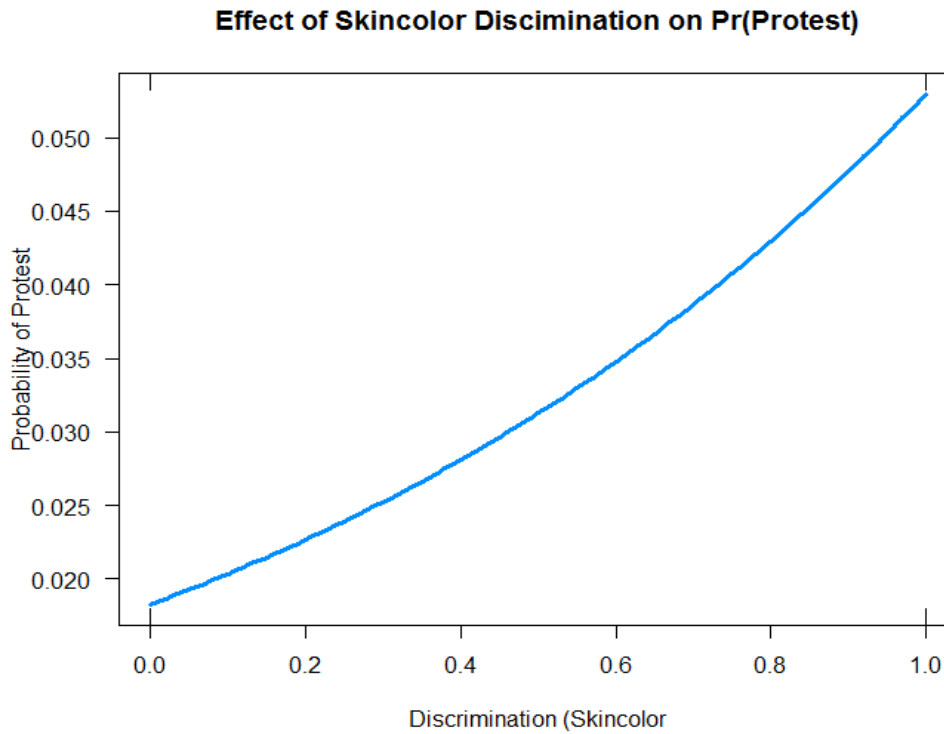


Figure 2



## Conclusion

Earlier I mentioned that characteristics such as gender, education, income levels or income inequality, and political knowledge may affect political engagement, i.e., protest participation and petition. While scholars have agreed that the above-mentioned characteristics are in fact correlated to protest participation, after reviewing the results of my analysis, results show that discrimination based on ethnicity and race hold a significant value in relation to protest participation. I find that discrimination based on race and ethnicity reduces an individual's likelihood of participating in a protest, while discrimination due to skin color increases likelihood of protest participation. As unlikely as these results seem because color is so rarely considered separately from race in models, the answer is quite simple: colorism.

Both conventional public beliefs and existing academic research on colorism presuppose that variation in skin color predicts civic and social engagement. Colorism refers to the discrimination based on skin color. In the United States, colorism, rooted in slavery, is where slave owners typically gave preferential treatment to slaves with fairer complexions. While dark-skinned slaves toiled outdoors in the field, their light-skinned counterparts usually worked indoors at far less grueling domestic tasks. Colorism did not disappear after slavery ended though, often through black communities those with light skin received employment opportunities off-limits to darker-skinned blacks. (Bodenhorn 2006) This is the main contributing factor as to why upper-class families in black society were largely light-skinned. Shortly thereafter, light skin and privilege were linked in the African American and Latino communities. Colorism disadvantages dark-skinned people while privileging those with lighter skin. Research has linked colorism to smaller incomes, lower marriage rates, longer prison terms, and fewer job prospects for darker-skinned people. For example, light-skinned Latino's make

\$5,000 more on average than dark-skinned Latinos. A Villanova University study of more than 12,000 African-American women imprisoned in North Carolina found that lighter-skinned black women received shorter sentences than their darker-skinned counterparts. Although all races may experience discrimination, the intensity of that discrimination, the frequency, and the outcomes of that discrimination will vary differently by skin tone. Colorism is directly related to the larger system of racism in the United States and around the world. However, this is not racism per se, colorism is a prejudice that is not focused on a single group like blacks so much as on the level of *blackness* itself.

While racial discrimination is often what makes headlines and what most would assume causes people to mobilize and become politically active, results reveal that it is not necessarily the discrimination of race and ethnicity that brings the most participation in protests but that colorism and its practices have a more significant correlation to protest participation and further research on colorism and its effects on protest participation should be performed.

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**Shirley Chisholm: Unbossed**

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Abstract

Shirley Chisholm: Unbossed

Shirley Chisholm was a woman of strength and conviction. Her fierce attitude towards injustice aimed at women and those of the lower socioeconomic class made Chisholm a force to be reckoned with in the United States Congress, where she became the first African-American woman to be seated in the House of Representatives. Chisholm's intersectional identity shaped her political rhetoric that refused to accept the old, traditional roles and stereotypes of women. Chisholm drew her strength from her intersecting identities as a second-generation immigrant Black woman and built a political rhetoric that mirrored women's rights and the rights of those less recognized. She dreamed of a coalition that would bring equality to women and the poor. Chisholm battled sexism and racism as she fought her way to the House of Representatives in a male-dominated culture. Research conducted through analyzing Chisholm's writings, her presidential poster and articles written about her and the culture of the second-wave feminist movement prove that she valued her many identities and used her experiences to create a more inclusive political platform, though her inclusiveness did cause divide among some of her supporters. Shirley Chisholm opened the door for both women and the Black population to rise to equal levels of representation in the United States government. Chisholm was a woman who was truly unbossed.

### Shirley Chisholm: Unbossed

Shirley Chisholm's political foundation was built upon her intersectional identity and outright refusal to accept the old, traditional roles and stereotypes of women. Chisholm identified as a woman, a second-generation immigrant, and a Black citizen of lower-class status. These many identities shaped Chisholm's political rhetoric and her fierce personality that she used to fight for equality for all. This strong, inclusive rhetoric made Chisholm appealing to voters from a wide diversity of ethnic backgrounds.

Shirley Anita St. Hill was born on November 30, 1924 in Brooklyn, New York. Both of Chisholm's parents were immigrants from the West Indian Islands. Chisholm's father, Charles St. Hill, was born in British Guiana and spent time in both Cuba and Barbados before arriving in New York. Ruby Seale, Chisholm's mother, grew up in Barbados and immigrated to New York when she was a teenager. Chisholm's father gained employment as a "helper" in a cake bakery and her mother worked as a domestic. The Hills had four children and worked tirelessly to provide the "American Dream" for them. In 1945, the Hills were able to save \$10,000 to purchase a three-story brownstone. Chisholm appreciated the incredible immigrant work ethic her parents possessed. Her parents had started their lives in Brooklyn with nothing and lived through the Great Depression, somehow able to raise four children and achieve success with only a domestic's and laborer's salary; and Chisholm admired them for this feat (Brown, 2018).

As a child, Chisholm traveled to her mother's homeland of Barbados many times. Mrs. Hill preferred the British colonial education curriculum in Barbados over the education provided in New York's public-school system. So, at the age of three, Chisholm and her siblings were sent to live with their grandmother in Barbados to attend school. Chisholm spent seven years in Barbados at the start of her education. Muriel Forde, Chisholm's sister, stated that in Barbados,

children immediately began to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic. Students in Barbados were introduced to the significance of their studies and the discipline involved in academic seriousness. This early introduction of academic achievement allowed Chisholm to further her education in the United States (Brown, 2018).

Chisholm arrived back in Brooklyn at the age of ten. She became very close to her father in the following years and can attribute her political interest to him. Mr. Hill introduced his daughter to union and labor politics while she was attending an all-girls high school that was predominately White. Chisholm then went on to earn her undergraduate degree at Brooklyn College where she founded the university's first Black women's group. The group was called, "In Pursuit of the Highest in All." During these years Chisholm found that she was a talented speech writer and had a knack for debating. While discovering these talents, Chisholm began to think about a career in politics (Curwood, 2015).

Chisholm's cultural heritage greatly influenced her intellect and political ideology. She attributed her fine writing skills to her early education in Barbados and her "fearless" attitude to her grandmother (Curwood, 2015, p. 207). Chisholm felt the negative effects of racism growing up in New York, often hearing the White (and African-American) population concerned with the West Indian immigrants taking over their jobs and imposing their culture on American ideology. During this time, Chisholm developed her idea of Black solidarity and unity for all Black racial backgrounds. Chisholm used her multi-cultural identity to dispute the sociopolitical status-quo (Brown, 2018).

As she furthered her education, Chisholm began to focus on women's equality, welfare, employment opportunity, and childcare. Chisholm completed her master's degree from Columbia's Teacher's College in 1951 as she also worked for a preschool in Harlem. Chisholm

took a directorship position at Hamilton-Madison Childcare Center and served in the Bureau of Child Welfare while becoming involved in local politics. First, she engaged in tenant's rights in public housing and helped a grassroots campaign to elect a Black civil court judge. During this campaign, Chisholm met her mentor Wesley McDonald Holder. After the campaign, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League formed, and Chisholm was named vice president. Furthering her political interest, Chisholm began working with the Seventeenth Assembly District Democratic Club and the Unity Democratic Club. With the backing of the Unity Democratic club, Chisholm won her first election in 1964 as the representative of the Seventeenth District in the New York State Assembly (Curwood, 2015).

Women voters played an important role in sending Chisholm to the New York State Assembly. Here, Chisholm began to focus on socioeconomic problems of both poor and working-class women and men of all racial backgrounds, though most emphasis was placed on furthering women's rights. Chisholm went right to work and introduced legislation that echoed the concerns of her constituents. Chisholm began introducing bills that highlighted the importance of providing childcare for working women and those who were part of the welfare system. She fought to protect senior teachers from losing their jobs while on maternity leave and securing unemployment benefits for domestic, hospital, and farm workers. She pushed for an increase in minimum wage, affordable public housing, and civil rights training for police officers. Chisholm introduced a bill that made it possible for low-income students to go to college, legislation that is still in force in the Twenty-first century. Chisholm co-sponsored a successful bill that put an end to discrimination based on sex in 1967. She pushed to legalize women's right to abortion across the state, but this bill was not successful in passage. Chisholm's

aimed to give a voice to those who were not heard, the poor, non-White, and female citizens who elected her, a fundamental goal of her political career. (Curwood, 2015).

Chisholm was mindful not to let her ambition cloud her message of inclusion of all for fear that her personal motives may draw unwanted attention to her sex and ethnicity. Chisholm wanted to break the traditional gender role stereotypes and lead women in a political revolution. In the article, "Racism and Anti-Feminism," Chisholm (1970) argues that women must "rebel" against stereotypes and roles societal dictation placed upon them. Chisholm suggests that young women are "psychological slaves and programmed" the moment they emerge from the womb. "The young woman (for society begins to see her as a stereotype the moment that her sex is determined) will be wrapped in a pink blanket (pink because that is the color of her caste) and the unequal segregation of the sexes will have begun" (Chisholm, 1970, p.4). Women will not be able to say "no" to life paths forced upon them without female legislative representation calling out the sexism of laws and rights (Chisholm, 1970).

Chisholm stated that women of the United States must reject the old thinking of a "women's place" set forth by Greek philosophers, turn against the idea that women should learn in silence and isolation, and condemn the thought that an educated woman means there is something wrong with her "sex apparatus." Chisholm appealed to all women as she fought to end discrimination based on sex. Women, according to Chisholm, had to band together and form a unity against stereotypes that served as her oppressor, and that negative thinking could only affect her if she believed it. Chisholm, ultimately, wanted women to reinvent their perspective of themselves through positive thought and actions. She warned women to prepare themselves "educationally, economically, and psychologically" to endure the upset that society would inflict upon them (Chisholm, 1970, p. 4, 5).

Sexism was a reoccurring theme throughout Chisholm's political career. The Unity Democratic Club, for example, was hesitant about backing her during her first election to the New York State Assembly in 1964. The UDC was an integrated club and many women held leadership positions within the organization, however there were many who voiced their concerns against a woman running for the Assembly's seat. Male voters also opposed the idea of Chisholm running because she was a woman. One man asked if Chisholm had made her husband's breakfast before setting out on the campaign trail. In situations like these, Chisholm steered the conversation away from her sexual identity and emphasized her achievements within the communities she worked in. Chisholm also fought back by turning the negative thinking about women in politics to her advantage by advocating for women's rights and gender issues. This move proved favorable for Chisholm. She won 18,000 votes compared to her Republican opponent winning less than 1,900 votes (Gallagher, 2007).

As Chisholm's political career expanded beyond the state level, she continued to run on platforms that focused on benefiting all women, and it had served her well. She now had set her sight on a seat in the House of Representatives. While Chisholm had strong support from women multiculturally, her inclusive tactics may have hindered her as she did not prioritize her racial identity as much as some would have wanted her to. Chisholm did not distinguish the differences between white and black feminism. Instead, she wanted to promote unity across movements (Curwood, 2015). Collins (2000) explains in, *Black Feminist Thought*, that Black women were fighting binary oppressions which made their needs unique from the White middle-class feminists (Collins, 2000).

While Black feminist's arguments fit into the broader sense of feminism, they also had issues that were unique to their sub-movement. Black women have been labeled as the "other."

Since the days of slavery, Black women have been objectified in binary situations in relation to their counterparts, White/Black, male/female. Recognizing Black women as the other gave justification to oppression in terms of race, class, and gender. The label “other” allows for dehumanization to happen and perceives those outgroups as objects which are meant to be exploited and influenced. Another problem with this perception is that it creates a hierarchy that produces dominate and subordinate groups where White is dominate over Black and male is superior to female. The intersection of despotism as a Black female has allowed for society to keep Black women at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Collins, 2000, p. 71, 72).

Black women’s imagery as an object was used as a conduit to oppress these women in the labor-force. The imagery of a “mammy” in literature and pop culture reinforces the stereotype that all Black women are subordinate to White women which furthers the racial divide between race and class. Portraying Black women in these domestic roles publicly allowed for White women to presume that this was an acceptable role for Black women to serve in their lives. A second image Black women fought against was an “unfeminine matriarch,” the bad counterpart to the mammy. Matriarch Black women were characterized as aggressive and dominating. They were believed to undermine their husbands and lovers which gave opportunity to the men to leave their spouses or refuse to marry them. These women did not succumb to the submissive roles society placed on them which then led to condemnation and illustrated as the “failed mammy.” This overbearing, dangerous imagery advanced racial oppression and exacerbated the divide between Black and White feminists. The Black matriarch challenged male domination, while White women saw only negative consequences of their aggressive power. To White women, this type of assertiveness would leave them abandoned, poor, and unfeminine (Collins, 2000, p. 73, 74, 75, 76, 77).



Black women also became the representation of the “welfare mother.” These women often raised families alone and solely on the income they could bring in. Like the matriarch image, the welfare mother also came with negative connotations. Black women were now seen as lacking work ethic, lazy, and sitting around waiting for their government checks. These ideals were then passed on to their children, creating future generational problems economically. The welfare mother, furthermore, was single, which reinforced White male ideology that a woman’s worth came only from marriage that would offer stability and security (Collins, 2000, p. 78, 79).

The 1967 court case, *Loving V. Virginia*, struck down all state laws that prohibited interracial marriage (Warren, E. & Supreme Court Of The United States, 1966). Further separation among Black and White women occurred when interracial couples began emerging publicly. Black women felt let down by their Black men and the Black Power movement. Women were caught in intersecting power struggles, the advance in both gender and racial rights. While Black women wanted to stand with Black men, they often found themselves experiencing bitterness against the Black man’s White lover. Black men reprimanded Black women for not being having enough awareness in the liberation movement, while the Black women watched their men lie down with those who they aimed to be liberated from. Black women wanted to know how these men were to lead when they bowed down to a “White queen” (Breines, 2006, p. 61). Nikki Giovanni disgustingly remarked:

I’m forced now to admit the white woman is obviously a natural and superior piece cause I have watched and am watching our men go ape shit to get it.

Panthers coalescing and Communists communing are still talking about getting a white piece. And if it cost them their lives as it has been costing our men their

cultural, emotional, spiritual, and physical lives, which appears to be a small enough price to pay (Breines, 2006, p. 61).

The interracial tension between women left many Black women feeling unrepresented in Chisholm inclusive feminist approach. As Chisholm prepared to campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives, she courageously stepped into a leadership role that would platform issues felt by American Black women.

Chisholm was presented with many obstacles during her bid for her Congressional seat. First, New York's Black community was divided among five districts. In 1966, Andrew Cooper sought legal action to have the districts redrawn, arguing that the state was discriminating against the Black vote in the Bedford-Stuyvesant community and that the districts violated the U.S. Constitution. A judge awarded a favorable ruling and the Committee for a Negro Congressman from Brooklyn (CNCB) met in 1967 to search for their candidate (Gallagher, 2007).

After many considerations, the CNCB decided that they would back Chisholm for the nomination. They based their decision on the achievements that Chisholm had implemented in Albany and her knack for campaigning. Wesley McDonald Holder, Chisholm's long-time mentor, offered to head her campaign. The CNCB eagerly backed Chisholm's progressive platforms that addressed public education improvement, affordable housing, federal support for day-care services, enhanced hospitals and nursing home services and facilities, and anti-discrimination laws (Gallagher, 2007).

While Chisholm was enthusiastic about the backing of the CNCB, she had not won complete support of the Black community. She had opposition in the Democratic Primary. Chisholm's challengers were Black, also. William Thompson was a State Senator, Dollie

Robinson had served as secretary for the New York Department of Labor. The labor organizations supported Robinson and Thompson had support from the Democratic Party. Chisholm reported that Thompson thought he was sure to win the nomination with the Party's backing, so instead of campaigning he vacationed in Cape Cod. This proved to be a mistake. Chisholm campaigned relentlessly and won the Democratic Primary nomination in June 1968 (Gallagher, 2007).

In May of 1968, the Republican Party had nominated James Farmer as their candidate against Chisholm. Farmer had been a strong voice in the Civil Rights Movement. Instead of highlighting this role, Farmer decided to base his campaign on strong masculine rhetoric. This was damaging, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, popularly known as, the Moynihan Report, published in 1965, linked Black matriarchal patterns to economic strife amongst the Black community (Gallagher, 2007). Farmer campaigned on the idea that the matriarch's dominance was a blight on the Black community, and they needed a "strong male image" (Curwood, 2015, p. 210). To promote this robust image, Farmer traveled the state with an "8-man Afro group with bongo drums" (Gallagher, 2007, p. 401). The *New York Times* played into this sexist rhetoric with a published article titled, "Farmer and Woman in Lively Bedford-Stuyvesant Race." In response to Farmer campaign, Chisholm received the help of notorious Black feminist, Pauli Murray. A New York lawyer and writer, Murray advocated for equality since 1945, naming the many demonstrations of sexism, "Jane Crow." Murray reached out to her colleagues to urge support for Chisholm (Curwood, 2015, p. 209, 210).

Chisholm's campaign manager, Mac Holder, was not intimidated by Farmer's masculine rhetoric, and neither was she. Chisholm was the Democratic candidate in a predominately Democratic area, she had the backing of the Unity Democratic Club, and was a successful State

Assemblywoman. Her most powerful weapon was the support given to her by women, more specifically, Black women in a Black community. Chisholm did not want to align her campaign with anti-male views, but she was not going to let sexism beat her either. Chisholm later reflected on Farmer's campaign stating, "It was not my original strategy to organize womanpower to elect me.... But when someone tries to use my sex against me, I delight in being able to turn the tables on him" (Gallagher, 2007, p. 401).

Despite Chisholm's tough stance on sexism, the local media never missed an opportunity to demean her through gendered stereotypes. Local newspapers fixated on her size. "Tiny yet torrid lawmaker," reported the *Amsterdam News*, the *New York Times* stated she "looked slight at 96 pounds" (Gallagher, 2007, p. 401, 402). Chisholm may have been a small woman, but what she lacked in height she made up for in fight! Chisholm defeated Farmer making her the first African-American woman to serve in the United States Congress (Gallagher, 2007).

Chisholm was part of the Ninety-first Congress. The Democratic caucus assembled in January 1969 to assign Congress people to their committee assignments, and Chisholm was assigned to the Rural Development and Forestry, subcommittees under the Agriculture Committee. Chisholm found this assignment infelicitous. She was elected by two of the poorest communities in the nation and her assignment would not serve her constituents. So, Chisholm did what she had always done and fought for those she represented. Chisholm marched herself down to the well and demanded the Chairman assign her to a committee that more aligned with the needs of the people that sent her to D.C. She was reassigned to the Veterans Affairs Committee. Many members that had witnessed Chisholm's outrage expressed to her that she may have just committed "political suicide." However, her constituents were proud of Chisholm's

independence and defiance, two characteristics that usually foster an ineffective legislator (Gallagher, 2007, p. 403).

The first African-American woman of Congress found herself in a rare position. She could use her intersecting identity to promote real change for women. In May of 1969, Chisholm presented Congress with prejudices against women's equality and spoke of the need for the Equal Rights Amendment to be passed. Chisholm addressed Congress with this statement:

As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in the political world I have been far oftener discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black .... Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs 'for men only (Gallagher, 2007, p. 404).

Along with fighting for the ERA, Chisholm fought for abortion rights stating that women had the right to choose what they wanted to do with their bodies and these choices were none of the government's concern. Chisholm reached out to others and formed special interest groups such as the Congressional Black Caucus to address issues with racial discrimination and rising levels of poverty. She began talks with other prominent feminist like Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Bella Abzug to create the National Women's Political Caucus. Chisholm wanted to use the NWPC to fight the binary racism and sexism Black women were subjected to by bridging the women's movement and Black liberation. While this idea was good in theory, it proved to be unattainable (Gallagher, 2007).

Just three years after Chisholm's historical election to the House of Representatives, she announced her bid to be the first woman President of the United States in January 1972. During a speech given at the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, she addressed the exuberant crowd about her platform that would aim to protect those who were politically marginalized. Chisholm wanted to give a voice to Black and Native American women, Veterans, those living in poverty, and the younger generation. Chisholm wanted social justice and equality. Chisholm gained support from hometown newspapers, her constituents, and the Black Panthers, but lacked support from the women's movement and Black men (Gallagher, 2007).

Chisholm began to realize that her fight to bind women's rights and Black liberation was working against her. During the 1972 Democratic Nation Convention, Chisholm was cheerfully greeted as the presidential candidate by the Women's caucus, but that did not mean she had their backing. A woman from Michigan admitted to "clapping out of guilt" because she knew Chisholm was not going to win. The NWPC, which Chisholm had help found, gave minimal support at best. White feminists were suspicious of the Black feminist's idea of independence. Many White feminists spoke out against Chisholm, including Rita LaPorte, a leading lesbian rights activist, who claimed that Chisholm was only interested in "Black votes" when she should have been interested in the "women's vote." LaPorte felt that Chisholm was not entitled to the nomination (Curwood, 2015, p. 223).

At the same time, Chisholm was an outsider in Black leadership groups. There was backlash because Chisholm did not dismiss the Black Panther's support. She was not invited to the National Black Political Convention in Gray Indiana where the National Black Agenda was to be established. Her campaign lacked experienced aides and management on a national scale. Gerald Robinson, Chisholm's campaign manager, quit after one month, citing that there was too

much chaos and not enough unity among organizers. Without a national campaign manager, Chisholm felt gender and racial resistance in each state she visited. On the feminist front, Chisholm felt that both White and Black women were fighting over who would claim possession of her and her candidacy. Her idea of a coalition among marginalized people began to fall apart. Resources were running thin and her strong, independent move to be reassigned to a new committee violated House protocol and may have demonstrated her political style leaving other legislators uneasy supporting her. Chisholm's progressive coalition campaign would have taken years to establish, and her hurried presidential campaign was the downfall of her ideology (Gallagher, 2007).

Chisholm lost her presidential bid, but that did not kill her fighting spirit. She returned to Congress winning back her seat in 1972 with almost 90% of the vote. Chisholm served the next ten years advancing the same agendas she had always fought for. She continued to advocate for Black women's visibility, the poor, welfare reform, childcare, job development, and minimum-wage coverage. She encouraged White middle-class women to include Black and Mexican women in the fight for equality (Gallagher, 2007). Chisholm retired in 1983 and continued to lecture until her death in 2005 (Curwood, 2015).

Shirley Chisholm was an independent, "unbossed" woman that believed in equality for all. She identified as a second-generation immigrant, as a woman, and as a Black citizen. Her political personality was shaped by her intersecting identities. These identities produced Chisholm's political platforms from personal experience of sexism, racism, and poverty in urban areas. Chisholm dreamed of a country that would bridge the gap between White and Black, male and female differences and rise as an equal, truly United States. Chisholm inspired many and her

spirit lives on in the women of diverse backgrounds that were elected to the House of Representatives this past midterm cycle in November 2018.



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**Analyzing the Disaster in “Reflections on Little Rock”**

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### Analyzing the Disaster in “Reflections on Little Rock”

Hannah Arendt was an important and prolific philosopher. While she was most known for her works on totalitarianism and the human condition, she wrote on a wide variety of topics. After *Brown v. Board of Education*, she wrote a critique of school integration entitled, “Reflections on Little Rock.”

Hannah Arendt’s “Reflections on Little Rock” is one of her least persuasive works. Instead of dismissing this piece as a mistake to be looked past, this paper explores precisely what went wrong and how.

In “The Crisis in Education,” Arendt reveals her belief that education needs to introduce and expose children to the world, but separate them from politics. This insistence that politics must be separated from education leads her to view government-mandated integration as an unjust intrusion of the political into schools. Having decided this, she both interprets and mistakes the facts of the situation to the extent that she is blinded to the purpose of integration: a better and equal education for American students.

Before writing “Reflections on Little Rock,” Arendt expresses both her view of education and her fear of political interference in “The Crisis in Education.” According to Arendt, education is a necessary and mutual connection between children and the world. The world needs children in order to maintain the possibility of the new. Without the new, we would never make progress through political action. In other words, children are necessary *not* just to replace those who die, but also to introduce new ideas with their minds that are not infected with the stagnant tradition of today’s world. At the same time, children need the world. Without the world, children would have no place to exist or act. Before a child can live and participate in the

world, they must be properly introduced to the world. Therefore, education has the seemingly contradictory dual role of introducing students to the world as it is today while, at the same time, equipping them with the knowledge and skill necessary to make the world different from how it is today.

Arendt goes on to explain how teachers can handle this potential difficulty. Her solution is to maximize children's direct exposure to the world, within reason. By presenting the world directly, students will naturally come to understand how it works and how it can be changed. Any filters between world and child will necessarily limit the quality of this understanding. However, children are not prepared for direct exposure to the world, so they need guidance when interacting with the world, even though this guidance will be limiting. The school and its teachers provide this guidance. Teachers are necessarily members of the world as it is today, and any prejudices or falsehoods they carry will negatively affect their ability to present the world. While we must accept this inherent conservatism in education, there are ways that teachers can minimize the negative impacts of their guidance. Arendt provides some examples. One is that teachers should be masters of their subject, as opposed to those who only know how to teach or deal with children in general. Of course, this is not to say that the latter is not important, but it is insufficient. Teachers who are masters of their material have the most thorough connection to the part of the world that they are teaching. Conversely, teachers with only a limited understanding of the world will then limit the ability of a student to interact with the world. A second example is to have students work as opposed to exclusively play. For members of the adult world, work is the primary activity, so having students practice this prepares them for mature life. A school that acts merely as a playground will coax children into a false understanding of how life works in

the world. These are just a couple of ways in which teachers can minimize the inherent conservatism of education.

Having developed this strong basic framework for quality education, Arendt identifies just one exception. She says that children must be separated from politics, even though politics are part of the world. According to her, the political world attempts to persuade or coerce those who are already educated into supporting a particular political stance. Because children are highly impressionable and not yet educated, exposing them to such an environment would be detrimental to their ability to develop as critical thinkers.

I argue that her fixation on the dangers of politics in “The Crisis in Education” is unnecessary and inappropriate. Her original theory, without exception, already condemns any activity that might injure critical thinking, a necessary skill for living and acting in the world. There are several potential dangers to critical thinking in the classroom: a lack of student diversity, poorly selected reading materials, overly restrictive or suggestive writing prompts, etc. Arendt’s exclusion of the political realm in its entirety implies that every aspect of the political realm is infectious to the young mind. This implication is quite mistaken. From the moment teachers ask students to live their daily lives amongst one another, obey certain rules, learn history, or to express their own opinions in any way, they are asking them to engage in the political realm. Giving students their own space to discuss political issues makes them more capable of thinking for themselves as opposed to simply inheriting the same political views as their parents. Such an inheritance is disastrous according to “The Crisis in Education.”

Additionally, if Arendt wants children to work as they will have to in the real world, why can they not also engage in political discourse as they will have to in the real world? Of course there is a type of political content that would be inappropriate for children such as the kind that would

entirely indoctrinate them, but this could be said about irresponsibility in the handling of any subject, not just politics.

Having argued that Arendt's belief in separating politics from education is erroneous, we will now examine how this separation has led to the downfall of her reasoning in her "Reflections on Little Rock." In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board* that public schools cannot discriminate on the basis of race because it creates an inherently unequal education, thus violating the Equal Protections Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Many schools such as Little Rock Central High school ignored or resisted this ruling. In some of these cases, the federal government intervened by physically forcing traditionally white schools to accept black students. Arendt's concern for this forced integration is the starting point of her "Reflections on Little Rock."

The federal government enforcing a Supreme Court decision against the state is as political as any event could ever hope to be. Arendt observes this utterly political event as crossing the line into schools. She *does not* ask herself how this integration was affecting the schools' ability to properly introduce children to the world. Instead she assumes that her conclusion that politics does not belong in education is accurate. Her faith in this conclusion leaves her with only one possible analysis of legally forced integration: it must be inappropriate. The fact that Arendt's opinion of integration is determined *before* the examination of any more details of the situation is of utmost importance. Because she is beginning her analysis with a predisposition to oppose integration, her interpretation and perception of the remaining details *must* fit within her pre-established conclusion. This leads to disaster.

In "Reflections on Little Rock," Arendt elaborates on the difference between education and politics by placing education in a different realm than the political. She argues that school

belongs in the social realm, which is not only different from, but in many ways quite opposite to, the political realm. The social realm has to do with the way people choose to organize themselves into social groups. Social groups are formed based on shared ideas or prejudices, and within the group, members do not have to defend these shared prejudices. For example, a social group that enjoys tennis will probably socialize under the assumption that tennis is fun and interesting, whereas in the outside world, tennis fans might have to defend their preference against criticism. Arendt notes that the essence of social organization is discriminatory. The social group of tennis fans might discriminate against people who think tennis is boring, not because anyone who does not like tennis is a bad person, but because it would make no sense to include them in their social group that is based on enjoying tennis. Arendt claims that people have a fundamental right to freely associate within the social realm. Arendt's logic up to this point in her articulation of the social realm is fairly sound, but she then uses this framework to draw a faulty conclusion. She concludes that *any* government action that forces people together or apart is inappropriate. This assumes that such an action would never be required in order to protect another fundamental right. All human rights, including speech and expression, require certain exceptions and regulations. Later in the paper, I will show how Arendt's insensitivity to this need contributes to her failure to identify the purpose of school integration.

The political realm is incompatible with the social realm because their operations are entirely opposite. The political world relies on the assumption of equality between people; discrimination is not acceptable. In the United States, every person supposedly has an equal say in government in the form of one vote. Instead of protecting prejudices by separating into small social groups, people must come together and tear down each other's ideas through debate. As opposed to the social realm, government must protect and encourage this political process.

Based on the definitions of the two realms and the assumption that the realms are incompatible, it remains unclear where school should belong. School clearly contains elements of both socializing and politics. Arendt's explanation of why school belongs squarely within the social realm is where "Reflections on Little Rock" begins spiraling into logical and factual absurdity. Although this takes place at the end of her paper, I analyze it first because it helps to explain problems that appear earlier in the paper.

In her description of the political realm, she states, "equality not only has its origin in the body politic; its validity is clearly restricted to the political realm" (204). After defining the realms, Arendt gives examples of what types of activities do and do not demand equality. In this section, where the reader would expect examples of political activities that demand equality, Arendt introduces an entirely new realm called "the public domain." She says that necessary services such as restaurants, hotels (take note of the hotels), and busses must serve people equally and then states, "Though not strictly in the political realm, such services are clearly in the public domain where all men are equal" (207). This is inconsistent in multiple ways. First she said equality is restricted to the political realm, and now she is saying that equality also belongs in the public domain. Also, she completely neglects the original assignment she had given herself, which was to clarify equality in politics with an example. If equality is *not* limited to the political, what exactly are its limits, if any? Might it creep into the social?

Her example of appropriate social discrimination is similarly confusing. She says that it is reasonable to discriminate at vacation resorts for the reason that "there cannot be a 'right to go into any hotel or recreation area or place of amusement' because many of these are in the realm of the purely social where the right to free association, and therefore to discrimination, has greater validity than the principle of equality" (206-207). She includes hotels as an example of an



establishment in which discrimination is acceptable one paragraph away from where she states that hotels are a necessary service in the public domain, in which discrimination is unacceptable. This is a blatant contradiction. Also, are vacation resorts not necessary for people who are going on vacation? Additionally, these examples in general have not aided her mission of placing school in the social realm. By her own theory, education is a service that is *necessary* for children to be introduced to the world. Is she arguing that *compulsory* public schooling consists of children coming together to hang out just as people hang out at an amusement park? This is the implication of her argument.

If public school had to be categorized as either social or political, which it probably does not, it would have to be seen as political. While there was a time in which most education was done within the private realm at home in the United States, education at school has been compulsory by law since before 1900, and every single state had a compulsory school law by 1918 (Goldin). A large part of the push to make schooling compulsory had to do with the need to provide industrial businesses an adequate staff. A second, acknowledged by Arendt, was the supposed need to nationalize the immigrant population. Both of these goals came from government and were expressed through the political process of law. Students did not attend school as a social choice according to their various prejudices. Nor did parents send their children to school out of a social need to interact with local families. Although school may have a social element, the facts of our history indicate that it is more of a political beast.

Having established her theoretical, philosophical framework of education in the social realm, the next step is to paint a picture of the integration that presents the enforcers of integration, participating black families and the federal government, as violently disrupting the lives of the victims, the local community and its children. In her actual paper, she paints this

picture *before* explaining the theoretical framework, but her logic makes more sense analyzed in reverse. Arendt's understanding of the facts of the whole situation, at least as she presents them in "Reflections on Little Rock," is entirely mistaken and confused. However, these mistakes are not random; they help to paint the picture that Arendt needs to support her thesis. Again, this thesis, that school integration forces the political into the social, was determined before her analysis of the facts.

Let us begin with Arendt's understanding of the government's role in the whole situation. As we see in her explanation of the social realm, Arendt believes in freedom of association, so any government action that forces people together or apart is unjust. Yet, by law, children are *forced* to go to school and before *Brown v. Board*, had to abide by the racist separation between white and black schools. The point is that before *Brown v. Board*, the government was both forcing people together at school and forcing them apart by race; by her own logic, Arendt should have a problem with this. Instead, she understands the enforcement of *Brown v. Board* as a new force pushing people together when, in reality, all that has changed are the rules regarding which public schools students may attend.

The next confused piece of her analysis has to do with what political process brought about integration. Arendt says that the enemy responsible for integration is the federal government and that it is intruding on states rights. The Constitution sets up a system of dual federalism in which both the federal government and the states have a certain degree of legislative sovereignty, and this federal government intrusion demonstrates a threat to this system. She argues that the federal government's financial support of schools does not make them federal structures. This seems to imply that public schools are, rather, structures of state and local government. If so, how does she maintain that schools are not political? More to the

point, Arendt seems not to understand that federalism is not the primary issue in *Brown v. Board* and that nobody is implying that schools are federal structures. The *Brown v. Board* decision used the Equal Protections Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which is a *state* restriction. In other words, everyone involved in the integration case agreed that the schools are structures of the state. The question was whether or not state law was violating the Constitution that Arendt claims to be in favor of. After years went by without state cooperation with the ruling, the executive branch of the federal government physically enforced the Supreme Court's constitutional interpretation. Would Arendt actually prefer for our Supreme Court constitutional interpretations to be ignored? I doubt it. It is more likely that she does not thoroughly understand the situation.

Arendt could have ended her discussion of equality when she stated that schools are social and that equality is not an expectation in the social realm. Instead she includes a lengthy discussion of why educational equality was not the goal of *Brown v. Board* integration. Before proceeding, note that such a discussion is inconsistent with her view that there is no place for equality in the social realm. Why does she go to such great lengths to argue that forced integration is not how we should achieve educational equality when educational equality is not even a goal she agrees with? I do not know.

Arendt's argument that equality is not the issue also relies on multiple falsehoods. Arendt asks from the perspective of a southern black mother, "If it were only a matter of equally good education for my children, why was I not asked to fight for an improvement of schools for Negro children?" (194). This question implies two assumptions: there was no effort to improve black schools, and that such an effort might achieve equality without integration. Both assumptions can be refuted. In her book, *Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question*, Kathryn Gines points out

several of Arendt's factual errors in "Reflections on Little Rock." With regards to the supposed lack of effort to better fund black schools, Gines highlights a quote from Michael Klarman, a Harvard historian who specializes in the constitutional history of race. He says, "Although many southern blacks supported integration in principle, they generally pursued equal funding of segregated schools instead, capitulating to staunch white resistance" (Gines 31). For example, in 1951, civics students at Adkin High School in North Carolina noticed the stark superiority of the town's white school and asked the school board for additional funding. In response to the board's refusal, the students organized a weeklong walkout and strike. A year and a half later, Adkin High School was renovated and got a new gymnasium (Library of Congress). Whether Arendt is aware of it or not, there was clearly a fight for increased funding to black schools.

Arendt also implies that additional funding might be an adequate remedy to achieve equality without desegregation. However the Supreme Court and several others find that separate schooling for black students is inherently unequal. In Thurgood Marshall's case brief in *Brown v. Board*, he states, "Even assuming that the segregated schools attended by appellants are not inferior to other elementary schools in Topeka with respect to physical facilities, instruction and courses of study, unconstitutional inequality inheres in the retardation of intellectual development and distortion of personality which Negro children suffer as a result of enforced isolation in school from the general public school population" (Tushnet 20). Marshall brings up the important point that keeping black children in exclusively black schools does not merely divide children into two groups—rather, it places black children into the category of "other." Being separate from the general school population is not only insulting, but it denies the "other" group the ability to fully engage with the world. This Arendtian requirement of education could not be met even with equal funding for black schools.

At this point in “Reflections on Little Rock,” Arendt is attempting to show that enforcing the equal protections guaranteed by the Equal Protections Clause has nothing to do with equality. Having eliminated the entire purpose of integration, she needs to fill the void she has created. Given that her goal is to conclude that forced integration is wrong, she needs to pick a cause that is significantly less important than something like educational opportunity, and she needs to show that this new cause is not worth the disruption that Arendt perceives. Additionally, it benefits her to show that those in support of integration are ignorant of proper priorities. So she proceeds in this strategic way without thoroughly searching for the actual truth of the situation.

Arendt points to black “social climbing” as the motivation for integration. The victims of this uncalled for governmentally backed climbing were the children. And the offenders were the black parents who sent their children to white schools without any assistance from the NAACP. In order to evaluate the historical and factual quality of this story, let us examine the evidence. In order to identify the purpose of integration as social climbing, Arendt does not bother to consider what southern integration supporters have said or written. Why bother, when you can simply put yourself directly in the position of a southern black parent? Arendt says, “Instead of being called upon to fight a clear-cut battle for my indisputable rights, I would feel I had become involved in an affair of social climbing; and if I chose this way of bettering myself, I certainly would prefer to do it by myself, unaided by any government agencies” (194). Case closed. Next, how does Arendt show that the children went through a great deal of suffering? She takes a look at a picture of “Negro girl” and notes that “she was not precisely happy” (193). Not only is this picture the entirety of Arendt’s evidence that the children were suffering, she claims that the picture is the “point of departure for [her] reflections” (194). One of the main arguments in this paper is that the picture is not at all her point of departure, but it is nonetheless noteworthy that

she is happy to admit that the basis of her essay is such an outrageously unsatisfactory grounding for *any* claim. Thirdly, Arendt argues that the black parents and the NAACP did not properly appreciate this great suffering because they were nowhere to be found when “Negro girl” was making her way home from school. Instead only a white friend of her father was there to protect her.

Even if this account of the situation were based on mostly correct information, it would be, at best, a single anecdote, unable to independently support any sort of grand conclusions about the integration situation. To be clear, I am not saying that Arendt is wrong for claiming that integrated children suffered as victims of the white mobs, but her defense of the claim, as is true with many of her claims, is inadequate. To top it all off, her account *is* saturated with factual mistakes. Gines highlights all of these mistakes in *Hannah Arendt and the Negro Question*: The picture that is Arendt’s point of departure is a scene from Harding High School in North Carolina, not Little Rock, Arkansas. The “negro girl,” Dorothy Counts, was walking *to* school and not *from* school. The “white” guardian of Dorothy was a black man. Dorothy’s father and NAACP members were present at the scene (17). With regards to the specific feelings of Dorothy Counts, she felt a calm sense of pity (19). All of these directly contradict Arendt’s story.

This factual analysis of Arendt’s story is placed in the beginning of “Reflections on Little Rock.” However, my analysis of this part of the essay is towards the end of my paper because these factual manipulations actually result from philosophical decisions she made later in the essay. She perceived or skewed the facts of the situation in favor of her predetermined view of integration. This factual process can be explained, ironically, by Arendt’s “Truth and Politics.” In the essay, Arendt draws a distinction between factual and rational truth. Rational truth can be established and discovered without relying on certain research. For example, that two and two

make four would not be lost if we were to burn all mathematics books. Factual truth, on the other hand, is defined by its hypothetical potential to be otherwise. For example, it is hypothetically possible that no human ever went to the moon. If, by some apocalypse, all the evidence of our moon landing was destroyed, the argument that no moon landing ever took place could actually gain significant credibility. This dependence on rigorous evidentiary findings makes facts incredibly vulnerable to manipulation. Especially in the persuasion-based political world, the dishonest have a great advantage in that they can manipulate factual knowledge into whatever shape will be most convincing to the audience. In the case of Arendt's presentation of fact in "Reflections on Little Rock," the audience to be persuaded is herself. Arendt needs facts that line up with her view that integration is an unjust intrusion of the political into the social, and she uses the fragility of facts to accomplish this goal. "Truth and Politics" also explains that facts have a certain resiliency in that they have the potential to be conclusively connected to the objective aspects of reality. When authors such as Gines and myself call out Arendt for her factual manipulation, we are attempting to participate in this process.

Combing through "Reflections on Little Rock" in search of every mistake may seem pointlessly tedious. This process revealed way more than enough issues with Arendt's argument to conclude that it does not hold up. However, in doing so we can make certain observations that might be applicable when understanding Arendt's other ideas. The problems with Arendt's reasoning in this analysis can be placed into two categories. The first kind has to do with conflating difference and incompatibility. She first does this in "The Crisis in Education" when she insists that politics must be separated from education due to their inherent differences. She does it again in "Reflections on Little Rock" when she points out the differences between the political and the social realm and then concludes that school can only be one or the other. This

kind of mistake was devastating when coupled with the second kind of mistake, failing to reexamine previous conclusions. Her conviction that education should be free of politics left Arendt no choice but to argue against integration, and this trap forced her to make faulty arguments using false information.

Hannah Arendt has several excellent and important contributions to philosophy, political theory, and more. In reading and interpreting her other arguments, we should be sensitive to the possibility that some of these mistakes might be present in her other works. Reading with such sensitivity can help us to not only better understand Arendt, but to enrich our own understanding of the world. For example, Arendt's descriptions of education, the social realm, and the political realm are actually quite persuasive. By understanding that Arendt errs in drawing firm lines between them, we can incorporate the better ideas of Arendt into our own understanding without bringing the entirety of Arendt's view with them.



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**“Regression Using Urbanization via Natural & Residual Increase to Predict Economic  
Growth”**

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## Introduction

What is the relationship between urban natural growth, migration to urban areas, and economic growth? Urbanization is a constant force throughout the world and has only increased in recent times. There is a high level of urbanization in the developed world, but the relationship between urbanization and growth remains enigmatic. Moreover, this question is essential to understanding the effects of the global trend of urbanization and its economic effects. Most of the existing work on urbanization has treated it as a single phenomenon, but residence in urban areas can happen both by migration and by birth. Therefore, this research builds a novel dataset to capture natural and residual urban increase and quantitatively test the relationship with economic growth.

Urbanization is theorized to create economic growth because of its agglomeration effects on the economy. States with high development almost unfailingly have high urbanization, and vice versa. However, the link has only ever been shown to be static. That is, there is a link between urbanization and GDP, for instance, but no observed link between urbanization rates and GDP-growth rates.

Authors such as Bloom, Canning, and Fink(2008), Rossi-Hansberg and Wright (2007), Koo (2005) and Puga (1998) have identified frameworks wherein urbanization should produce positive agglomeration effects on an economy. Beaudry and Schiffauerova (2009) identify a split debate on whether the economic benefit of urbanization comes from specialization via Marshallian models or clustering in general, Jacobsian theory: both of these would be examples of agglomeration. However, as Chen, et al (2014) identify, while being urbanized and being developed correlate at the state level, the rates of urbanization and development appear to have

no relationship. If the developed world is highly urban, why is there not an established connection in the literature between rates of urbanization and rates of growth?

On the individual level, urbanization implies a citizen moving to an urban area, usually characterized as a person seeking a job opportunity in a market (Rogers and Williamson 1982, Young 2013). Recently, some (Jedwab, Christiaensen, and Gindelsky 2014, Dyson 2011 and Farrell 2017) have noted that there is another major mode of urbanization: natural increase.

Urbanization levels are simply measured as the percentage of citizens of a state who live in urban areas. Since births can happen more often or more successfully and people can live longer in the urban areas of some modern states, more births and fewer deaths can happen in cities, comprising urbanization by natural increase. As Jedwab and Vollrath (2015) have noted, this mode of urbanization has become common in the post-WWII era, in contrast to urbanization of the past. Importantly, this mode of urbanization implies no benefit by agglomeration, as babies are being born and senior citizens are living longer: beneficial, but not agglomeration-inducing. However, measures of urbanization capture natural increase as well as migration, potentially obfuscating the relationship between urbanization by opportunity-seeking migration and economic development. While this feature has been pointed out by recent work, there has been little in the way of quantitative work on urbanization in multiple modes. Therefore, this project has built a novel dataset including natural and residual urban growth and will use regression to test the relationship between urbanization and GDP growth.

### **Literature Review**

According to popular theory, urbanization should lead to economic growth via agglomeration. However, this has not always borne out in empirical study and analysis. Recent advances have

been made in the operationalization of this theory and definition of concepts that, though incomplete in quantitatively testing, could help to fill in this gap in our understanding of the relationship between urbanization and economic development.

### *Urbanization and Agglomeration*

The understanding of urbanization's link with economic development is important because of its implications for agglomeration economics. When viewed as pure migration, urbanization is popularly seen as a product of the Harris-Todaro push-and-pull framework, which characterizes migration as responsive to urban and rural expected incomes. (Harris Todaro 1970, Christiaensen, Gindelsky, and Jedwab 2013). As urban income goes up and rural income goes down, migration is expected to happen. Authors such as Rogers and Williamson (1982) and Young (2013) have characterized it as such. At the macro level, this is connected to urban agglomeration, the popular economic idea of spatial areas thriving economically due to concentration which produces things like trade and knowledge spillover (Krugman 2009), ultimately creating an economic space which is greater than the sum of its parts. In terms of urbanization and growth, urbanization can similarly be seen to support growth due to the agglomeration possibilities it presents. For instance, Puga (1998) describes a model wherein the interaction between transport costs, increasing returns to scale, and labor migration across sectors and regions creates a tendency for urban agglomeration. Technology/knowledge spillovers and agglomeration are endogenous to each other, as noted by Koo (2005), which implicitly states a positive relationship between agglomeration and growth. A step further, Henderson (2003) posits that there is a best degree of urban concentration for productivity growth, with deviations up or down being costly. Li, et al made a similar contribution in 2017, finding an optimal city scale in China for both economic benefit and CO2 reduction. In 2007, Rossi-Hansberg and Wright

produced a model of cities arising endogenously out of a trade-off between agglomeration forces and congestion costs. Hanson and Prescott (2002) characterize urban agglomeration similarly, putting forth that there is a “Solow Curve” to the method of production without land use in terms of profitability. In other words, as technology improves and people agglomerate, production that is not land-intensive (the work which happens in cities) becomes more economically attractive compared to land-intensive work such as agricultural production. Beaudry and Schiffauerova (2009) note two possible mechanisms for urban agglomeration’s link to growth, which the profitability of urbanization could be coming from Marshallian effects, specialization via closeness of firms in the same industries, or Jacobsian effects, clustering in general. Whereas, in 2004, Bertinelli and Black noted that we may not be capturing Marshallian effects by urbanization at all, but simply the transition from agricultural to manufacturing economies. Glaeser, however, pointed out in 2013 that, in open economies, agricultural prosperity correlates negatively with urbanization. Bloom, Canning, and Fink (2008) note that there may be agglomeration effects to urbanization, but there will be Malthusian effects such as congestion and poor public health as well.

#### *Empirical Measurement and Historical Patterns*

What, then, does the data say? First, as noted by Jedwab and Vollrath (2015), urbanization has been a constant force at the state level going back to the 1500’s. Whereas it used to happen in the most developed states, since 1950 it has mostly been happening in the developing world. Levels today are around ~55% of the world’s population living in urban areas, according to World Bank data (2009). Jedwab and Vollrath additionally note that world urbanization is ~25-30% higher in 2010 than 1500, though income and urbanization level have remained correlated. Urbanization has picked up speed as well, as additionally noted by Chen, et al (2015). To this point, Clark

(1998) has posited that urbanization has happened in the developing world with the transition of service and manufacturing jobs from richer countries.

#### *Relationship between Urbanization and Growth*

However, while high-GDP tends to mean high-urbanization, the relationship between urbanization rates and GDP growth rates is murky at best. Turok and McGranahan (2013) found that there was no simple relationship between urbanization and economic growth. Chen, et al (2014), Bloom, Canning, and Fink (2008), and Duranton (2008) found no significant relationship between the rates of GDP growth and urbanization increase. Kolomak (2012), however, did find a positive relationship between urbanization and regional productivity in Russia, while Zhang (2002) found that lower costs of moving lead to higher urbanization, human capital investment, and economic growth. Further obfuscating the issue is the contribution of Polèse (2005), who notes that it is difficult to distinguish factors that allow cities to produce GDP from factors that simply allow cities to capture more GDP. That is, even if we observe more production in cities, a causal link cannot be taken for granted.

#### *Relationship between Primacy and Growth*

Urban primacy (the proportion of size of the largest city in a state to the rest of the population) seems to have a similar relationship with growth. Bertinelli and Strobl (2007) note that, while developing nations are catching up in terms of urbanization levels, they are not converging in the same way in terms of growth. Castells-Quintana (2017) found that urban primacy and economic development are positively correlated, when quality infrastructure exists. Henderson (2000), however, posited an optimal degree of primacy for growth.

### *Sub-Saharan Africa*

While the relationship between urbanization rates and growth rates may be enigmatic, it is true that most of the highly-urbanized world is developed. However, this is not the case in Sub-Saharan Africa, as famously pointed out by Fay and Opal(2000), where urbanization happened without growth. There are numerous attempts to explain this phenomenon. Bloom, Sachs, Collier, and Udry (1998) put forth that Africa's slow growth is a product of factors exogenous to urbanization and economy, such as tropical geography, demography, and public health. Brückner (2012) noted that the share of agricultural value in Africa was inversely related with urbanization. Fay and Opal themselves noted that urbanization has momentum, and can continue in certain cases after growth stops (2000). Fox (2012) posited that urbanization is not necessarily an economic process, but rather is responsive to a region's ability to control resources and infectious disease. Gollin, Jedwab and Vollrath (2016) noted that, when states are reliant on resource exports, urbanization is concentrated in consumption cities, rather than manufacturing cities. Jedwab (2011), to that point, built a new structural transformation model in Africa in which the Engel curve implies that resource windfalls are disproportionately spent on urban goods and services. This drives urbanization through the rise of consumption cities. Finally, Christiaensen, Gindelsky, and Jedwab (2013) stated that the urbanization in Africa was demographic in nature, and not economic. In other words, more births and fewer deaths were occurring in cities, leading to urbanization by natural increase rather than migration.

### *New Developments and Issues in the Literature*

Recently, some scholars have noted this natural increase and the confounding effect it may have on urbanization, as urbanization is usually shorthand for migration to urban areas. In 2014,



Jedwab, Christiaensen, and Gindelsky noted an “urban push” that comprises natural increase due to higher birth rates and lower death rates in cities. These “mushroom cities” are different from the “killer cities” of the industrial revolution. Dyson (2011) notes that this transition (towards natural increase) is more important to understanding urbanization. Similarly, Bandyopadhyay and Green (2018) points out that urbanization can happen via mortality decline. Farrell (2017) further notes the existence of an “Urban Triad” including natural increase, migration, and reclassification of areas from urban to rural designations.

Though urbanization should theoretically lead to economic growth through agglomeration forces, this has not always been the case, most notably in Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the relationship between rates of urban increase and rates of growth has not been clearly defined. Recently, some authors have rightly pointed out that urbanization happens through wholly distinct mechanisms: natural increase, migration, and reclassification. Finally, as this is a recent adaption to a relatively new phenomenon, there is very little quantitative work on the relationship between urbanization as distinct modes and economic development. Therefore, the focus of this research is to test the relationship between both natural and residual urban growth and GDP.

### **Hypotheses**

If economic growth is a function of urban agglomeration via Jacobsian Clustering or Marshallian specialization, then it should be positively associated with migration, but no relationship with natural increase is expected. Conversely, if urbanization is a function of economic growth via Harris-Todaro reaction to market inequalities in expected wage, we would still similarly expect a relationship with migration, but not necessarily natural growth. Therefore, I hypothesize that

residual urban increase will have a positive, significant correlation with GDP increase. I do not predict any significant relationship between urban natural increase and GDP increase.

### **Research design**

In order to test the relationship between natural and residual urbanization and economic growth, I created a novel dataset containing percentage of urbanization via natural increase, percentage of urbanization via residual increase (logically comprising both migration and reclassification), percentage gdp increase in the same year, and controls. All variables were taken at the state level. The urban natural increase variable was taken from total urban births and urban deaths as reported by the United Nations Statistics Division, and transformed into a percentage increase using total population and total urban increase data from the World Bank's World Data Indicators dataset.

(Percentage Urban Natural Increase) =

$$\frac{(\text{Total Urban Increase}) - (\text{Urban Births} - \text{Urban Deaths})}{(\text{Total Population})}$$

Therefore, natural increase is taken from direct sources and residual increase is taken by simple algebra. Residual increase is used here to represent migration because, though not completely precise, it can feasibly be used. Reclassification, the process wherein migration or natural increase do not necessarily occur, but a municipal area is reclassified from rural to urban, is assumed not to significantly alter results, since it is not available as data.

Total urbanization and urbanization in both modes was taken from by UNData's "Urban Births by Residence," "Urban Deaths by Residence," and "Urban Births by Sex and Residence," for the latest year in which births and deaths were available in the same year, and transformed with data

from the World Data Indicators dataset. All controls were taken from the World Data Indicators dataset as well. All UNData figures are “collected, compiled, and disseminated” by the United Nations Statistics Division and freely available online, and data from the World Data Indicators dataset are “compiled from officially recognized international sources” by the World Bank and freely available online.

In order to maximize availability, all cases were not taken for a single year, but taken individually for the latest available year in which they were collected (see fig. X). World Data Indicators controls were then matched to cases by year. Therefore, every observation in a case is taken from the same year, but all cases are not taken in the same year.

fig 1

### Distribution of Cases by Year

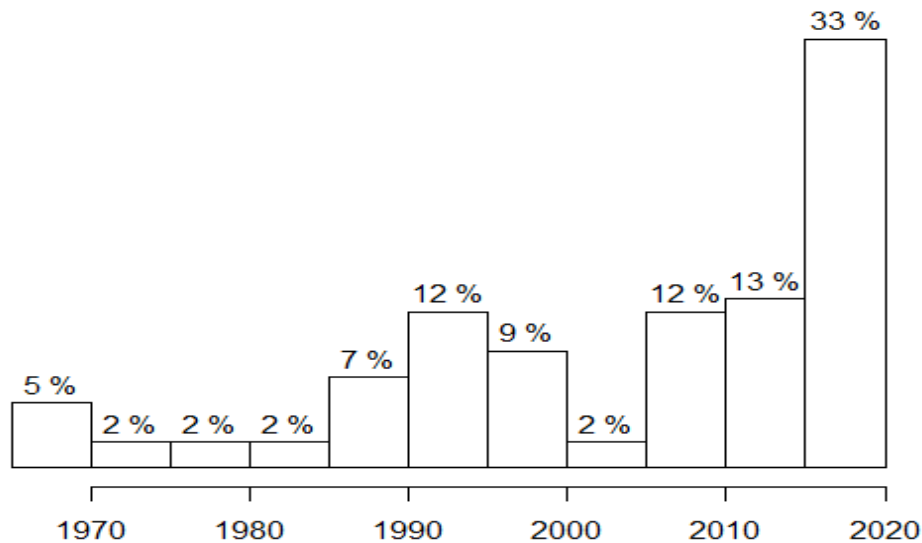


fig 2

For analysis, I used simple regression to estimate the correlation between urban increase as a percentage of total population and percentage GDP increase. I used three models. First, I regressed total percent urbanization against percentage GDP growth. Second, I regressed percent natural urban increase and percent residual urban increase against percentage GDP growth. Third, I regressed natural and residual urban percent increase on percent GDP growth, with controls. First, percentage of adult working adults female was included in order to control for gender parity and fraction of adult workforce who participate in the workforce. Percentage of GDP exports, manufacturing, and agricultural (not mutually exclusive) were included to control for economic transition as a predictor of economic growth. Foreign direct investment as a percentage of GDP was included to control for GDP inflow from other countries. Finally, a

binary variable for location in Sub-Saharan Africa was included to control for Africa's exceptional urbanization-growth relationship.

## **Results**

fig 3

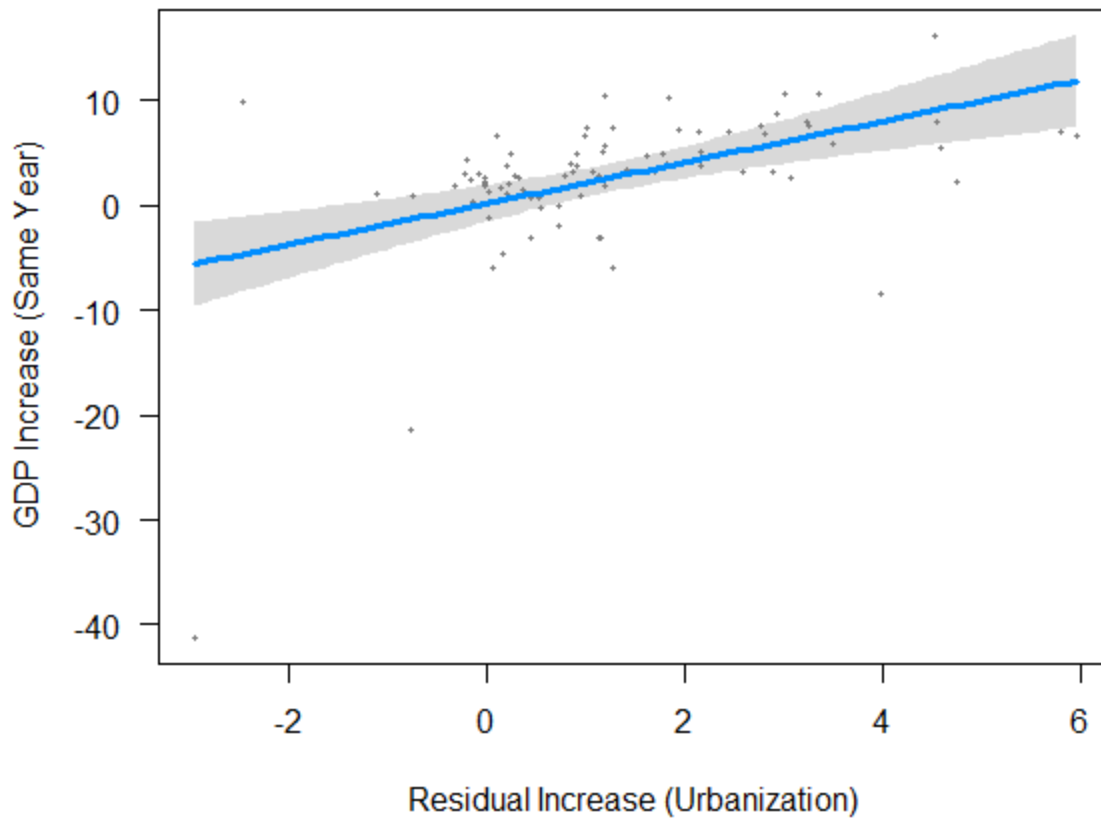


fig 4

Percent increase had a positive, significant relationship with GDP percent increase in this data. In the second model, residual increase was significant and positive on GDP percent increase, while the null hypothesis was accepted for natural increase. Model 2 showed a larger adjusted  $r^2$ , at .20 to .12. This relationship was robust to controls, as residual increase remained significant in model 3, as well as a significant relationship between GDP percent increase and both manufacturing and agriculture as a percent of GDP. Model 3 dropped ~20 of 80 cases due to missing values in the World Data Indicators dataset for controls.

While the significant relationship between urban percent increase and GDP percent increase is a bit surprising, it does not refute the original hypotheses. As expected, residual increase was found to positively associate with GDP percent increase, robust to controls, as well as having greater explanatory power than total urban increase. Natural increase appears not to have any relationship in this data. This seems to confirm existing ideas about urbanization economics, that higher wages in urban agglomerations attract individuals, who in turn increase productivity through clustering, decreased spatial drags, and exchange. Conversely, natural urban increase is a product of lower death rates and/or higher birth rates in cities, which implies a positive occurrence exogenous to markets. More children are born, and people live longer into retirement age. Insofar as children and elderly do not contribute to agglomeration, residual increase would positively correlate with GDP increase and natural increase would not have a relationship. If higher wages due to productivity increase in urban agglomerations indeed leads to migration via urban pull, we would again expect residual increase to positively associate with GDP increase, and we would not expect natural increase to have a relationship, since it appears exogenous to GDP and productivity. While this data is indeed limited, we find support for push-and-pull theories of migration, urban agglomeration theories, and a compelling case for further quantitative application of recent ideas about “urban push.”

### **Data Limitations**

First, while these explanatory variables are found to be significant in this data set, the cases are relatively limited at 82. This is a novel dataset, compiled in similar fashion to an ancillary piece in Jedwab and Vollrath (2015) and larger by ~50 cases. Further collection will require retrieval

of data which may exist in private sources such as national census bureau databases or must be gathered manually. Fortunately, as the majority of these sources have been reported in the last 15 years, reporting of urban birth and death rates appears to be getting more commonplace.

Due to the limited number of points available, all cases were not able to be gathered on the same year. However, the majority of cases were taken post-2005, and all cases were taken post-1950, when the developed world - developing world urbanization transition took place according to Jedwab and Vollrath (2015). More data points would therefore also be valuable in future quantitative studies, in order to compare cross-sectionally on the same year or longitudinally on the same geographical areas.

GDP percent increase was taken for the same year as the urbanization data and used as the dependent variable. This decision was made for multiple reasons: first, data from the next year would have dropped cases, since some of the urban increase data was quite recent and GDP increase data was not available for the next year. Second, the causal relationship between migration to urban centers and economic development was not known, so data was used on the same year. Third, percent GDP increase was used in order to control for population sizes. The log was not taken, since percent GDP increase already normalizes results by dividing GDP growth by total GDP of a given state.



## Conclusions

Residual urban increase appears to have a positive correlation with economic growth, natural increase appears to have no relationship, and the explanatory power of urbanization is greater when treated as distinct modes. Finally, size of agricultural and manufacturing sectors appear to have an effect as well, implying that the size of the service sector would likely have an effect as well. This is congruent with popular theory on agglomeration and migration, as well as research that has suggested that urbanization behaves differently in consumption and production cities.

For policy, this result suggests that urban concentration is a positive factor for growth, and wage-seeking migration to urban centers should be encouraged. It provides an important caution as well: urban concentration is not likely to encourage growth when it is primarily composed of natural increase. That having been stated, whether or not natural increase is a positive phenomenon is beyond the scope of this article. In data gathering, urban deaths would be a useful statistic for research, rather than urban birth rates alone.

For future research, more data points on natural urban increase should be a first priority.

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**Women's Political Consciousness in the Revolutionary Era**

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The American Revolution and the turbulent years preceding the outbreak of war left little room for political passivity. In essence a civil war that impacted nearly every community and family in Great Britain's North American colonies, the political upheaval facilitated a wide range of involvement in support of the "Patriot" cause of the Americans throughout the population. The narrative of the Revolutionary War, however, has focused traditionally on the contributions of men—whether the "Founding Fathers," or the activities of the Sons of Liberty, statesmen, and soldiers. Largely absent from this narrative are the contributions of women to the American cause, who played vital and central roles as political protest against Britain's colonial policies turned to armed confrontation. While restricted by their gender in a colonial society that defined women's identities as being chiefly domestic, women expressed themselves politically during the Revolutionary War era in a multitude of ways both public and private, through shows of solidarity, home manufacturing, boycotting British goods, and in support of the Continental Army once hostilities began in 1775.

In the context of political expression during Revolutionary era, the collective term "women" refers essentially to the white, predominantly Protestant women of colonial society. Although there were class and geographic differences that had some bearing on the few forms of public participation that were considered acceptable—or at least tolerated—women as a whole were subordinated to men within society and the household. Expected to fulfill the role of wife and mother, there was a "universal domestic experience that differentiated their world from that of men." (Norton, 1980, p. 8) This domestic experience and a "gendered division of labor" meant that women largely performed household duties—processing food, sewing, spinning, working in the garden—often in addition to caring for children. This domestic role, reinforced by religious



doctrine and English common law, rendered women the social, economic, and legal dependent of their husbands. (Berkin, 2005, p. 10)

By extension, women were considered naturally incompatible of patriotic or political expression. As Linda Kerber (1980) argues, it was believed—by men, but also many women—that exclusion from the public sphere precluded women from creating a strong attachment to country that came from holding public office, and further that “women were incapable of making reasoned and unbiased political judgements.” (p. 35-36) This assumption, widely held within colonial society, was not without its critics as the highly politicized environment of the years leading up to the Revolution created a growing political awareness among women, embodied perhaps most famously by Abigail Adams. While not necessarily challenging their domestic role or identity, there was a shift in views on political participation by women who sought to assert their patriotism and support of the American cause. The universality of the political tensions rising within colonial communities and the nature of the measures adopted by American radicals in protesting British policy—boycotts and nonimportation agreements—provided women an opportunity to challenge societal limitations on political expression.

Opposition to Great Britain’s colonial policies in North America began in the decade following the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763. The debt incurred in earning British victory and the high cost of defending their colonial possessions led to Parliament instituting a number of taxes in the colonies aimed at raising revenue to ease their financial burden. Colonial activists united in opposition to Parliament beginning with the Stamp Act of 1765, which enacted a stamp tax on some government and commercial documents, as well as newspapers and dice. Alfred Young (1993), in his examination of the social profile of Boston women during this era, notes that women were present at most of the public displays of protest,

including the destruction of the stamp collector's office, parades on the day the Stamp Act went into effect, as well as public celebrations at the Act's repeal. Young notes that during this "first phase of resistance," American male activists encouraged women to attend in order to "demonstrate the solidarity of the community." (p. 194-195). It had become clear—and would become clearer still during the coming boycotts—that the participation of women would be essential to successfully countering Britain's policies. This was not, of course, due to a large-scale shift in societal views on women's domestic sphere, but the practical reality of the protests within towns and communities opened a door for women to begin having a political voice.

Future taxes enacted by Parliament—the Townshend Acts in 1767 and the Tea Act in 1773—were met with boycotts of British goods in the colonies, and women's participation and cooperation with the nonimportation agreements was necessary for success. Broadside, newspapers, and even patriotic poems began to appeal directly to women's involvement, encouraging them to avoid buying luxury items, as well as sugar, ready-made clothing, fabrics, and shoes. Linda Kerber (1980) notes that "the boycotts initiated the politicization of the household economy and marked the beginning of the use of a political language that explicitly included women." (p. 41) Newspapers were quick to use examples of women substituting imports with local coffee and tea. In New Hampshire, for example, a group of women were praised for having "Rye Coffee" for breakfast, and in Newport, Rhode Island, others replaced the "poisonous Bohea" with the "balsamic Hyperion." (Norton, 1980, p. 158) In 1767, the ladies of Boston met to pledge their support of the non-consumption movement, the first form of political expression undertaken exclusively by women during the Revolutionary era.

The Tea Act of 1773 was met with similar opposition when Parliament passed a law allowing the East India Company to sell their tea directly to the colonies, making it cheaper than

its competition; it was hoped this arrangement would save the financially struggling East India Company. There remained a tax on tea however, a holdover from the Townshend Acts that was left in place as a reminder to the colonies that Parliament retained the right to tax them. While the British government expected little opposition from the measure—even with the tax, tea would be cheaper—it was immediately rejected by the colonists as a plot by the East India Company to create a monopoly on the tea trade and by Parliament to lay the foundation for future taxation. As had occurred in response to the Townshend Acts, a tea boycott was enacted in protest, and women again were prominent in this new wave of resistance to British policy. (Berkin, 2005, p. 20)

Abstaining from drinking tea, though a simple act in practice, was an important indication of patriotic intent women quickly embraced as a form of showing their commitment to the American cause, and thus was a deeply political choice. Male leaders, recognizing that drinking tea resided in the domestic sphere and remembering the impact women had during the 1767 protests, openly encouraged female involvement in these efforts. In South Carolina, Minister William Tennent, III called for the women of the colony to give up tea for the good of the colonies; according to Tennent, once the British realized “that American patriotism extends even to the Fair Sex,” it would “discourage any future Attempts to enslave us.” Continued consumption of British tea, the minister contended, would “be paid for by the Blood of your Sons.” (Norton, 1980, p. 159) Women in the colonies, however, needed little encouragement from men like Tennent; they had recognized the importance of their political involvement and its implications for their role in society. Evidence of this is the formal statements made in support of the tea boycott, a far more public gesture than quiet adherence to the agreements.

On February 12, 1770, the *Boston Gazette and Country-Journal* printed a resolution by 300 “Mistresses of their respective families...of the highest rank and influence” to “wholly abstain” from tea until the Revenue Acts were repealed, joining the “respectable Body of Merchants and other Inhabitants of this Town.” In entering into the resolution, the women of Boston were making a political statement of their allegiance to the American cause, indicative of a new awareness of women’s evolving role in the public arena: “We think it our duty perfectly to concur with the true Friends of Liberty, in all Measures they have taken to save this abused Country from Ruin and Slavery...This agreement we cheerfully come into, as we believe the very distressed Situation of our Country requires it.” (p. 4) In the South women began “associating themselves generally with nonimportation policies, not confining their attention to the tea issue alone.” (Norton, 1980, p. 161) On October 25, 1774, fifty-one women in North Carolina associated to form the Edenton Ladies’ Patriotic Guild, signing an agreement to boycott all British goods in support of the nonimportation policies of the colony. This petition is a clear indication that a major shift had occurred in women’s political consciousness. Unthinkable a decade prior, the Edenton Ladies saw their formal acknowledgment as “a duty which we owe, not only to our near and dear relations and connections...but to ourselves.” (Kerber, 1980, p. 41) The public nature of the statements by the “Mistresses” in Boston and the Edenton Ladies indicate that American women recognized that they had as much of a civic duty to support the colonial cause as their husbands and men of the community. While these petitions and public statements remained uncommon, their sentiments were likely shared by the majority of women that chose to forego tea as a form of patriotism.

Running concurrent to the boycotts of British goods in the years preceding the Revolution was the campaign promoting homespun clothing as an alternative to British imports

and a way to champion American manufacture. Although the push for domestic manufacturing was not initially aimed directly at women, newspapers soon began to prominently feature stories of women gathering for “spinning bees” to make homespun clothing. As these gatherings grew to take on symbolic importance—much like the consumption of local coffees and teas—spinning bees became powerful patriotic statements and community events, thus taking on a new political dimension. Sewing and spinning, central activities in women’s domestic labor during the colonial era, “made the cooperation of women as household manufacturers indispensable.”

(Young, 1993, p. 196) In Boston, spinning bees were sponsored by radical leaders and differed by class. William Molineaux, a colleague of Samuel Adams, began a campaign among the working class to teach spinning to women and children, which served as both a practical effort to alleviate unemployment in addition to serving as a patriotic example. The *Massachusetts Gazette* of March 1, 1770, reported a gathering of “Patriot Ladies” at the home of John Gore in Boston, “principally owing to the indefatigable Pains of Mr. William Mollineux, and it will be said to his lasting honor, that the laudable Practice of Spinning is almost universally in vogue among the female Children of this Town.” The report linked the patriotic act of spinning with the tea boycott, evidence of the symbolic importance these gatherings held: “The Use of the Spinning-Wheel is now encouraged, and the pernicious practice of Tea drinking equally discountenanced, by all the Ladies of this Town, excepting those whose Husbands are *Tories* and Friends to the American Revenue Acts, and a few Ladies who are *Tories* themselves.” (p. 1)

For the upper-class, spinning bees began to take on a choreography that suited their use as propaganda by radical leaders and the press. Groups of women—typically numbering fifty and clothed in homespun—met at the home of a minister to make clothing for the day. Often a large portion of the community turned out to watch the event; at times there were competitions

between the women at their wheels to inspire their work. Only American foodstuffs were served at these gatherings, along with herbal tea, to complete the patriotic theme. At the end of the day, the clothing produced was donated to the minister as an act of charity. (Young, 2003, p. 197)

Spinning bees, particularly among high-class women, were not held for the purpose of putting the whole community in home-manufactured clothing; held only infrequently, they were “ideological showcases...intended to convince American women they could render essential contributions to the struggle against Britain.” (Norton, 1980, p. 168) These contributions, of course, were largely intended to be done within the home and thus within the domestic sphere. But the attention the press and community placed on spinning bees put a public spotlight on the contributions of women to the American cause, as newspapers began to refer to these patriotic young ladies as “Daughters of Liberty.” The campaign promoting homespun as a form of resistance to Britain had a profound impact on expanding the burgeoning political consciousness of American women.

Because the politicization of purchasing goods and the use and manufacture of homespun was interpreted as an extension of women’s domestic role, American editors and political leaders saw no danger in encouraging female participation. It also should be noted that calls for women to adhere to the commercial agreements prior to the Revolution were not invitations to the public sphere of civic duty. Indeed, forays by women into the public realm—like the petition of the Edenton Ladies—were met with derision by colonial men. This does not diminish, however, the importance these acts had on the transformation of women’s political consciousness, and it is clear that women were making choices of political expression that began to blend the public and private sphere. As the Revolution carried on into 1780, the American cause reached the lowest point in its efforts at independence, opening new avenues for voluntary aid from citizens looking

to fulfill their civic duty. In this spirit the Ladies Association of Philadelphia was established by some of the elite women in the city, one of the few formal women's organizations to be created during the war.

The Association was likely organized by Esther Reed, who though English born had taken to the American cause after her marriage to Joseph Reed, aide-de-camp to George Washington for much of the war. She was no stranger to the political arena, however, having frequented Parliamentary debates in London and offering political advice to those close to her, including her husband. She is also considered the author of an anonymous broadside titled "The Sentiments of an American Woman," in which Esther justified women moving into the public sphere of civic duty by forming associations to collect donations. Thus, Reed's forming of the Ladies Association of Philadelphia was "motivated not by her husband's political alignments but by her own civic consciousness." (Arendt, 2014, p. 167) Reed, along with approximately thirty-seven other wealthy women of Philadelphia, came together with the stated goal of collecting donations to alleviate the dire financial situation of the Continental Army.

The strategy adopted by the Association was to divide the city into eleven districts; ten for Philadelphia, with the addition of Germantown. A group was assigned to each district for the purpose of gathering donations from the women of the city. Departing from the prevalent tactic of male associations, which often required a large amount of money to buy bonds, the Ladies Association accepted all donations, regardless of the size. Importantly, the adopted method was to send members to the homes of donors to collect, ensuring that the work of the Association would be done in public, a step that took the idea of women's civic duty out of the home and was not universally praised. (Arendt, 2014) The drive was extremely successful, however; over 300,000 Continental dollars were collected from 1,400 donors. Reed initially hoped that the

funds would be distributed to the Continental soldiers as hard cash, but after a correspondence with General Washington—who feared the money would be spend on liquor—agreed to produce 2,000 shirts for the army. Esther Reed died in the fall of 1780, and the production was overseen by Sarah Franklin Bache, Benjamin Franklin’s daughter.

There is some debate among historians as to the precedent—if any—set by the Ladies Association of Philadelphia. Linda Kerber (1980) argues that “Many historians of women in the Revolution have admired the Philadelphia project excessively” because “they were not principals...to the extent that being a principal implies emergence from the women’s private domain.” (p. 103) However, as Emily Arendt (2014) demonstrates, the Association “offered a way for elite women to lay claim to a form of politics out of doors traditionally unavailable to them because of their class and gender.” (p. 171) The Association is a clear indicator that the political consciousness of women had undergone a transformation that encouraged their attempts at civic participation, although as Kerber notes, this stopped short of a radical change in women’s domestic role in society. A further indication of the important example set by the Association was its emulation by other women’s groups that formed in its wake across several states. Women in Trenton formed the New Jersey Association and collected funds across thirteen counties, raising 15,480 Continental dollars. The Maryland Ladies Committee was formed in that state, raising funds to make shirts for the army, while there appears to have been a similar effort in Virginia. While the efforts of these women were mostly viewed as acceptable domestic patriotism, their public nature also pushed the boundaries of traditional gender roles.

Participation in the nonimportation boycotts, the promotion of domestic manufacture as American propaganda, and the work of Esther Reed and the Ladies Association of Philadelphia are some of the more well-known examples of political involvement by women during the



Revolutionary era, partly because they allowed the greatest opportunity for participation. These activities were far from the only examples of the transformation of female political consciousness, however. Women on both sides—American and Loyalist—were ardent supporters of their respective causes, serving as nurses, spies, messengers, and in the case of Deborah Sampson, a Continental soldier. While the result of these activities did not signal a call for gender equality or a challenge to social views on femininity, the universal nature of the Revolutionary experience “broke down the barrier which seemed to insulate women from the realm of politics,” (Norton, 1980, p. 297) allowing women to gain a permanent presence in the public space.

While the development of this public role did mark a distinct shift in women’s political involvement, it remained restricted, and the republican ideals and egalitarian rhetoric of the Revolution were slow to extend to American women. With direct political involvement thus remaining largely out of reach, there developed a new understanding of women’s role in society that both reinforced the traditional gender ideology of domesticity while also accounting for the post-Revolutionary consciousness of female civic duty, a concept that historian Linda Kerber has termed “Republican Motherhood.” According to Kerber (1980), American women “devised their own interpretation of what the Revolution had meant to them...and they began to invent an ideology of citizenship that merged the private domain...with the new public ideology of individual responsibility and civic virtue.” (p. 269) This idea, seeking to reconcile the public space women had occupied during the Revolution with their exclusion from political service, manifested in the belief that a woman’s most important political role was as a wife and mother, raising sons to be virtuous citizens of the new Republic.

This evolution in women's political contributions to a society so clearly demarcated by gender was not a completely new idea, having roots in the Enlightenment philosophy of the eighteenth century. As Rosemarie Zagarri (1992) illustrated in her analysis of the European roots of Republican Motherhood, the concept "was actually part of a broad, long-term, transatlantic reformulation of the role and status of women," given particular attention by the "civil jurisprudence school of the Scottish Enlightenment." (p. 193) Many of these Scottish theorists regarded the family as the foundation of society, responsible for the initial socialization of its members and for passing on essential customs and morals necessary for its maintenance, thereby creating a link between the domestic and public spheres. In addition, the "four-stage theory" of history popular among Enlightenment thinkers—in which civilization progressed from one of hunter-gatherers to a commercial society—held further implications for women's social role, as in a commercial society women attained a kind of equality with men. As Zagarri (1992) points out, however, "this was a very peculiar definition of equality, a social equality that did not admit the possibility of women's political, legal, or occupational equality with men;" instead, women contributed to society by using their influence "to improve and refine the manners of men." (p. 200-201) It was upon this theoretical framework that the concept of Republican Motherhood was built in post-Revolutionary America, helping to explain the disparity between the revolutionary egalitarian ideology with the political reality of American women. The ideas articulated by the Scottish authors were taken to their logical next step in the new United States; women performed a political role through their influence on the family as wives and mothers, tasked with cultivating the civic virtues of their husbands and future generations. In many respects, this reinforced women's restriction from political action, while at the same time "it altered the female

domain in which most women had always lived out their lives; it justified women's absorption and participation in the civic culture." (Kerber, 1980, p. 284)

With women still only able to participate indirectly, the impact of the revolutionary era in terms of political equality might appear somewhat uncertain. Actions taken in support of the American cause during the war were extensions of the domestic sphere, and the Republican Motherhood of the early republic provided a philosophical justification for keeping women within traditional gender roles. Yet this period was critical for beginning the politicization process and the development of a female political consciousness that formed the foundation for the women's rights movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by shining a light on the "disparities between men's assertion of 'rights' and 'equality' with the dispossessed status of women in America." (Zagarri, 1992, p 210) By seizing a public space, revolutionary women gained a platform to advocate for political change that became increasingly direct, as women embraced a host reform initiatives, including the labor movement, prohibition, and the fight for suffrage and political equality.

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**An Investigation of the Isleño Spanish Dialect**

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Just under twenty miles from the center of New Orleans, along the river delta lies a group of Canary Islander descendants that trace their origins on the continent back to the eighteenth century. Despite this group's proximity to the historically bustling port, the *isleños* or 'islanders' have maintained much of their customs and habits: including the Spanish language. Due to their isolation, their language remains today as a remnant of an earlier Spanish dialect that would become the foundation for much Spanish established in the New World. Even so, what remains of the original hispanophone community in St. Bernard Parish is a weak murmur of what was present not long before the turn of the century. The community has since been dispersed in recent years, namely due to the twenty-five foot storm surge of Hurricane Katrina that leveled everything in its wake. The future of this dialect along with its stories, poems, *décimas*, idioms, and histories—effectively the culture as a whole—is at risk of vanishing without record.

As of this writing, some of the last academics to seriously document the language visited in the late eighties and early nineties: specifically John Lipski and Samuel Armistead. Since then, the *Isleños* have once again been left to languish in isolation and obscurity. At the time of Lipski's visit, he estimated about 500 Spanish speakers of various levels remained. Three decades on, there is much value to be found in documenting how this moribund language has shifted. At the present, there may be thirty individuals who are proficient in the language. As such, this investigation seeks to highlight findings from a series of interviews conducted with nine community members whose first language is *Isleño* Spanish and how these observations compare to works of the past decades.

In order to comprehend the language of the *Isleños*, one must understand their origins. The ancestors of the Louisiana *Isleños* emigrated from a cluster of islands off the coast of Morocco known as the Canary Islands. The original inhabitants of the islands were commonly

known as *guanches* and were likely related to the peoples of North Africa. In 1402, Castile began its conquest of the islands and would not complete its mission until the end of the century.

During this period of time, the archipelago became an important point of sea travel between the New and Old Worlds. Many stopped at the ports of Santa Cruz de Tenerife and Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, namely Christopher Columbus among other *conquistadores*. This period of relative prosperity eventually came to a close in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the collapse of the agrarian economy on the islands. It is also during this period that France ceded the territory of *la Louisiane* to the Spanish at a time when fears of British encroachment into Spanish lands were significant. To combat this, the Spanish settlements of San Bernardo, Valenzuela, Galveztown, and Barataria were established to aid in the defence of New Orleans and *Nueva España* with *isleño* families from the Canary Islands. San Bernardo, now St. Bernard, was the only settlement to sustain its definitively *canario* identity into the twenty-first century due to its isolation. Given this, the last two centuries have allowed for more than a handful elements of the language to develop since the arrival of the first colonists.

It is intriguing to find that use of the language itself is not homogeneous among those interviewed. Not only this, but informants that were siblings and raised in the same environment utilized different vocabularies. Namely, two informants MM and HM were raised in the same home on Delacroix Island or *la isla* ‘the island’ and had a strong capacity in the language. HM exhibited classic elements of the dialect as did MM, but the Spanish of MM was markedly influenced by their interaction with other hispanophones. Instead of using the more common *viaje* to refer to an instance when something occurred MM utilized the standard Spanish *vez*. MM also used nouns such as *el avion* to mean what would be traditionally referred to as an *aeroplano* ‘airplane.’ These observed instances can be explained by exposure to other hispanophones later



in life while other informants did not have such explanations. LA demonstrated a small but significant amount of French lexical influence to their Spanish despite both of their parents being monolingual Spanish speakers. Another informant, LS, had francophone ancestors but their Spanish was no more affected by the language than any of the other informants.

Moreover, due to the entirely oral transmission of the language, the most fundamental vocabulary has shifted in pronunciation or form. This of course has accelerated due to the isolation of remaining Spanish speakers and the effects of language attrition on pronunciation. One of the most notable instances is the supplantation of the verb *ir* 'to go' with *dir*. The verb conjugates as it would in standard Spanish up until its imperfect form:

Isleño Spanish: *Yo día a la casa.*

Standard Spanish: *[Yo] iba a la casa.*

English: *I went to the house.*

This form appears to be a longstanding element of the dialect as it was noted by Raymond MacCurdy in 1941 and 1947. Lipski reasons in his work *The Language of the Isleños: Vestigial Spanish in Louisiana* that:

This is a common development in other popular dialects of Spanish, and is frequently found in rural dialects of the Canary Islands and Caribbean. The origins of the epenthetic /d/ are not known, but probably involve incorrect division stemming from such common patterns as *Acaba de ir* 'He has just gone,' which would be pronounced *Acaba dir* in rapid colloquial speech (35).

Similarly, the epenthetic /s/ and /l/ were witnessed in this study with examples like *sijo* and *lío* from the standard *hijo* ‘son.’ The first example derives from the plural forms *los/mis hijos* where the /s/ is retained to separate the article from the noun but eventually remains. The later example was formed in a similar way through *el hijo* but with the additional reduction of /j/. These instances were uncommon but were also witnessed by Lipski (29). Besides this, metathesis has always been far more common like in the words *marde/parde* from *madre/padre* ‘mother/father’ and *estógamo* from *estómago* ‘stomach,’ which is also listed in the *Gran Diccionario del Habla Canaria*. Naturally, some degree of phonological modification was observed:

- *le chausson* > *el susón* (MacCurdy 82) > *el sosón*
- *la bofetada* > *la gofetá* (Lipski 73-74) > *el gofetón*
- *nadie* > *naiden* (MacCurdy 74)
- *escupir* > *cupir*
- *ahogar* > *hogar*

This study has found that some of the vocabulary collected by MacCurdy and Lipski has come to be inaccurate to describe the current language. This being said, the majority of Isleño Spanish vocabulary has remained stable. It is difficult to determine which modifications are now to be considered as part of the language as opposed to trends among several individuals. This issue is likewise compounded by the dwindling pool of native speakers that remain.

Words have also been adopted into the vernacular in order to describe situations that the original *isleño* colonists had never come into contact with such as the term *chivo* ‘goat.’ To various hispanophones, this term can signify an array of concepts, but in St. Bernard Parish it is used to refer to ‘sport fisherman’ or ‘outsiders.’ Its true origins are unknown, but it has been said that this term is rooted in how sport fisherman “jump up and down on their boats like silly goats”

(Guillotte 62). This likely is based upon MacCurdy's comment that it "originated because of the antics of amateur fisherman who hire boats for fishing parties and 'brincan por el bote como chivos'" (59). According to LS, the Isleños call these people *chivos* because:

Si lo' ponen en un bote, no se pueden quedar a pie. Se caen al lado y pegan a otro con la caña y cosa' [como] así. Y se montaba arriba de la cabaña que habían en el bote...

Siempre querían montarse arriba [de] algo alto, como un chivo.

("If you put them in a boat, they can't stay on their feet. They fall to the side and hit each other with their poles and stuff like that. And they get on top of cabin that was on the boat... They always wanted to get on top of something high, like a goat.")

A similar example is found with the term *pirata* which Lipski cites as meaning "a common thief, scoundrel" but the word "has no connection with the ordinarily accepted meaning of piracy" (78). It was originally used in reference to someone who would steal one's animal traps. All of those questioned about this word initially laughed and stated that it was an individual who "runs around." None of the informants associated the term with 'theif' or anything of the sort but rather someone, generally a man, who is mischievous and engages in various vices. It appears that as the fur trapping industry had collapsed in St. Bernard Parish, and only a few informants were exposed to this word as children, the meaning had shifted toward the idea of a 'scoundrel.' Other modifications of interest include *máquina* 'machine' to refer to a gas engine and at least one instance of the word *goma* 'rubber' to refer to a hose.

Regardless of previous inventiveness, lexical borrowings from foreign languages are a notable characteristic of the dialect. It likely comes as no surprise that the French language has penetrated into everyday vocabulary:

ISLEÑO SPANISH & ORIGIN	STANDARD SPANISH	ENGLISH
<i>el balancé</i> [FR: <i>balancier</i> ]	<i>el columpio</i>	<i>swing</i>
<i>la bucana</i> [LA FR: <i>la boucane</i> ]	<i>el humo</i>	<i>smoke</i>
<i>la biera</i> [FR: <i>la bière</i> ]	<i>la cerveza</i>	<i>beer</i>
<i>el cabarete</i> [FR: <i>le cabaret</i> ]	<i>la tienda</i>	<i>store</i>
<i>el robiné</i> [FR: <i>le robinet</i> ]	<i>el grifo</i>	<i>faucet</i>
<i>el sosón</i> [LA FR: <i>le chausson</i> ]	<i>el calcetín</i>	<i>sock</i>
<i>la tanta</i> [FR: <i>la tante</i> ]	<i>la tía</i>	<i>aunt</i>

Attention must be directed to how Lipski reports *bucana* as meaning a ‘small stove’ or ‘hearth’ while every informant without question affirmed that *bucana* meant ‘smoke.’ This is in line with the findings of MacCurdy who lists the same definition of this word. This table contains only the most prevalent of French loanwords but not all. As one example, the informant LA had used the word *creyon* from the French *crayon* for “pencil” instead of *lápiz*. This borrowing is also listed by the former St. Bernard Parish Historian who began his documentation of the language in the late seventies (Fernandez 2). This investigation could neither confirm nor deny that the word has been assimilated into the local Spanish dialect, but these observations tend to point in the direction of it being an element of Isleño Spanish. This same informant had occasionally used *voyage* in place of the Spanish *viaje*, but his was a singular example and all other informants did not recognize this as part of their language but definitely French. Influence of English

vocabulary has only begun to display itself in the twentieth century with words like *trolear* meaning ‘to trawl’ or *tyre* for ‘tire’ becoming widespread.

Despite these additions to the dialect, much remains of the original, archaic or popular vocabulary brought during the eighteenth century from rural Spain and the Canary Islands. The terms *semos* meaning ‘we are’ and *mesmo* ‘same’ are used in place of the standard *somos* and *mismo*. The term *semos* can also be found in the isolated New Mexican Spanish dialect which originates from Spanish colonists that arrived in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (Espinosa 39). Also common are the antiquated verb forms *haiga* ‘may there be,’ *truje/trujo* ‘I/he brought,’ and *vaiga* ‘may he/you/it go.’ These forms as well as others were noted by Lipski and MacCurdy in their works. That being said, none of the informants recognized the forms *vide/vido* ‘I/he saw,’ but rather the modern forms *vi/vio* and *ha/hamos* ‘I/we have’ were unknown. Every informant utilized the antiquated *asina* ‘so/thus’ almost entirely except for informants who had extended contact with outside Spanish speakers; these informants used both *asina* and its modern equivalent *así*. As for other vocabulary, JA was noted as using *calzones* for ‘pants’ but did not recognize *pantalones*. This informant also recognized *alte* which derives from the standard *arte* that refers to a type of net. The informant HM knew of the term *faca* which is a ‘large knife’ or ‘dagger’ and its accompanying belt the *faja*. These words are Galician and Portuguese but can be found on the Canary Islands. All of the informants as well as some semi-speakers understood the term *chipiá* to mean a ‘light rain’ or ‘drizzle’ which Lipski attests as originating in the Canary Islands. More widely known is the archaic form *peje* ‘fish’ which correlates to the modern *pez*.

Still considering the linguistic significance of this investigation, it has been impossible to ignore the phenomena of language death and language attrition. During Lipski’s time in the community he makes reference that “the present study found no *isleño* Spanish speakers of any

significant level of ability younger than about forty” (12). This present investigation confirms his findings in that speakers of with great capacity in the language were found to be in their seventies to eighties. At least two informants resorted to the use of English almost entirely to express themselves regardless of it being their second language. In the field of linguistics, first language attrition is the gradual process whereby an individual loses ability to express oneself in their native language as the structures of their first language are replaced by those of their second. All informants displayed influence of English in their native speech; the prime example of this being the redundant use of pronouns in conjunction with their verb forms. The unique phrasal verbs of English have also begun to seep into the dialect as LS was noted as saying “*Está buhcando por el traje típico*” (“He is looking for the typical garb”). English is unique in its use of verbs plus prepositions or adverbs to express an idiomatic concept not readily apparent when viewing the elements alone. An example of this would be ‘to blow up’. This phrase means ‘to explode’ but the definition is far from apparent when considering the elements individually of ‘to blow’ but in the upward direction. Another observation was that when speaking with MM, this informant stressed that the noun *camarón* or ‘shrimp’ did not possess a plural form while crab had both a singular and plural form: *jaiba/jaibas*. It is common in Spanish to use the singular form of a noun in conjunction with its article to refer to the generic idea of the noun, but to assert that it is incorrect to use the plural *camarones* must be based upon restrictions on how these forms are constructed in English: shrimp/shrimp, crab/crabs.

Along a similar vein, extensive simplification of tenses has been documented. All informants were not familiar with how to conjugate the present perfect and future tenses. In fact, these forms were entirely unrecognizable to all informants. These tenses have been replaced with more simple constructions. The traditional preterite forms are used in place of the present perfect

forms, and the construction of *dir a* or 'to go to' is used to describe future events. This is not uncommon for moribund languages as the same phenomenon was noted among the last speakers of *isleño/brule* Spanish of Ascension Parish by Dr. Charles Holloway.

At this time, the survival of the dialect is in serious danger. Only some of the oldest members of the community are proficient in the language. Many more middle-aged or older community members could be considered semi-speakers in that they may be able to passively understand the language but all are relegated to English as their primary mode of communication. Without a doubt, if nothing is done at this point to preserve or revitalize Spanish in the community, it will die. Only time and involvement of key community members will determine the fate of the language.

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**American Women's Wage War for Equal Pay and Work-Life Resources**

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Women in the United States should be paid equal wages comparable to that of men, with equal pay federal wage laws ratified. The wage gap that persist between what women are underpaid is \$.77 cents to every \$1.00 that a man makes with an annual U.S. total estimated at \$500.00 Billion. Legislation must be passionately advocated on behalf of women who are weary of working very hard, often in multiple jobs to eke out a living, giving more than a fair day's work, for an unfair day's wages comparable to men.

Why women should be paid equal wages for the same job as a man, is primarily because it would allow women to have greater financial security and allow for a better quality of life with a better standard of living. Substandard wages paid to women create a systemic trickle-down erosion for the ability to seek an education or training for a better job. Lower wages hinder affordability to goods and services for housing, transportation, healthcare, child or elder care, to name a few. Higher wages could improve a Women's work-life balance per a career and caregiving roles for their family, because their earnings could enable them to work at a single source employer with a 40-hour work week.

Increased wages would allow women to have more time with their families, including caring for children and the elderly. Employers abiding by diversity and equal pay grades will enable women to participate in employer benefits programs, strengthening a working bond.

Cultural norms and duties for critical multi-generational family caregiving are deeply entrenched in our society often undertaken by women . Statistically an average of 66% of caregivers are female, unpaid and duty-bound to care for spouses, parents, parents-in-law, friends, or neighbors. Their vital, hands-on care impacts every age and level of our society whereby due-diligence to empower women reaps infinite value for everyone.

Coping and self-sacrificing their own needs, despite a dire needed income, women incur lost wages and Social Security benefits equaling \$324,044, amid pressures of caring for loved ones, seeking inadequate public programs and scant or non-existent employment benefits, the well-being consequences affect everyone.

Empowerment for women to access comprehensive mentored information and programs is vital for our society. Financially it costs employers an average of \$270 million for absenteeism, \$327 million for partial absenteeism, \$3.8 billion work interruptions and \$3.3 billion to replace a worker. (FCA. 2015)

Higher wages would allow women greater financial options and broad sweeping security, if needed for child or elder care, to afford college educations and degrees leading to higher pay, training and certification programs, thus allowing opportunities for promotions and better paying jobs opting for career choices in science, technology, engineering, mathematics and government. The 2015 U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reported many of the federal employment obstacles facing women were inflexible workplace policies for caregiving, unconscious gender biases and stereotypical perceptions of women affect non-promotion to high level and management positions, government agencies lacking commitment to provide equal opportunities for women. Women are paid sub-wage average salary to men and are underrepresented in positions for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields in the federal workforce. (US.EEOC, 2010) In summation, the commission slated the need for more systemic, bureaucratic, evaluations and reports to be complied.

Women having greater financial independence and empowered access to work-life balance resources is a desirable win-win for our economy and society. Working women representing 75.6 Million is a significant number of consumers whom can dramatically shift, revitalize and stimulate a positive economy.

Interestingly women in a 2014 U.S. Census table, outnumbered men and were reported to live longer, with women representing 159,591,925 million to 154,515,159 million men and women at age 65 the ratio increased to 24,352,764 million women and 18,825,197 (2014) (Table DPO5). According to the US. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015), the percentage of women working or looking for work with children under age 18 was 69.9 % and 67.6 % for married mothers, and 74.8% for mothers with other marital statuses. (Parag. 9)

The Institute for Women's Policy Research, produced a wage equity model that gives scenarios of the economic impact that would ensue, when women would be paid comparable to men. A 15-year comparison done by IWPR factoring women to men earnings and number of hours worked, interrupted by childbearing and family caregiving, impacting women in their prime working years, revealed an earnings disparity of 62% less than men, equated at \$.38 cents to \$1.00 earned by men. "During the 15-year period, the average woman earned only \$273,592 while the average man earned \$722,693 in 1999". (Natl. Women's Law Center, 2015) According to IWPR, poverty rates for working women and their families would be cut in half from 8.1 % to 3.9 %. High, at-risk, poverty rates for working single mothers would drop from 28.7 percent to 15.0 percent, with two-thirds able to get a pay increase. An estimated 42.5 million working women, 60 % of the workforce, would be given a pay increase averaging an estimated \$6,251 annually.

By paying women comparable to men, their increased income would add an additional \$450 to 500 Billion into our economy, which equals approximately 3 % of our 2015 National Gross Domestic Product being \$ 17,946,996.000. (World Bank, 2015)

Another economic benefit is to consider how the equal pay equity of 500 Billion annually given to women, would be 14 times the 2012 amount of funding that federal and state aid public assistance programs doled out (Strauss 2014). If women are equitably paid, their wage taxes, promote reformation via allocated funds to improve many community services and projects. Most people in our society are familiar with paying taxes and being recipients of services as a taxpayer. Women having higher incomes, will redistribute income tax revenues into county and or city budgets for parks, police, security, schools and community centers, whereby the well-funded resources will benefit communities and families.

Better, equitable wages would assist many women in overcoming the quagmire of poverty and time-consuming compliance regimes required for government resources and public aid policy compliance paperwork burdens for those whom are impoverished. Many women report being overwhelmed by the bureaucracy and stress associated with seeking assistance or guidance for resources in times of necessity to meet basic needs for themselves and families facing hardships via unemployment or illness. There is no single-source advocacy agency as a clearinghouse for resources, offering localized consistent community, state or federal aid mentoring.

It's important for women to be able to spend more time with their children and if need be, caring for their elderly relatives thus having equal pay equity, the higher level of financial security would reduce their stress as well.

The high cost of child care in a licensed center is daunting for most women, which according to Child Care of America, is estimated at an annual fee in the State of Indian at “\$8,929 for an infant to \$4,725 for a school-age child” (CCAoA., 2014).

According to the National Association of Child Care Resource & Referral Agencies the average “cost of center-based daycare in the United States is \$11,666 per year \$972 a month, but prices range from \$3,582 to \$18,773 a year \$300 to \$1,564 monthly (Baby Center, 2016).

Despite the Family Leave Act that allows a woman twelve weeks of maternity leave, this unpaid, short hiatus is also a burden for many women. The 1993 “Family and Medical Leave Act”, which protects a worker’s job in order to care for a newborn or newly adopted baby or new foster child or to care for a seriously ill parent, child, spouse or personal illnesses, is eligible only to employees of an employers with 50 or more employees and requires employees to have worked 1,250 hours in the previous 12-month period. (Paid Family Leave Org., 2016)

Often objectionable hiring and employer biases are endured by women planning for a family or as a mother, premised on the perception that a mother will place the needs of her family foremost before her career, thus being less committed and competent to be relied on. “Mothers are paid less than fathers and the motherhood wage penalty, which grows by an estimated seven percent for each child, is larger for low-wage workers.” (Tucker, 2016)

It’s important for women to have greater access and opportunities for promotions, higher education or training avenues encouraging better paying jobs. Many higher paying jobs are held by men in careers which require extensive educational achievement and or specialized technological or scientific project credentialing and certifications. Women whom are not able to afford investing in their human capital, not financially empowered to seek ivy league educations,

acquire skills and internships or mentoring in male dominated realms, would have life altering educational and career choices with better equitable pay.

Ironically women whom achieve higher education criterion for careers often find they are still faced with the lack of a support network or path to upward mobility endeared to many men in peer mentoring by way of men superiors holding the brass ring on the carousel ride, assuring the coveted prize of an executive level promotion.

Along with equal pay must also come diversity workplace policies and employer innovations to provide workers, as parents, both men and women, child care and family leave paid allowances and upward mobility skill enhancement and training. Women's domestic and work life balance can be optimally realized for the betterment of happy families when the home front demands are shared by both partners. Equilibrium and equal pay are truly the war women want to win for equal wages and legislative reform for federal broad sweeping reforms.

Despite the passage of the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, which makes it easier for women to sue for equal pay, avoiding a similar plight as the bill's namesake, when she learned she was earning vastly unequal pay near the end of her career, progress toward closing the pay gap has stagnated. Since 2000, the wage ratio has remained around 76.5 percent. If trends of the past five decades are projected forward, it will take almost another five decades, until 2058 for women to reach pay equity. (Hartman,2014)

Having personal experience of wearily working multiple jobs for very long hours, hindered by gender biases and inability to afford college until later in life, I hold a passionate desire to be respected and paid equal to that of men. A solid fair wage would be a welcomed and celebrated achievement.

Everyone has been touched by the life of a woman who has worked tirelessly, devoted to hard earned dreams of security and wellbeing for their families to be fulfilled.

With legislatures keen to promise their voting constituents that they will advocate and legislate federal reforms that will require employer compliance, now is the time to speak with and write your congressperson, senators and current steering committee for The Whitehouse Council on Women and Girls, in Washington D.C. advocating for federal equal pay and women's labor wage reform. Women do not want to wage war in a courtroom valiantly spending time and money defending lengthy lawsuits filed for discrimination not being paid equal wages, she needs for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness assuring the well-being and security of her family. Look to your own family as to how equal pay reform and providing access to work-life and well-being resource advocacy in a centralized sustainable Women's center would help provide greater financial security, allowing quality cherished family time, health and happiness with educational goals and desired career dreams to be within affordable reach. A vibrant all-encompassing mentored support resource center, such as a local community Women's empowerment mentor center could affect a paradigm shift for our society to gender and generations to thrive.



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## Supplement To Paper

### Women's

### Empowerment

My paper, American Women's Wage War for Equal Pay and Work-Life resources, poses research to inform the plight of American women based on the Bureau of Labor, Feminist organizations, survey research, academic and literary contributions and White House commission report findings.

Premised on a diverse array of academic research, validated surveys, commissioned reports and chronicled statistics garnered via local, state and federal agencies, professional and private enterprises, there is unrefutably evidence that women face inequality in many sectors. Women are predominantly underpaid per their level of wages to men, do not get promoted or hold upper management and corporate positions, face upward mobility discrimination and unfair work-life balance inflexibility to address caregiver duties. Women negotiating work-life balances are unable to garner academic, caregiver, educational, healthcare, family needs advocacy, fiscal, home-auto and related tiered need-based services. Women fall victim to circumstances that

hinder their well-being for themselves and children, leaving vulnerable at-risk outcomes that promote poverty and hinder economic viability for families and communities striving to thrive.

Empowerment for women can become a hallmark of our society when there is an alliance of agencies and efficacy that can be single-sourced by women seeking advocacy for a hand-up not a hand out. A central clearinghouse, manned by phone bank referrals or enlists a one-on-one mentoring program for women to meet with an advocate, can align a woman to every available resource that the advocate clinic can coordinate. This could be a paradigm life altering shift for the benefit of all communities.

Women often do not know who, what, when or how to access information related to life-skills and personal or professional work-life balance resources that are availed to them. The ability to be mentored with literature, FYI forums, clinics and hands-on advocacy via referral and direct response assistance can help women to navigate programs. This list is not exhaustive, whereby niche needs, information sources, agencies and partnerships may be cross-referenced and expanded upon in applicable areas that are vital to foster referral, advocacy and sustainable solutions in a dynamic evolving sustainable assistance source.

I propose women having access to be mentored one-on-one will empower them to lift themselves, families, community and society for hopeful economic and unparalleled work-life balance enrichment. Every community can have a walk-in, call-in, internet accessible data base agency funded by philanthropy and grants.

A single source liaison facility can assist women with all in-person or phone-in, preliminary screenings and online digital access to register for programs via a vast wealth of entities be it

private, professional, governmental local, state and federal as well as philanthropic educational resources and charitable contacts.

A woman would come in and have a hands-on assistant, to mentor them, how to apply and benefit from a myriad of services, programs and advocacy, culminated in one meeting or phone referral.

A phone bank would also allow calls for women to pursue questions and answers to link to all related services they may need guidance on.

A library of brochures, documents, reports, reading material and forms, to increase knowledge of resources, would enable FAQ's resolution to mitigate confusion accessing enrollment for programs. Videos, how-to tutorials and online digital media would be available with materials and online access supported with video or chat support. In addition to computer and phone access, document retrieval, scanning and printing can aid women needing supplemental documentation.

Skype or Webex online interactive services could also foster agency interviews, counseling and appointment document facilitation.

Providing education and empowering women and designated caregivers to have access to every resource available to them, so they will no longer struggle to survive but thrive can revamp our society. Women will begin embracing political offices, navigating the quagmire of corporate certifications, reaching educational goals, climbing to the pinnacle of corporate America's career ladder, closing the patriarchal hierarchy hiring and wage gaps. Vast changes will begin to occur in a trickle-up theory with women tasking social and multi-media advertising, radio-television and digital programming to be produced ethically edited, to revamp objectification of women in

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role portrayals with character slander. Alas the very hand that rocks the cradles of our society can be empowered strategically to endear a work-life balance reshaping a vibrant humanity respectful of our gifts as women, mothers, daughters, sisters and emphatic caregiving humans.

**This resource list is not exhaustive**, whereby, information, sources, agencies and partnerships may be cross-referenced and expanded upon, being vital to foster referral, advocacy and sustainable solutions in a dynamic evolving paradigm shift to empower women and caregivers for an equitable future.

## **Resources**

### **Agencies & Entities**

Comprehensive list A-Z of all agencies, programs and entities with hours, contacts and modes, physical or digital access via addresses, services rendered and ER info.

### **Auto-Home repairs-maintenance.**

A verified list of reputable screened, background checked, licensed, insured, bonded repair services for homes, autos.

Lists and forms for all local, state and federal funded programs for home repair and rehab, emergency disaster FYI. Etc.

### **Bureaus:**

Motor vehicle services, licenses, renewals, registrations, plates and @ online forms and services.

Vehicle emissions, inspections.

### **Cell phones:**

Emergency 911 & 411 enabled free devices, How-to get free govt. phones.

### **Charities:**

Comprehensive list of all churches and agencies assisting with food, clothing, energy options and emergency needs. Contacts, emails, forms, hours, address and directions, accessibility for appointments via phone or in-person, internet skype interviews. Grant writing seminars and sub-gran writing org. programs for efficacy to foundation fund awards for greater recipient aid.

**Child care:**

Initiative and resources. Scholarships for childcare. Bartered hours served to reduce fees. College sponsored care facilities to enable early childcare internships and certifications for students and reduced fees for mothers. Reduced fees for college enrolled mothers.

**Community calendar:**

A networked, comprehensive dynamic listing of all events free and for fee in community, site navigation for registrations, permits, rules, regs., Timely alerts cross-reference weather advisories, boil orders, school events, sidewalk-garage sales, leaf collections, paint and hazard waste disposal, pharmaceutical destroy options, and notices, events and programs sponsored for family and discounted venues.

**Domestic violence:**

Counselors, Emergency to-do plan, list, call-center numbers and contact information for all shelters and support group advocacy. ER transportation, free 911 cell phones and resources. SSA publications.

**ESL-classes & Translation:**

Devices and access for translation services.

**Elder care:**

Nursing aligned college programs for reduced day-care fees paired with internship and certifications, for in-home support programs. Emergency Phones and fall alert devices funded.



Central scheduling calendar community wide for access to community centers, hospital and industry health care or events for social events.

### **Education**

Advocacy for completion of HS diplomas, ELS programs, trade schools, certifications, Community and 4-year college enrollments, Tuitions, fee-remission programs, disability waivers, scholarship applications, TRIO grant program assistance. Teacher-Health care tuition waiver for field services. Text book- inter-library loan FYI, purchase vouchers. Assistance sourcing children's resources via schools for caregiving, tutoring, scholarships, lunch programs@ private-public schools primary-secondary and college level, uniform assistance, health clinics discounts. Student org. programs and days of service applications for assistance. Scholarships grants and financial aid FYI services. AmeriCorps VISTA, Peace core FYI. STEM and Project certifications and Management fast-tracks. Local-State and Federal mentoring partnerships for Stem and professional -Academic advancement for girls.

### **Emergency:**

Online portal links from Empower web-site.

Preparedness programs, HOW-TO videos and discounted kits- RTE meals, thermal blankets, water purifiers, ER radio, contact referral, forms and FYI advice. Kits for

Auto/Floods/fires/injury/catastrophes.

First responder, comprehensive list of all contact numbers, emails, for services and FAQ guides available in case of ER. Poising control, Centers for disease e-coli, salmonella warnings.

Free classes for CPR, First-Aid training and certifications, on-demand in video learning library and hands-on classes. Free fire-extinguishers/fire-ladders/smoke and radon alarms. Training on all devices.

Self-defense courses, for best practices to prevent predatory attacks.

Meet and greets with law enforcement for civic engagement and guidance for officer assistance, noting sensitivity training for domestic violence scenarios.

Solar emergency light kits and cellphone power packs for emergency access.

**Employment FYI:**

Workers' rights, employers' rights, resume and job search clinics, interviewing, Employment options, agencies, local-state, collegiate. Health care-daycare or elder care programs, Interview clothing assistance programs, workers compensation inquiry, disability claims? How to enroll in 401K or open an IRA. Unemployment benefits, filing and requirements. AARP 50+ foundation employment advocacy.

Senior or semi-retire employment advocacy.

**Entrepreneurship:**

Micro-loan enterprise FYI. Home-based, remote and flex career FAQ clinics.

**Family services programs**

Phone-bank advocacy and digital SNAP, TANIF, HIP Insurance, forms and program guidance.

Lists with contacts directions and hours for all food banks, shelters, clothing or emergency needs.

**Financial literacy.**

Bank accounts-Checking, savings, CD's money markets, college or health savings. Loans.

Credit unions, pay-day loan advances.

Credit bureau reporting, monitoring, resolutions, fraud.

Household budget/ expenses/income and bill payment counseling.

FYI topic brochures bankruptcy/financial indigence/credit counseling.

Credit card FYI, disputes, fraud and rewards

**Food banks**

Comprehensive list of all agencies, organizations, programs, churches and emergency assistance- contact information, hours, directions, internet access. Food and nutrition events networked in calendar.

**Home and rental needs:**

HUD, Section 8, Fannie Mae, Freddy Mac, Mortgages, etc. Home-buyer seminars.

Insurance FYI

Referral - free or reduced fee home repairs. ER assist for Hot water tank or heating furnace issues, flooding, fire etc.

Nipsco-hardship energy assistance information, budget and repayment plan options.

Landlord-tenant liaison help or arbitration.

LIHEAP. Low income heating, energy assistance program.

Regulatory agencies for assistance for billing disputes.

Government residential emergency programs.

Community and government energy assistance/thermal efficiency programs. NWICA.

Homeless shelters, religious organizations and referral networks.

Foreclosure FAQ-intervention, refinancing, relocation assistance.

**Insurance:**

FYI clinics for clarifications and enrollment efficacy to Healthcare, Medicare, Medicaid. Private, state or federal programs. Prescription plans, vision, dental, Clinics and healthcare community

outreach. Emergency issues where to go, what to expect. Phone bank advocacy FYI as a single woman, divorced, nonmarital partner, family, children, elders.

Auto-Homeowner-Renter FYI,

**Internet:**

Computers, university free computer loans, free refurbished devices via charities. Reduced internet access fees via Xfinity essentials.

**Internships:**

Comprehensive partnered lists for private commerce, ecumenical and university linked networking. I.E., University curriculums in child care to day care facilities.

**Legal Aid:**

Counseling and ethical pro-bono or retainer based, attorney referral lists and free consultations. Pro-se, how-to clinics to navigate small claims and basic court motions in filing for proceedings. Marriage dissolution, child support, child support modification, Guardian ad Litem, probate, Domestic violence orders of protection, no-contact restraining orders, living wills & durable power of attorney, bankruptcy, mortgage fraud, renter-landlord disputes, loan modifications, small claims for fraudulent repair services Etc.

**Library:**

Public and College access. On-site, online services. Digital access for audible files, music, language and related offerings. Children-Elder-Family movies and programs. Genealogy, book readings academic, computer printing, research etc.

**Medical ER**

Call-in and online listings for ER medical referral and assist with poison control, opioid crisis etc. Clinics and referral for all addiction's counseling. CPR and First-aid certifications and clinics. Pharmacy, caregiver, facility and medical device discount program referrals.

**Military:**

FYI @ Services, @ career, education, health- resources, discounts, benefits, in-service and post service. Forms, enrollments, National Guard.

**Political advocacy:**

Seminars and town halls Q & A for women. Resource materials compiled and availed for contact advocacy. Programs to mentor candidacy and support networks. List of all elected officials-local, state, federal with contact information, hours of office and programs. Collegiate and community resources for civic involvement with grass-roots movements and opportunities for civic engagement, event attendance posted in community calendar.

**Recreation:**

Local community providers, hours address, fees for parks and recreation options. Reduced fees, free clinics networked in community calendar.

**Shelter-Sustenance-clothing:**

Lists with contacts directions and hours for all food banks, shelters, clothing or emergency needs.

**Scholarships**

List of all entities and criterion availed for child-care, grade-school after school programs, high-school and college scholarships assistance.

**Social security:**

FYI brochures of all services and forms. Social security, disability info., beneficiary entitlements. Program advocacy for “deemed filing” benefits, ex-spousal benefits, domestic violence number change, etc. <https://www.ssa.gov/pubs/EN-05-10127.pdf>

**Suicide prevention & At-risk mental crisis.**

Phone bank referral, need based intervention and referral for screening and assistance.

**Technology clinics:**

Teach hands-on accessibility for computer basics for digital access, basic software skills for office suites, cell-phone, smart phone device skills, security device skills., etc.

**Transportation:**

Comprehensive routes for public transit systems, with @ fees & schedules, ER. Vouchers. ER transportation for medical, child care and need based food pantry access.

**Voucher program:**

Vouchers for women job seekers to aid for emergency daycare subsidized. Transportation vouchers for women seeking employment, emergency health issues or domestic violence transport to shelters.

**Volunteer and community service**

Comprehensive list of all services, agencies and entities requiring volunteers. Mentored youth service programs to supplant resumes and scholarship acumen.

**Wardrobe:**

Lists, referral and access to career clothes closets, clothing for families, children and low-income, school related clothing for sports or special events.

**Wellness checks:**

Phone bank referral and follow-up. FYI for elder care, family domestic violence tracking, suicide prevention and drug overdose advocacy.

**Women entities:**

Women's organizations, foundations academic and professional societies' directory and FYI advocacy data.

**What Turns on the Tap?**

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***Abstract:***

Foreign aid, despite being a key component of foreign policy for the United States, is an often-neglected topic. Israel is the recipient of more foreign aid than any other state. Under what conditions does the United States increase and decrease foreign aid to Israel? This research attempts to gap the lack of robust research regarding US foreign aid to Israel. Current research in foreign aid focuses on a very narrow number of factors such as political party control in donor countries or the recipient country's type of government. This research seeks to analyze several of these factors and test their significance on the amount of foreign aid the United States distributes. The data used in this research was collected from the Global Terrorist Database, the World Bank, and the Jewish Virtual Library. Another set of data was compiled in the absence of readily available data on political party control in the United States. Correlation and regression tests were conducted to test the data. Following the testing of the data, the most significant factor determining the level of US foreign aid to Israel was the economic condition of the United States. The findings in this study indicate the factors examined do not play as large a role in determining levels of US foreign aid as previously thought. Likewise, they demonstrate that economic health of a donor country, in this case the United States, plays a significant role in determining levels of foreign aid to Israel.

***Introduction:***

On March 21, 2019, the New York Times reported President Donald J. Trump declared the United States should recognize Israel's claim over disputed territory near the Syrian border, the Golan Heights (Sullivan, Wong, and Landler, 2019). This is not the 45<sup>th</sup> President's first-time

supporting Israel in his presidency. On December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the President formally recognized Israel's claim over the ancient and disputed city of Jerusalem as Israel's capital (Landler, 2017). These are not the only occurrences of US support for Israel, it is very much in line with a long pattern of support from the US to Israel, merely a different kind of support.

For decades following World War II the United States has used foreign aid as an important component of foreign policy. The United States has had interests in a variety of locations across the globe; from East Asia, Latin America, Africa, to the Middle East. The United States has shown support for many states and governmental regimes from these regions. Israel and the United States seem to have a relationship deemed by many to be special, as such it will be the primary focus of this research. This study will examine the question: under what conditions has the United States increased and decreased foreign aid to Israel?

Previous research in this area has its strengths and weaknesses. The literature in this area has addressed many important, individual factors in research. This might be its' greatest strength and weakness. While previous research has identified different components of aid separately, such as politics in donor countries or terrorism, on foreign aid levels; the overall weakness of much of the literature is access to data.

In order to overcome the weaknesses of previous literature this study seeks to rectify some of the weaknesses through the scope of the study. While many studies focus solely on a single aspect of foreign aid, this study seeks to examine multiple variables which may not immediately seem related to each other. By testing multiple variables that are not immediately related this study adds to the literature by filling that void; from terrorism to economic health, the

literature examined has not examined all of these factors at once and this study examines them against levels of aid.

Following a testing of the data, it became apparent that variables that were once thought to have been important in the theory and hypothesis section were not significant. The major finding of this research is the importance of a donor country's economic health.

The study first looks in-depth at previous literature in the area of foreign aid. Later the paper takes the ideas and thoughts behind what will be tested in the theory and hypothesis section. Following the theory and hypothesis is the research design section and the analysis section.

### ***Literature Review:***

The United States has undoubtedly been a hegemon on the global stage for nearly seven decades. Their presence on the world stage can be felt in every corner of the globe. U.S. foreign policy has many components to it, one such component is foreign aid. As the current U.S. presidential administration actively seeks to pull the nation closer to the homeland, seemingly changing US foreign policy. While the ideology changes with the occupants of the White House one is left to wonder why foreign aid levels change. The foreign aid literature can be divided into several camps. One camp examines the Special Relationship; another examines terrorism; the next one examines the politics; the last one examines donors.

### ***Special Relationship***

The first piece of literature this study examines in this school of thought is Frida Berrigan's. Berrigan presents an examination of US military aid to Israel. She claims that the

nature of the US-Israeli is indeed special for various ‘perks’ the country receives as a part of their foreign aid packages (Berrigan 2009). This article lays out several instances of the unique nature of this relationship, such as in the cases of Foreign Military Financing and the Memorandum of Understanding (Berrigan 2009). In contrast, Ilai Z. Saltzman believes that the Special relationship between the US and Israel has been challenged before. Saltzman concludes a wide examination of the US-Israeli relationship as strained but not to the point where the relationship moves from its’ characterization of ‘special’ to ‘normal’ (Saltzman 2017).

### **Terror**

Terrorism is a wide-reaching problem across the globe and while it is not a term that has a global consensus it remains an issue. As a matter of U.S.-Israeli relations several author’s literature falls under the school of thought that terrorism is seen a determinant in U.S. foreign aid. One such group of authors, Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas examine the foreign aid as a means of counterterrorism policy (Bandyopadhyay, Sandler, and Younas 2011). The authors after punching in the data for their three-stage game, found the activity of terrorists decreased and recipient regimes stabilized. Inversely, authors Tara Candland, Zachary Davis, Michael Findley, Daniel Nielsen, and Rich Nielsen find that negative foreign aid shocks do in fact increase violence in recipient countries (Nielsen et al. 2011).

### **Donors**

Whilst examining the factors that might impact a recipient country directly, one camp in the foreign aid literature examines the donor countries themselves. Alberto Alesina and David Dollar inspect the various factors on of a donor country that would effect foreign aid and their levels (Alesina and Dollar 2000). The pair of researchers conclude the Donor countries

examined; the United States, France, and Japan; each target countries with foreign aid with differing motives. The United States in particular chooses to allocate more than 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of its foreign aid towards Israel and Egypt, noting a special interest (Alesina and Dollar 2000). Other authors such as Alberto Chong and Mark Gradstein focused more on the factors that affect voters in foreign aid donor countries. The pair modeled for various factors such as income, satisfaction with people in office, etc. (Chong and Gradstein 2007). After conducting their tests the Chong and Gradstein conclude asserting, “we find that aid is linked with inequality, corruption, political leaning, and taxes in donor countries, but has little relationship with the economic conditions in the receiving country.” (Chong and Gradstein 2007).

### **Gaps in the Literature**

The literature examining the perceived special relationship is informative, but leaves much to be desired. Arguably, it lacks a quantitative exploration. Older literature such as Fabio Tana’s examined the genesis of the U.S.-Israeli relationship. Tana examines early agreements between the two states and claims the relationship being ‘unique’ (Tana 1986). In sum, this literature leaves gaps that need to be filled with additional research. Those gaps are in a quantitative research and that is what this study seeks to contribute to.

As interesting as the scholarship on terrorism and aid, there are still problems that it has not addressed. The literature examined in this camp is a good example of how research should be conducted, and models should be formed. For example, the Bandyopadhyay et al. study does not account for shocks in aid and keeps factors such as economic recessions or political parties out, factors such as that are kept constant and the real world does not keep factors such as those

constant. It also does not examine the relationship between multiple decades and aid levels, this is where this study seeks to fill the gaps left by the terror scholarship.

Researchers in the area of donor literature provide an excellent example of modeling and use of sourcing accounting for factors other literature in this area has not accounted for. Further research in the area of determinants of U.S. foreign aid to is necessary as many of the components in the literature will need to come together, and this research seeks to bridge that very gap.

***Theory & Hypothesis:***

What factors contribute to the level of U.S. foreign aid to Israel? Many scholars believe donor country factors such as economic conditions play a role in the level of aid distributed to recipient countries. Others theorize the strategic importance of counties effect the level of aid to recipients. Strategic importance for this paper's use is the elevation of a country or region significant to another country's objectives. The United States has a strategic importance in the Middle East as can be seen in the War on Terror where the United States is operating mainly in Asia Minor and Central Asia with countries like Iraq and Afghanistan.

This can be illustrated for over time aid to those countries has varied in both the types of aid beit military aid or economic aid. Security concerns have been established as a motivator for some countries distributing aid. As has also been noted by scholars, the United States has a unique relationship with the nation of Israel. What makes the relationship special in the eyes of some scholars is the nature of aid packages, one component being the Foreign Military Funding where the United States provides aid to Israel that Israel may then use to develop its' own

weapons industry. This demonstrates part of what makes the relationship unique and as such, it also demonstrates what makes the relationship strategic.

The United States has committed itself for the past 17 years to what former President George W. Bush declared as the “War On Terror”. Since 2001, the United States has conducted military operations in the Middle East. The region has posed as a security threat for some time now. As such, the U.S. has committed vast sums of resources to the region, including money. As ensuring security is a national interest to the United States, one can assume that regional allies such as Israel, would receive assistance.

Political parties in the donor country also matter. Previous research has shown that foreign aid is politicized. A report by the Brookings Institute found the level of support for foreign aid has been higher amongst people who identify as Democrats than Republicans. As such we can assume that political party is a factor in foreign aid levels.

Economic condition has also been identified as a factor in foreign aid levels. In periods where economic conditions are either in a period of growth or recession it can be assumed that it will affect how aid is distributed.

*Hypothesis 1:* Recessions in the US Economy-a period of decline widespread in the economy-will result in a decrease in the amount of foreign aid levels to Israel.

The reasoning being with less tax revenue being collected by the U.S. federal government it will decrease. If the donor country has less money to operate with the country should decrease foreign aid levels.

*Hypothesis 2:* Democratic control in the executive branch- the position of the presidency- will result in more aid given to Israel.

As several polls, including the Brookings report, stated that people who identified as Democrats support foreign aid more than those who identified as Republicans, therefore Democratic presidential administrations should give more aid.

*Hypothesis 3:* An increased amount of conflict- violence by state actors or organized non-state actors- in and around Israel will lead to an increased amount of foreign aid the country receives.

Several scholars have noted that foreign aid is used as a tool to serve a nation's strategic interests. As previously noted, Israel is a nation with a special relationship with the United States. Since Israel is an ally in a region where the United States has historical interests, conflicts that are near Israel or happening to Israel will result in more foreign aid being given to the country.

In summation, the levels of foreign aid will change for a variety of factors. First, foreign aid levels to Israel will change because of economic conditions in the donor country- the United States- specifically they will decrease with a recession in the donor country. Second, the political party in control of the executive branch- the presidency- will result in varying levels of change; i.e. if the Democratic Party controls the executive branch then Israel will receive increased levels of foreign aid. Lastly, increased amounts of conflict in and around Israel will result in increased levels of foreign aid from the donor country- the United States.

***Research Design:***



In order to test my hypothesis various datasets will be collected from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Global Terrorist Database (GTD), the World Bank, and one that is self-made. For this specific research I will focus exclusively on the United States and Israel despite the abundance of US foreign aid data there is a lack of data available in other such countries where a strategic interest is. USAID provides a plethora of information from the specific time frame I am using it for. The data set includes information important to the testing of the first hypothesis. The years in which I will be examining are from 1970-2017.

This time frame is important for it presents the time frame that each dataset I collected has data. The next dataset, from the Global Terrorist Database, provides data from the accepted time frame as well information not only on the number of attacks that terrorists commit against Israel, but also the amount of casualties Israel suffers from those terrorist attacks. The World Bank also provides an accurate representation of a country's GDP and they are a trusted source, and for those reasons it was chosen. If I were to collect all years available for each of the datasets it would provide results that would otherwise be out of proportion with the time frame. The tests I will be running are correlation tests and regression tests. Correlation and regression tests allow the testing of multiple variables and allow display the what if any casual relationships exist.

### **Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable is foreign aid to Israel from the United States of America. U.S. foreign aid to Israel will encompass not just development aid but also military aid. Many researchers do not include military aid as a part of foreign aid, however that then leaves off an important part of

the story that is part of the U.S.-Israeli relationship. The foreign aid to Israel will be measured in U.S. dollars, adjusted for inflation.

### **Independent Variables**

The independent variables that will be involved include political party, economic expansion, and attack. Political parties will be marked by the values of 0 or 1, 0 for Republican administrations and 1 for Democratic administrations. Economic expansion will have a value of 0 and years of recession have a value of 1. Economic expansions being defined as years of growth of the United States Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and, inversely, recessions will be defined as contractions of the U.S. GDP. Attack are defined as conflicts with or within the State of Israel. Attacks will be valued at intervals of 1-5. 1 representing fewer than 20 attacks, 2 representing between 21-40, 3 representing 41-60, 4 representing 61-80, and 5 representing 81 and above.

### ***Analysis:***

To recap, the levels of foreign aid could vary because of; economic conditions in the donor country- the United States- specifically they will decrease with periods of negative economic growth; second, the political party in control of the executive branch- the presidency- will result in varying levels of change; if the Democratic Party controls the executive branch then Israel will receive increased levels of foreign aid. Lastly, increased amounts attacks on Israel will result in higher amounts of foreign aid from the donor country.

**Table 1**[YO1]

**Correlations**

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		Aid	Attacks	Political	GDP in
			(Yr)	Party	Billions
	aid	1.000	.220	.209	.402
Pearson	terror	.220	1.000	.121	.330
Correlation	party	.209	.121	1.000	.362
	GDP	.402	.330	.362	1.000
	aid	.	.068	.079	.003
Sig. (1-tailed)	terror	.068	.	.210	.012
	party	.079	.210	.	.006
	GDP	.003	.012	.006	.

Bivariate correlations and regression tests were run to test the strength of the relationships between the independent variables to the dependent variables and their significance on foreign aid. A focus on the relationship between aid levels and political party is necessary because political parties have different ideologies and may have different approaches to policies, in this case, foreign policy.

Table 1 describes the relationship between political party control and foreign aid levels as statistically insignificant. With the Pearson Correlation at a value of .209, the relationship is positive though as it is close to zero it shows little in the way of explaining the variation in foreign aid levels.

Table 1 also describes the relationship between political party control and foreign aid levels as statistically insignificant. With the Pearson Correlation at a value of .209, the relationship is positive though as it is close to zero it shows little in the way of explaining the variation in foreign aid levels.

**Table 2**

<b>Model Summary<sup>b</sup></b>					
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.419 <sup>a</sup>	.175	.118	870.143174621	1.273

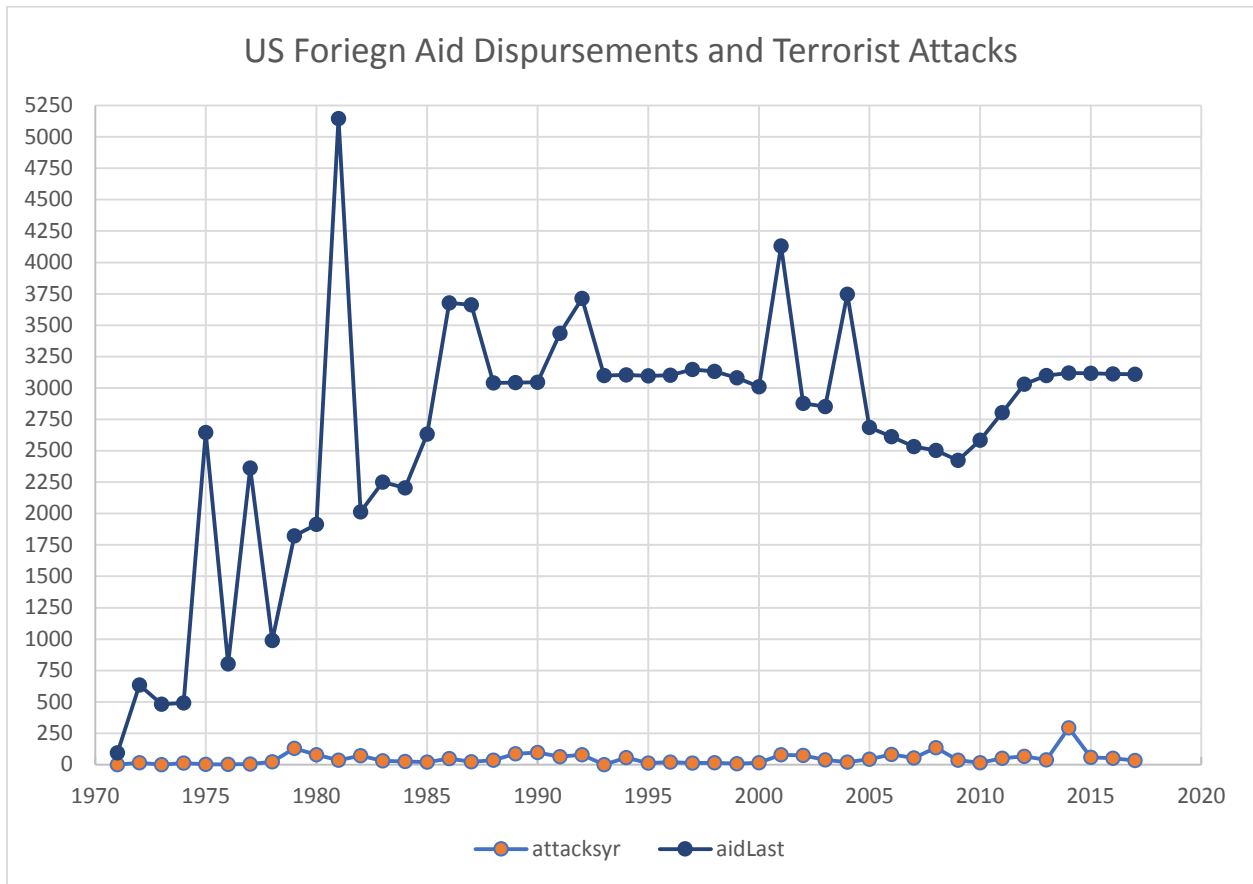
a. Predictors: (Constant), GDP, Terror, Party

b. Dependent Variable: aid

In the age of global terror and the current importance placed on terrorism to the foreign policy of the United States, terrorism seemed justified as a potential factor in foreign aid variation. As terrorist attacks on Israel increase the expectation was the level of aid would also increase. Though, as in the case of political party it proved statistically insignificant. In Table 1 the terrorist attacks variable, showed a correlation of .121 with aid. Figure 1 shows the fluctuation of foreign aid to Israel along with terrorist attacks per year. Foreign aid has varied widely over time, however it has been on an upward trend. Terrorist attacks on Israel have varied much more over time, in comparison to aid. As with Table 1 though, there is little in the relationship between the two variables, terrorist attacks and aid, to say that terrorist attacks Israel are a significant reason for why there is variation in the aid.

Whilst it indicates a positive relationship, it fails to display a statistically significant relationship. In contrast the factor that seemed to prove the most significant out of the variables tested against foreign aid was GDP. The idea behind GDP as a variable was the wealth or economic strength of a donor country would be a determining factor in how much the recipient country would receive.

**Figure 1**



The relationship between GDP and levels of foreign aid presents the strongest correlation. Why this presents the strongest correlation could be a variety of factors. One could argue that gross domestic product and funds the government have represent a strong link. In cases where the donor country is in a recession the federal government may be likely to spend less in areas such as foreign aid. At a .402 value, GDP represents the strongest case.

**Table 3**

Dependent Variable: Aid

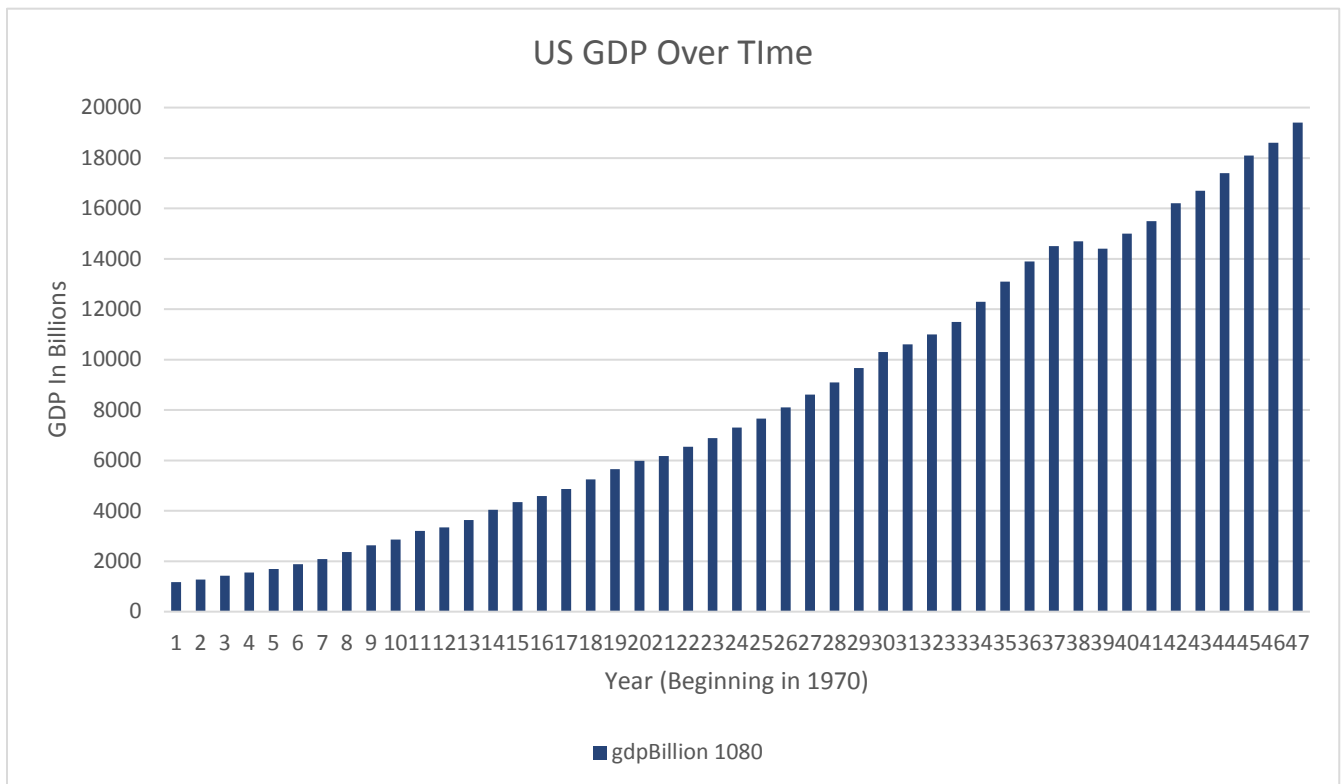
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Terror	4.140 (2.730)	1.848 (2.755)	5.273 (4.007)	3.791 (3.732)
Party		134.250 (273.919)	173.863 (274.821)	230.961 (254.277)
GDP		0.057** (0.026)	0.055** (0.026)	0.027 (0.026)
Limited Aid Range				0.384*** (0.133)
Constant	2,550.156*** (183.956)	2,114.421*** (244.287)	1,983.980*** (267.477)	1,238.265*** (356.940)
Observations	47	47	46	46
R <sup>2</sup>	0.049	0.175	0.198	0.334
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.027	0.118	0.141	0.269
Residual Std. Error	913.548 (df = 45)	870.143 (df = 43)	866.382 (df = 42)	799.194 (df = 41)
F Statistic	2.299 (df = 1; 45)	3.045** (df = 3; 43)	3.466** (df = 3; 42)	5.144*** (df = 4; 41)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

The relationship between GDP and levels of foreign aid presents the strongest correlation. Why this presents the strongest correlation could be a variety of factors. One could that gross domestic product and funds the government have represent a possible factor for the variation in the amount of aid given to other countries. In cases where the donor country is in a recession the federal government may be likely to spend less in areas such as foreign aid. At a .402 value, GDP represents the strongest case.

**Figure 2**



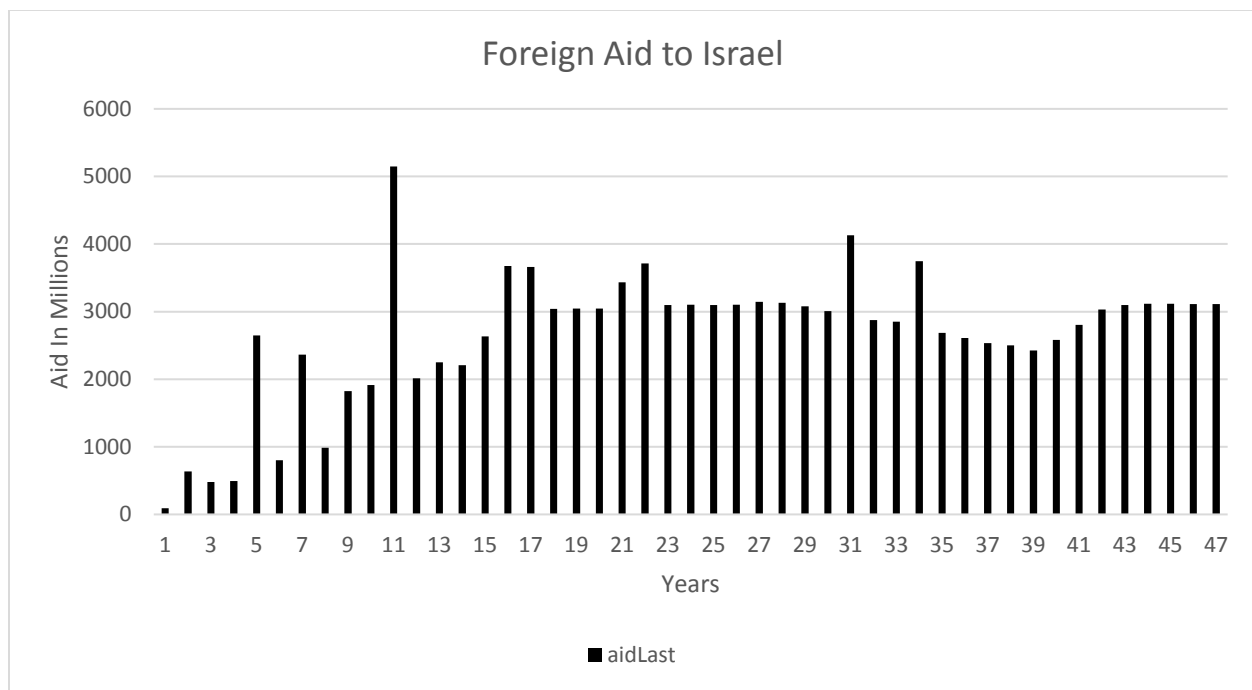
When examining Figure 2, there is positive growth overall in the trend of US GDP.

Similarly, in Figure 3 there is growth overall, but no where near the same trend of US GDP.



There is more variation in aid to Israel than there is in GDP, and that lends credence to the correlation described earlier from Table 1. GDP has an undeniable role in the variation in aid levels to Israel, but it does not explain a majority of the variation.

**Figure 3**



The results imply the hypotheses were largely incorrect. Apart from the GDP variable, most of what was thought would affect levels of aid bared little in the way of showing a strong relationship. The results also imply that the factors that were chosen to be tested didn't fully explain the variation. At 17.5% the dependent variable, shown in Table 2 and Table 3, isn't fully explained by the IV[YO2]'s tested, i.e., GDP, terrorist attacks, and political party. There are possibly other factors that aren't included in this research. This suggests the need for further research.

***Conclusion:***

The process of why the United States gives so much foreign aid to one country and so consistently to Israel over other countries is unknown. What is also unknown after the analysis, is all the factors that affect the levels of foreign aid to Israel. In order to address the research question: Under what conditions has the United States increased and decreased foreign aid to Israel? This study examined data from the World Bank, USAID, and the Global Terrorism Database. The data was tested using bivariate correlation and regression tests in the hopes that it would show the significance of these variables.

One major finding in the analysis is that of the importance of the donor countries GDP over other variables such as terrorism and political party. It is also important to note how little political parties and terrorism have on foreign aid levels to Israel. For the current scholarship, this research provides a framework for more works in the foreign aid literature. It provides a direction, and it proposes several questions for further research in this area. It also implies that economic conditions may be more important than other scholarship has suggested. By no means does the research prove anything, though it does imply that some factors may be more important than personal assumptions may assume.

Future researchers may want to examine what the relationship between terrorism and foreign aid. In this case the relationship between foreign aid levels and terrorism did not have a strong relationship, though having a larger scope may show a more significant relationship. What are the other potential factors that could affect levels of foreign aid? Future researchers will have to decide.

In summation this study is important to the field as it seeks to add to the conversation by focusing on the relationship between the United States and Israel and the factors that prevalent in the foreign aid literature. By studying major factors that affect levels of foreign aid, the field of political science would benefit from the results herein in uncovering the quantitative mysteries behind the variation in donor countries foreign aid levels.

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**Peggy Guggenheim During World War II:**

**Preserving a Generation of Art**

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### Abstract

The Jewish-American art collector Marguerite “Peggy” Guggenheim, self-appointed “Midwife to Modern Art,” collected many modern artworks of her time that are now considered foundational to the mid-twentieth century Avant-Garde Art Movement. With scant art historical training, Guggenheim managed to amass artworks produced by leading Romanian sculptor Constantin Brâncuși and German painter Max Ernst, among others (Dearborn). Within the milieu of Modern Art Historical academia, Brâncuși’s *Bird in Space* (*L’Oiseau dans l’espace*, 1932-1940) is revered for dismantling the formalism of sculpture and Ernst’s Dada and Surrealist artworks are invariably perceived as besieging the conventions and traditions of painting prior to the mid-nineteenth century. With scant deviation, Guggenheim’s role in making these artworks canonical in Modern Art Historical academia is frequently disregarded. This paper directs attention to the duration of time Guggenheim spent in Nazi-occupied France during World War II, when she unyieldingly committed herself to saving many acclaimed modern artworks and artists from the perils of war. With Joseph Goebbels’ *Reichskulturkammer* and the refusal by European art museums to accommodate for modern artworks in their archival treasuries, Guggenheim single-handedly assigned herself to salvaging what we know today as modern art (Chanel). Without Guggenheim’s zealous commitment to this task, modern artworks like the *Bird in Space* and artists like Ernst may have disappeared into obscurity. The aforementioned circumstance necessitates the question, “Would modern art be what it is today if not for Guggenheim’s selfless intervention during World War II?” In turn, this paper explores the many ripples caused by Guggenheim and her revolutionary actions.

During the early twentieth century, the city of Paris, commonly referred to as the City of Light, was a place of self-inflicted exile. The City of Light was alternatively a City of Enlightenment, existing as a melting pot of creative expression. While diversified ideas were being exchanged between artist and intellectual, the city would progressively become saturated with modern thought, allowing for the creation of the artistic styles of Fauvism, Post-Impressionism, Cubism, and Surrealism, among others. With Nazi-party leader Adolf Hitler coming to power in 1933, the intellectual incandescence was suddenly dimmed throughout Europe, due to the party's rapidly spreading ideologies of chauvinism and xenophobia. (Shanahan). Following the commencement of war in September of 1939, many of the artists and intellectuals that once graced the bustling streets of the capital city gradually dispersed throughout the country, most fleeing to the unoccupied "Free Zone" of southern France controlled by the French Vichy government. Before departing the capital city, however, many artists would be forced to sell their modern artworks, in order to guarantee the safety of their artworks and to establish a stable income that would be needed in order to outlast the atrocities of war (Spotts 2).

Living in France at the time, American art collector Marguerite "Peggy" Guggenheim was a popular option for many destitute modern artists. Throughout wartime, Guggenheim would unyieldingly commit herself to saving many acclaimed modern artworks and artists from the perils of war. Collecting modern artworks as a Jewish-American woman was especially dangerous, as much of the contents of her collection were considered "degenerate" and an insult to dignified European art and culture by the Axis Powers like Hitler and the German Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels. Regardless, Guggenheim felt indebted to collecting controversial art of the abstract artists and Surrealists, and even established a motto to "buy a

picture a day” (Guggenheim 208). In addition to preserving modern art during World War II, Guggenheim also devoted her time to establishing a secure environment for modern artists, in many cases providing for them financially and supporting their artistic endeavors, which would later give rise to her frequented title, “Midwife to Modern and Contemporary Art” (Pierpont).

After failing to establish a communal refuge where artists could wait out the war and acknowledging that many modern artists were desperate to sell their paintings, Guggenheim would begin to actively collect modern art amidst the proceedings of war in 1939. With the money she acquired after her mother’s death in the late 1930’s, she purchased around ninety artworks from leading modern artists throughout Europe (Prose and Guggenheim 90). Many sources affirm that Guggenheim’s intentions were solely to help artists in need and to enhance the appreciation of modern art. Later in her life, she explained the reasoning behind her humanitarian efforts, owing them to the death of her father at a young age. After his death, she felt responsible for the preservation and appreciation of human endeavors “that gave to the continuity of life itself in the unpredictable future a meaning and a grace otherwise lacking” (Lord 98).

With the Nazi-occupation of France, Paris would lose two-thirds of its population, including many of the artists Guggenheim bargained with prior to occupation (“Paris Population Halved” 6). Guggenheim, therefore, would have to act quickly and in somewhat of a haphazard fashion before the German invasion. Guggenheim was accused, on several occasions, of exploitation; she would often retort, stating, “I didn’t even realize that I was buying things cheap because of the war, and everyone since then has accused me of taking advantage of the situation, but I didn’t even realize it. I didn’t know anything about the prices of things. I just paid what people told me” (Weld 197). To form clientele, she would also frequent artists’ studios and cafés



in Paris with the company of Nelly van Doesburg, a friend and fellow modern art devotee (Dearborn 197).

With her picture-a-day diet, Guggenheim collected many renowned artists' works that are today considered foundational to the mid-twentieth century Avant-Garde Art Movement. In an interview many years after the war, she admitted to not buying a modern artwork every day, but rather it seemed as such. Guggenheim preferred to buy works for her collection from the artist directly, and she relished the social atmosphere she preoccupied herself in. Her willingness to do so was a new attitude for collectors of the time, as her predecessors would commonly avoid one-on-one communication with their clientele (Bouvier and Hötte 52).

A sculpture from the Romanian artist Constantin Brâncuși was high on her "first-class" list, specifically one of his 'birds,' and with the approaching war, she sensed that her moment to procure one of his birds was imminent. Her battle to acquire *Bird in Space (L'Oiseau dans l'espace, 1932-1940)* seemed to be one of her most beloved stories to tell, and she would later identify the sculpture as the piece she loved the most of everything she owned (Weld 196). Guggenheim had known Brâncuși since the 1920s and had long desired to obtain one of his sculptures. However, she knew she would never have the money to do so, due to the extortionate rates he assigned to each piece. Since Brâncuși was known for declining any request that would require him to part from one of his own sculptures, Guggenheim negotiated with Brâncuși by explaining to him the relative value of the French franc to the American dollar. Brâncuși sold his precious sculpture to her, amidst mild confusion, while Guggenheim claimed that when he handed the sculpture over to her, tears were streaming down his cheeks (Prose and Guggenheim 112).

After this purchase, Guggenheim would be on the lookout for a painting by Jean Héliion, who emerged in the 1930's as a leading abstract painter. In 1940, Héliion joined the French resistance army and was stationed 60 kilometers from Paris; Guggenheim knew of Héliion's whereabouts and searched all over Paris for his artworks (Guggenheim et al. 71). Eventually, she stumbled upon one of his large canvases in a friend's attic and purchased it immediately. Van Doesburg would also write to Héliion and inform him of Guggenheim's desire to purchase more of his work. Héliion responded favorably and agreed to meet with Guggenheim; on the square in front of the Gare Montparnasse, Héliion had dinner with Guggenheim and sold his painting, *The Chimney Sweep* (1936), for \$225 (Guggenheim 212).

Although Guggenheim disapproved of Salvador Dalí's "stunts," she additionally sought his paintings after viewing what she claimed to be "a funny little picture" owned by art dealer Poissonnière (Weld 197). She was incredibly fascinated by Poissonnière's Dalí painting and favorable of the price for it; however, she felt it did not truly represent Dalí's Surrealist style and asked that it first be signed, in order to secure its authenticity. The dealer consented to her request and left for Dalí's wartime refuge of Arcachon to obtain a signature. Even with the signature, Guggenheim was unsatisfied; rather, she coveted a distinguishable Dalí painting seamlessly "recognized by the public." Much to her astonishment, she was brought one in bed one morning, by another art dealer. After purchasing it, she scoured Paris for an additional Dalí painting, as the first was "over-sexual" and one that she had "chosen quite innocently, not noticing what it represented." In a storage house in Paris, she found *The Birth of Liquid Desires*, and immediately bought it after identifying it as "horribly Dalí" (Guggenheim 214).

In a gallery while in Paris, she would be introduced to Alberto Giacometti's *Woman with her Throat Cut*, created during his Surrealistic period in 1932. The edition she viewed in the

gallery space was made in plaster and damaged. With Giacometti on her list of desired artists, she requested to buy the artwork, as long as it be fixed. Giacometti responded by presenting a bronzed version to her, claimed to be the first of its kind (Guggenheim et al. 11). During this time, Giacometti was going through a transition period. With this transition, he broke from all contact with galleries and refused to show his work, in order to devote his time to formulating a newfangled, avant-garde style. The outbreak of World War II would temporarily halt his experimental endeavors, as he was forced to flee Paris and return to his home country of Switzerland in 1941. Guggenheim engaged with him prior to his departure and would purchase his revised *Woman with her Throat Cut* for \$250 (Bradley).

American art expert Howard Putzel was another figure in Guggenheim's life who aided her in her art collecting efforts. Guggenheim and Putzel began associating with one another in the winter of 1938, after Putzel wrote to Guggenheim from Hollywood to applaud her achievement of opening her Guggenheim Jeune gallery in London, and to announce the closing of his gallery. Putzel was an admirer of modern art and, in particular, European Surrealist art, after organizing a series of exhibitions in California. From 1938 to 1939, Putzel moved to Paris and befriended Guggenheim ("Charles Seliger"). With their link to modern art, Guggenheim and Putzel worked collaboratively to procure artworks in Paris before Nazi-occupation. Putzel primarily supervised Guggenheim's art appraisals and escorted her to advised artists' studios. Putzel, for instance, introduced Guggenheim to artist and future-spouse Max Ernst (Weld 194).

Guggenheim had already been well-acquainted with Ernst's work and was eager to purchase one of his esteemed paintings. At the time, Max Ernst had alienated himself from the principle theorist of Surrealism André Breton and his followers, after a dispute over the expulsion of Paul Eluard; he would relocate thirty miles north of Avignon with Leonora

Carrington, also a Surrealist painter and his companion at the time. While departing Ernst's Avignon home, Guggenheim left with a Carrington painting in hand, entitled *The Horses of Lord Candlestick*; she ultimately found Carrington's artwork to be more impressive, in comparison to the artwork Ernst presented to her. Guggenheim would purchase the painting from Carrington for \$90 (Guggenheim 216).

In Paris in 1940, Guggenheim purchased André Masson's *The Armor (L'Armure, 1925)* for \$125, which was once owned by the French philosopher Georges Batille. After Guggenheim visited Masson and his family, they relocated to a home in a forest at Lyons-la-Forêt, in northwestern France (Guggenheim et al. 45). Soon after, they would seek refuge in Auvergne and then emigrate to New York City, with the aid of Varian Fry, as Masson's wife was a Jewish-European and in impending danger. Masson was told to leave France on several occasions, as he could be deemed guilty by association for being wed to a Jew, but he replied, "I prefer to wait, to swarm in the fatal earthquake." The family would stay close to the port of Marseilles while waiting to depart to New York, in the event that they would have to escape quickly (Shanahan).

After departing from Paris to Grenoble, Guggenheim purchased the 1913 painting *Disks* from Robert Delaunay, a year before his death. During the war, Delaunay was ill with cancer. His wife, Sonia Delaunay, was also a Jewish-European, which would force them to relocate. The couple had been stationed in Paris prior to the war, with a studio in the Rue de Saint-Simon (Guggenheim et al. 73). With Nazi-occupation, they headed toward Cannes on the Côte d'Azur and took an apartment in nearby Mougins. On October 24, 1941, Delaunay died in a Montpellier hospital (Cone 4). He and Sonia would attempt to rescue a few of Delaunay's paintings, preceding his death; Sonia requested that Guggenheim purchase one of the rescued artworks.

After substantial written and verbal correspondence, Guggenheim paid Delaunay \$425 for *Disks*. This painting later turned up in the Museum of Modern Art in New York (72).

A day after Hitler invaded Norway, Guggenheim would purchase a Fernand Léger piece, which would incite a perplexed response from Léger. However, according to Guggenheim, the purchasing of a Surrealist artwork during a catastrophic event was the true essence of Surrealism (Dearborn 199). Guggenheim bought the Léger piece, *Les hommes dans la ville* (1919) for \$1000. The next day, she purchased a 1916 Man Ray painting, as well as several of his rayograms (Guggenheim 218). She additionally bought works during this time from Albert Gleizes, František Kupka and Kurt Schwitters, who were all well-acquainted with van Doesburg (Bouvier and Hötte 52). For \$1,5000, she purchased Georges Braque's *The Waltz*; for two Yves Tanguy's paintings, *Promontory Place* (1931) and *The Sun in Its Jewel Case* (1937), she paid \$500 (Wayward 196). René Magritte would also track her down with his painting, *Voice of Space* (*La voix des airs*, 1931), before retreating to Carcassonne (Spotts 12).

Pierre Matisse once ruminated on Guggenheim's collecting affairs during this time, stating, "She was buying extensively in Paris at a time when nobody else was buying and she was able to pick out things directly with the artist, so you can imagine how popular she was." For a decade since the Depression, artists far and wide were struggling to make sales. During the 1930's, artists like Max Ernst were poverty stricken; a reputable collector, willing to purchase artworks from struggling modern artists, was imperative. Guggenheim's initial investment for her collecting enterprise totaled to \$40,000; during the 1940's, the whole collection valued at around \$250,000 (Weld 196). Among the list of artworks that would later be rejected by the Musée du Louvre, because they were "considered too modern and not worth saving," were a Wassily Kandinsky, several Paul Klees and Francis Picabias, a Georges Braque, a Juan Gris, a

Fernand Léger, an Albert Gleizes, a Louis Marcoussis, a Robert Delaunay, a Gino Severini, a Giacomo Balla, a Theo van Doesburg, and a Piet Mondrian. Among the Surrealists' artworks declined were a Joan Miró, a Max Ernst, a Giorgio de Chirico, two Yves Tanguys, two Salvador Dalís, a René Magritte, and a Victor Brauner. The sculptures unhesitatingly excluded were two Constantin Brâncușis, a Jacques Lipchitz, a Henri Laurens, an Antoine Pevsner, an Alberto Giacometti, a Henry Moore, and a Jean Arp (Guggenheim 219). In the wake of her rejection from the Musée du Louvre, Guggenheim would have to frantically search for an alternative storage location for her collection, and would eventually receive assistance from Maria Jolas, who would allow her to store her collection in a barn near a château in Vichy and from Pierre Andry-Farcy, the head curator at the Musée de Grenoble (220-224).

In addition to preserving modern art during World War II, Guggenheim also devoted her time to protecting modern artists from the perils of war. A comprehensive study of her humanitarian actions during the war has yet to be compiled, despite the fact that she supported many modern artists and intellectuals that are now looked upon as the virtuosos of their time, such as André Breton and Max Ernst (Butchthal and Vreeland). Guggenheim was wealthy throughout her lifetime by virtue of being born into a bourgeois family, and she selflessly shared her fortune. Many of the leading Surrealist personalities during the war were refugees in the free zone of France, without a stable income or guaranteed protection from German forces. Guggenheim ultimately provided for many of these individuals, regardless of the fact that she, too, was in constant danger (Guggenheim 210). Her friend Nelly van Doesburg, for instance, was in obvious financial destitution during the war; therefore, Guggenheim would purchase a surplus of modern artworks from van Doesburg as a way to provide for her (Bouvier and Hötte 51). Similarly, Jewish left-wing modern artist, Otto Freundlich, was a prime target for Hitler and the

Nazi Party, and Guggenheim would send him a thousand francs during the war, encouraging him to continue to work (Cone 127). Antoine Pevsner, a Russian constructivist who became a French citizen in 1930, was also deeply affected by the German occupation of Paris. Guggenheim, being aware of this, would send the Pevsner family money and look after them during the war, even after she departed France (Guggenheim 217).

Moreover, while preparing to relocate to New York, Guggenheim received a telegram from American Surrealist Kay Sage regarding Guggenheim's willingness to fund passage to America of a select group of distinguished European artists and intellectuals, specifically Surrealist André Breton, his wife, Jacqueline Lamba, their five-year-old daughter Aube, Dr. Pierra Mabile, the family's doctor, and the artist Max Ernst (Guggenheim 227). Throughout the early twentieth century, Ernst prevailed as the face of Dadaism, in addition to existing as a master lyricist of Surrealist dream imagery (Waldman 15). The German Reich and the French Vichy government, however, did not perceive Ernst as a man worthy of praise. With the outbreak of war in France, Ernst immediately became an enemy on account of his being a German national. Until Guggenheim financed his passage to New York, he was repeatedly interned in concentration camps and released (Spotts 185).

Breton would also be one of the first in line for attacks by the Gestapo and French police due to his political engagement as an anarchist, a communist, and then one of Trotskyist thought (Chénieux-Gendron 440). After being barred from serving in the medical corps, he sought refuge with his family at the Marseilles château, referred to as Villa Air Bel by the Emergency Rescue Committee, which served as a communal hostel for European writers, poets, and artists (Shanahan). Throughout wartime, Guggenheim decided to pay a visit to Marseilles and the Emergency Rescue Committee; after having a discussion with the head of the committee, Varian

Fry, she left him money, in addition to the compensation needed for Breton's departure (Guggenheim 228). Toward the end of March 1941, Breton and his family boarded a steamer for Martinique in order to avoid crossing Spain, a Fascist country. Breton and his wife were very grateful for Guggenheim's lasting support, as she continued to provide for their family until Breton found work in New York. Twenty-five years later, Breton recounted these events and his gratitude, revealing to Guggenheim, "I have not, meanwhile, forgot New York, nor Marseilles at the turn of 1940 from which I was able to escape in time, thanks to you. It is evidently one of the greatest landmarks of my life and I can never think without emotion that all depended then on your generous intervention" (Weld 216).

Guggenheim's commitment to saving many acclaimed modern artworks and artists from the perils of war was exceedingly zealous, as she was risking her life to do so. During the war, as someone of Jewish heritage, Guggenheim was particularly vulnerable. Oftentimes, she would have to travel without a safe-conduct visa because she was unable to renew it amidst wartime, and if caught, she could have been sent to a detention camp (Weld 208). Prior to her departure from France, she received a visit from a policeman in plainclothes and was forced to lie about being Jewish, as the French police at the time were targeting refugees in hiding (Guggenheim 234). Her final French police exchange occurred while at the border to Spain, where she received a full body search due to the arousal of suspicion after providing her Jewish name (236).

Guggenheim moved on to New York in 1941, and her precious "war babies" followed her, but only after many months of trouble with storing and shipping. Once in New York, Guggenheim was eager to display her modern art collection, which within a year would double to 170 paintings and sculptures of European avant-garde (Bouvier and Hötte 100). In October of



1942, she was finally given the opportunity to display her beloved collection in her very own modern art gallery. With good reason, she named her gallery Art of This Century (Lord 92).

Guggenheim continued to display her collection, in addition to artworks newly purchased from artists like Jackson Pollock and Robert Motherwell, until the closing of her gallery in May of 1947. In 1948, a year after closing her Art of This Century gallery, she would be given perhaps her most noteworthy invitation: a request to show her entire collection at the 24th Venice Biennale. After organizing this exhibition, and while still surrounded by her beloved “war babies,” she met American art historian Bernard Berenson, a specialist in Renaissance art who was a figure in the art world she intensely admired, as she had read and studied many of his books. While given the opportunity at the Biennale, Guggenheim would commend Berenson for his highly regarded work in art historical academia and would confess to spending a great deal of time studying his publications which focused heavily on the Renaissance. As a modern art cynic, he queried while gazing upon her beloved modern art collection, “Then why do you go in for this?” Guggenheim answered unapologetically, stating, “I couldn’t afford old masters, and anyhow I consider it one’s duty to protect the art of one’s time” (Guggenheim 328-329).

Guggenheim’s collection continues to be on view in her 18th-century palace museum in Venice. In 2016, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection sent out a press release detailing their visitors’ report: a record number of visitors had visited the Peggy Guggenheim Collection since its opening in 1980 to view the artworks she not only dedicated her life to promoting, but also risked her life to protect.

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**Documenting and Exhibiting T. Berry Brazelton's Multidisciplinary Reach**

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Abstract

Beginning in the mid-1950s, the late T. Berry Brazelton, American pediatrician, published numerous works on pediatric health, developmental psychology, and public health approaches. He was perhaps best known for his ability to communicate research findings to parents, specifically mothers. Dr. Brazelton was a best-selling author, a syndicated columnist, and a cable TV show host. In this article, I document Dr. Brazelton's multidisciplinary reach through an analysis of published literature, personal interviews, and newspaper articles. Using the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), I attempt to quantify and exhibit Dr. Brazelton's far-reaching influence on the fields of pediatric health, developmental psychology, and public health.

## Documenting and Exhibiting T. Berry Brazelton's Multidisciplinary Reach

American Pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton played a significant role in changing the traditional perceptions of newborn children amongst medical professionals and parents throughout the world (Nugent, 2013). His work was said to have “contributed substantially to the field of infant-parent work,” and he made “enormous contributions to the transdisciplinary field of infant-family and early childhood mental health” (Brandt, 2013). Moreover, he is cited as being a continuing influencer of public policy and research (Brandt, 2013). Following years of research and media presence, Dr. Brazelton became viewed as an authority on child-parent relationships; he received credit for creating a “veritable child-advice industry” (Lawson, 1990).

Dr. Brazelton's far-reaching influence stemmed, in part, from his ability to communicate findings to both the medical and academic fields and the general public. He authored and co-authored numerous research studies, hosted the TV show “What Every Baby Knows,” which ran from 1984-1995, and wrote over 30 books and a nationally syndicated column (“In Memoriam,” 2018). In 2013, Dr. Brazelton received the Presidential Citizens Medal by President Barack Obama (Oates, 2018).

Dr. Brazelton had an illustrious career, one filled with numerous accolades and awards. Despite such prestige, however, Dr. Brazelton, throughout his life, remained committed to a seemingly simple purpose:

I've always had the model of wanting to use the strengths rather than the failures in parenting. That's the most important thing that I've ever uncovered in my own practice, and I hope in my own teaching (Maron, 1997).

Dr. Brazelton died in March 2018, yet his presence, reach, and influence on pediatrics, developmental psychology, and public health has served as an exemplar for future researchers, clinicians, and health professionals.

### **Pediatric Health**

Dr. Brazelton received his MD from Columbia Medical School in 1943; he then completed a pediatric residency and a fellowship in child psychiatry. In 1953, Dr. Brazelton began authoring research articles in a variety of journals centered around pediatrics and developmental psychology; he co-authored the paper “Emotional aspects of rheumatic fever” in the *Journal of Pediatrics* and authored “The pediatrician and hysteria in childhood” in *Nervous Child*. Nearly a decade later, in 1961, Dr. Brazelton authored a two-part observational study of neonatal behavior titled “Psychophysiological reactions in the neonate.” Present in his early work were themes that would characterize the rest of his career—namely those of infant behavior observation and an emphasis on the infant-environment and infant-mother relationship.

In an interview for an American Academy of Pediatrics oral history project, Dr. Brazelton said his recurring failures to treat autistic or "atypical" children, which were catalyzed by a "blame the victim" model, resulted in his interest in changing approaches to newborns and infants (Maron, 1997). He centered on an approach that sought an understanding of the unique innate differences in infant temperament, and, subsequently, an approach that supported parents in understanding these differences (Oates, 2018).

Dr. Brazelton published his first book *Infants and Mothers* in 1969. The book observes three babies from birth, emphasizing their uniqueness from their first moments and how this individuality causes each child to have differences in development (Davids, 1970). Additionally, he provides support for the reciprocal developmental relationship between a child and its

environment and supports that child-parent relationships improve with awareness of this reciprocity (Davids, 1970). The themes presented in *Infants and Mothers*, that babies are competent individuals from birth, and that babies interact instead of merely react to their environment, was the focal point of many of his later research and published books (Nugent, 2013).

Following his recognition of the innate differences in infant temperament, Dr. Brazelton sought to help parents understand them (Brandt, 2013). In 1973, Dr. Brazelton published a landmark book titled the *Neonatal Behavior Assessment Scale*, which is now in its fourth edition. Dr. Brazelton explained the purpose of the Neonatal Behavior Assessment Scale, saying:

As soon as you share the baby with the parent, you can show them the good things first, and then go to the things that they've got to work on. So that was really my model in practice, to work on people's strengths, to back them up, to share them with them, and then get to what was failing and we could reorganize it (Maron, 1997).

The NBAS is a neurobehavioral scale that examines the infant and its responses to the environment; it assesses the infant's social competencies and quantifies the infant's behavior in an individualized manner (Nugent, 2013). Ohta and Ohgi (2013) note that the NBAS is a valuable tool for assessing the neurobehavioral development of newborns and for understanding the parent-infant relationship. Nugent and Brazelton (2000), in a summary of NBAS-based findings, state that the NBAS strengthens the parent-infant relationship and, ultimately, family adjustment by demonstrating the infant's unique capacities to the parents. A meta-analysis of the NBAS indicated that "Brazelton-based interventions during the neonatal period have a small-moderate beneficial effect on the quality of later parenting" (Eiden & Reifman, 1996).



Dr. Brazelton's influence on pediatric health extended beyond research, however, as seen by his willingness to advocate for pediatric health and related policy, which was said to have influenced "the care of children and families and the professional practice of pediatric nurses" (Stadtler, Brandt, Kovak, & Beauchesne, 2013). His emphasis on recognizing the role that nurses play in health care teams and his collaboration with nursing is predicted to serve as a model for future generations of health professionals (Stadtler, Brandt, Kovak, & Beauchesne, 2013). More specifically, Dr. Brazelton is noted as advocating for parental and medical leave bills in front of Congress and working to improve child care support for working parents; in 1989, Congress appointed him to the National Commission on Children ("Leadership," 1995).

Dr. Brazelton's published works—including the NBAS, opinion columns, and books—were not free from criticism, however. The reliability of early versions of the NBAS came under scrutiny by those in the pediatric field (Clopton & Martin, 1984); researchers cautioned about the NBAS' effectiveness as an early childhood intervention (Belsky, 1985); and Dr. Brazelton's views on toilet training were described as "Freudian mumbo jumbo" by a prominent family psychologist (qtd. in Goode, 1999).

### **Developmental Psychology**

Dr. Brazelton is noted as the founder of the developmental and behavioral pediatrics discipline and is cited as leaving a lasting legacy in medicine and psychology, amongst other fields ("In Remembrance," 2018). As the NBAS evaluates and predicts child development, it is credited with influencing developmental psychology immensely ("In Remembrance," 2018). Berry Lester, professor of psychiatry and Human Behavior at Brown Alpert Medical School, commented in an article in the *New York Times* that Dr. Brazelton "caused a Copernican revolution, an entire paradigm shift in our understanding of child development" (qtd. in Klass,

2018). While Dr. Brazelton was not the first pediatrician to disseminate child development findings and provide advice to parents through mass-media mediums, he did so in a unique way (Swartz, 2018).

Before Dr. Brazelton, American pediatrician Benjamin Spock, 1903 - 1998, was well-known as the nation's top baby doctor (Carp, 2000). Dr. Spock was recognized as an authority on the subject due, in part, to his willingness to translate his findings and hypotheses into mass media mediums such as books, columns, and a TV show on NBC (Zuckerman, 1975). Dr. Spock published his best-selling book *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* in 1945; it is now in its ninth edition (Pace, 1998). In fact, according to Lewkonja (1998), Dr. Spock's "success as a paediatrician was not as an academician or scholar, but as a communicator, a public teacher and advocate for the social needs of children."

In similar ways to that of Dr. Spock's work, Dr. Brazelton's child development research and studies "fundamentally changed" the way the field approached newborns and their temperament, personalities, and capabilities (Swartz, 2018). In much of his research and the NBAS, Dr. Brazelton explains that child development does not progress linearly; instead, it progresses from organized periods to disorganized periods during developmental growth (Swartz, 2018; Oates, 2018). According to Dr. Brazelton:

I began to realize that there were predictable times in a child's development that they would regress or disorganize. Development went in a burst of learning, in leveling off and consolidating, and a burst (Maron, 1997).

This realization was at the heart of the NBAS, as it sought to predict these periods, therefore allowing parents to better understand their child's development and, ultimately, their child (Maron, 1997). According to Dr. Brazelton, "If you could be there to predict that this was going

to happen, parents began to feel empowered. They began to understand that regression was a very important part of progress” (Maron, 1997).

Dr. Brazelton credited those involved in child development and developmental psychology as following that which he committed to early in his career—a focus on the “positive in things”; he explained how the NBAS allowed him to synthesize all of his training into one model: “The pediatric training, the psychiatric training, and the child development came together in this model” (Maron, 1997).

### **Public Health**

The NBAS is noted as the most comprehensive infant neurobehavioral assessment technique available (“Brazelton Touchpoints”). Due to its comprehensive nature, it has been used in a variety of research relating to infant health and public health, both by Dr. Brazelton and numerous other researchers. Such research fields include infant neurotoxicology (Engel et al., 2007; Honglin et al., 2007; Parajuli, 2013); the effects of low-birth-weight on cognitive development and mother-infant relationship (Feldman & Eidelman, 2006); and the examination of infant behavior variations among different cultures (Nugent, Petrauskas, & Brazelton, 2009).

In public health research and health policy research, researchers have noted the importance of implementing health policies that are inclusive of approaches toward infant mental health (Knitzer, 2007). Thus, it is commendable that the NBAS has been implemented in infant health approaches by the Department of Health in the United Kingdom (Hawthorn, 2015), as well as in Napa, California via Touchpoints, a professional development program centered around the NBAS (Nugent, 2013; Stadtler et al., 2013).

The NBAS’ emphasis on predicting and educating parents on infant development allows for its use across cultures, and it is cited as having a global health reach (“In Remembrance,”

2018). Dr. Brazelton conducted and participated in numerous research studies focused on infant health in different countries, including research focused on the development of infants from the Zinacanteco Indians of southern Mexico; effects of nutrition deprivation on Guatemalan newborn behavior; comparisons of neonatal behavior among Zambians and Americans; implications of infant development among Mayan Indians; and malnutrition in an East African village (Brazelton, Robey, & Collier, 1969; Brazelton, 1972; Brazelton, Koslowski, Tronick, 1976; Brazelton, Tronik, Lechtig, Lasky, & Klein, 1977; Dixon, Devine, & Brazelton, 1982). Therefore, it is evident that the NBAS has influenced public health and health policy relating to infants, and, it is also evident that Dr. Brazelton, during his life, showed a commitment to studying infant health on a global scale.

### **Data Analysis**

Use of the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) sought to determine, quantify, and exhibit Dr. Brazelton's influence and effect on the fields of pediatrics, developmental psychology, and public health. Through citation analysis, the influence of a particular individual—among other factors—is quantified from citation data of scholarly research publications (“Citation Analysis in Research Evaluation,” 2005).

The analysis focused on three trends of citation data to quantify influence: the number of Dr. Brazelton's articles that were published per year, how many times these publications were cited per year, and the specific journals in which they were published. In addition, the h-index, which provides a method for measuring and quantifying the cumulative impact of a particular individual's scientific work (Hirsch, 2005), was used. The h-index is calculated as  $h$  number of papers which have been cited at least  $h$  times (Hirsch, 2005). For example, if an author has an h-index of 25, this means that they have 25 papers that have received at least 25 citations each.

Application of this methodology occurred regarding Dr. Brazelton's publications.

Refinement of the SSCI/Web of Science categories occurred to promote accuracy and exclude any publications from individuals with a similar first or last name to Dr. Brazelton<sup>1</sup>. The time frame was narrowed to 1950 to 2019.

Analyzing Dr. Brazelton's published works via the SSCI produced multiple figures exhibiting his substantial impact on several fields.

First, the data depicts an extended period of activity in scientific journals, beginning in 1961 (Figure 1). From 1961 to present, Dr. Brazelton's estimated 90 published articles have received an average of 48 citations a year. This figure, when calculated including only the years after the publication of the first edition of the NBAS in 1973, increases to near 58 (57.4) citations per year (Figure 2). The continual citation of Dr. Brazelton's work in recent articles proves that his research has, in many ways, "stood the test of time." This is perhaps the most important finding from this first set of data—the timelessness and applicability of Dr. Brazelton's research.

Second, the journals in which Dr. Brazelton's articles were published depict the multidisciplinary focus of his work: 52 publications in pediatrics; 30 publications in developmental psychology; and over 5 in psychiatry, neurology, and obstetrics/gynecology. While it is clear that much of Dr. Brazelton's research centered around his medical training, it is also evident that he explored and investigated topics in a variety of medical and science fields (Figure 3).

Lastly, and most importantly, the analysis calculated that Dr. Brazelton had an h-index of 25. Hirsch (2005) quantifies an h-index of 20 as a "successful scientist," and an h-index of 40 as an "outstanding scientist." Therefore, in keeping with the h-index as a measure of cumulative achievement (Hirsch, 2005), it is justified in saying that Dr. Brazelton had a successful career in

conducting scientific research and producing scientific research articles, in addition to his career as a clinician and media figure.

Additionally, in keeping with Dr. Brazelton's seemingly humble and modest approach, it is notable that he said conducting research was never his strength, explaining that "I never was a researcher and still am not a good researcher" (Maron, 1997). In fact, he noted that research, if not for anything else, provided "one more link" to his patients (Maron, 1997).

### **Limitations**

As mentioned earlier in the text, Dr. Brazelton's career extended beyond scientific journals to other mediums, such as books, columns, and TV. Therefore, the results from the citation analysis do not paint the full picture of Dr. Brazelton's career and should not be interpreted as an exhaustive review of his influence and impact. That said, the SSCI analysis does attempt to exhibit his impact on the scientific community specifically.

Additionally, the h-index as a quantification of scientific impact has limitations—one, in particular, is the reductionist approach of quantifying an individual's "multifaceted" career into one number without consideration of other factors (Hirsch, 2005). As Dr. Brazelton was arguably more so a popularizer or media figure, reliance on the h-index to quantify his career has apparent limitations. Therefore, the h-index should function simply as a piece of the greater data and documentation presented.

### **Conclusion**

Dr. Brazelton's remarkable career thus serves as an example to researchers, clinicians, and health professionals who seek involvement in multiple—possibly interrelated—disciplines and provides evidence that disseminating research results, findings, and conclusions to the general public through the media is important and impactful. From the documentation and

quantitative analysis provided in this article, it is evident that Dr. Brazelton had a tremendous, lasting impact on the fields of pediatrics, developmental psychology, and public health, and that, this was achieved, in part, because of his media presence.

In this article, an emphasis was placed on SSCI data. It is noted in the text that, while this data set allows for numerous insights about an individual's career, it provides little in the way of quantification of media presence. Therefore, future research could delve further into his books, columns, and TV show in an attempt to explore what made them successful and popular. This examination may shed light on what makes a health communicator successful—a topic that applies to physician media presence in today's age. Future research may also explore the effects of physician media presence on health literacy and the public's perception, trust, and confidence in medicine.

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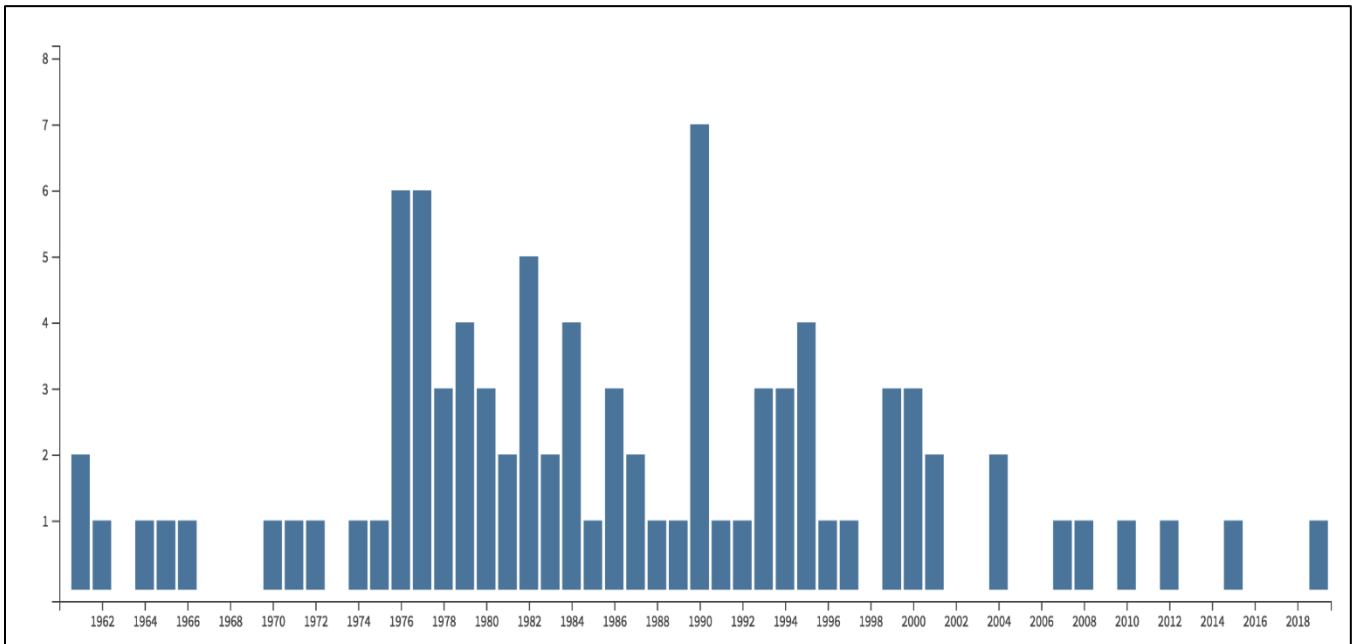
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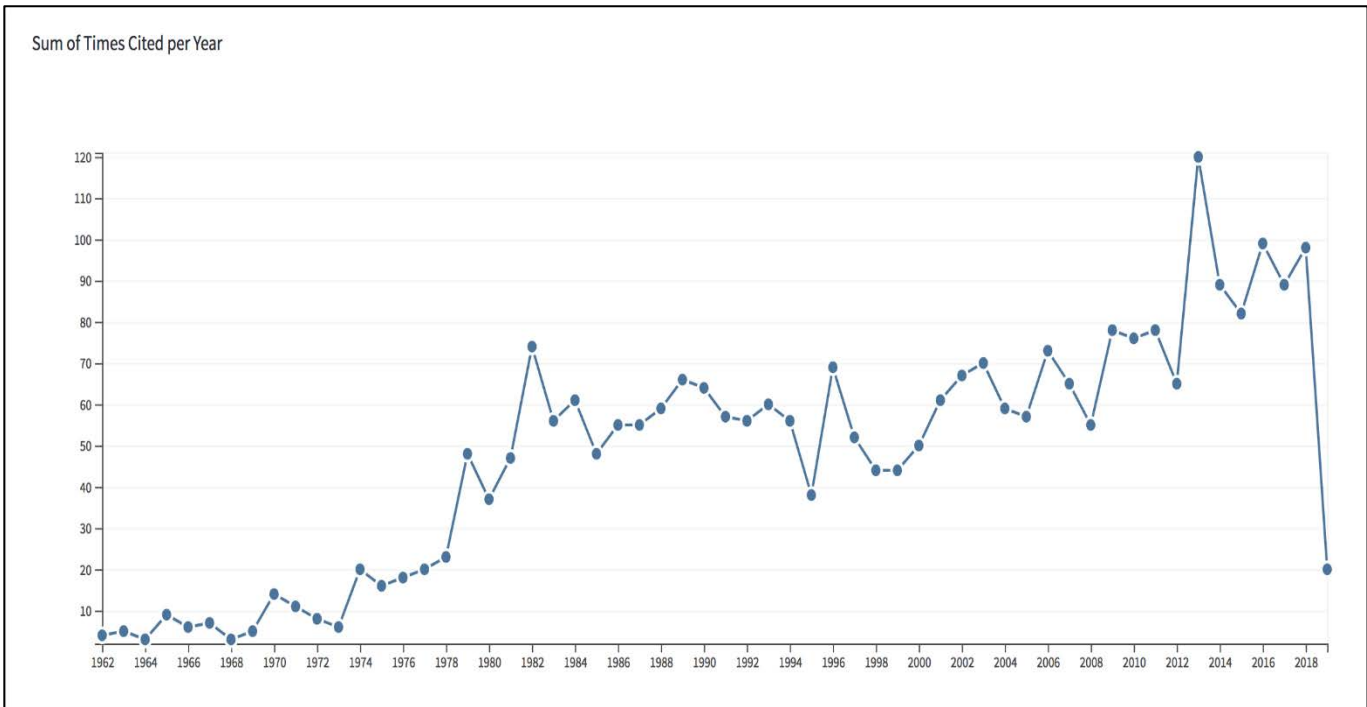
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Footnotes

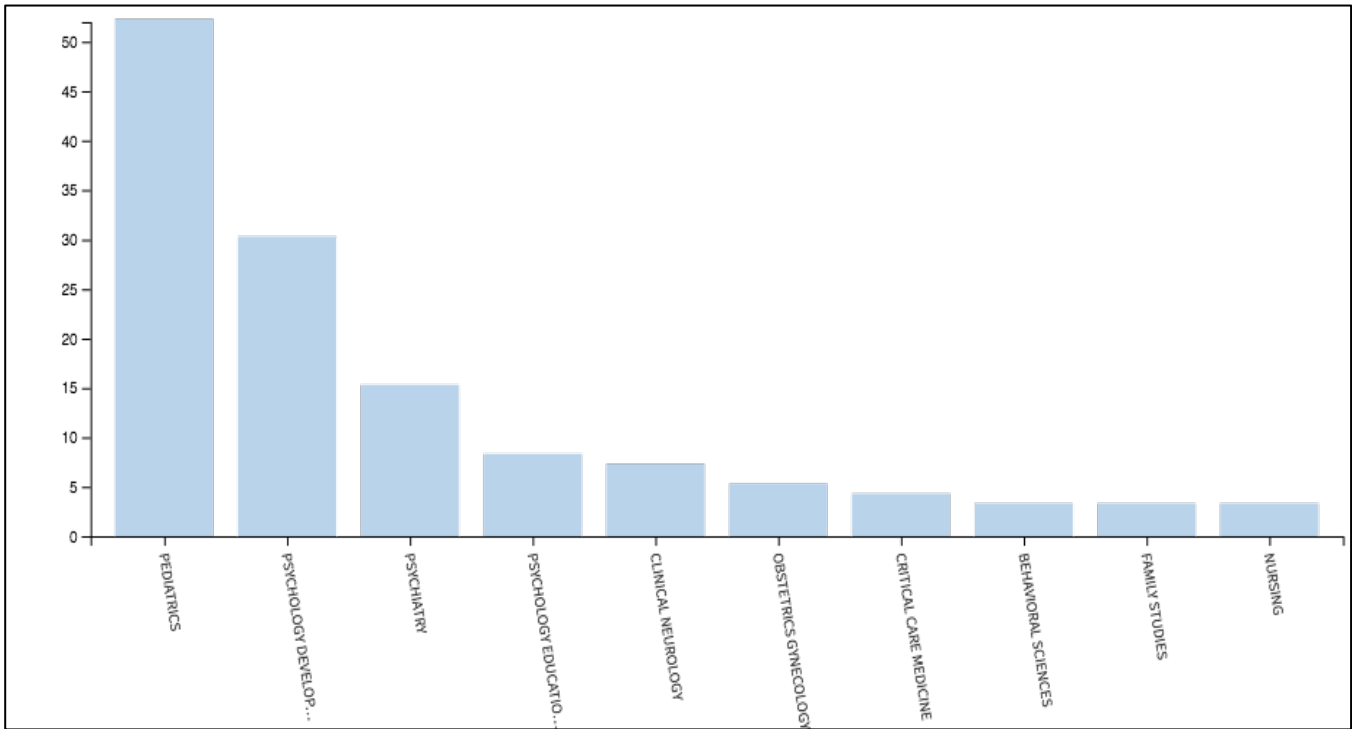
<sup>1</sup>Topics included: *Pediatrics, Family Studies, Psychology Developmental, Hematology, Nursing, Nutrition Dietetics, Psychiatry, Psychology, Oncology, Psychology Educational, Medicine General, Internal, Psychology Clinical, Clinical Neurology, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, Psychology Social, Obstetrics Gynecology, Social Work, Rehabilitation, Critical Care Medicine, Anesthesiology, Reproductive Biology, Behavioral Sciences, Education Special.*



*Figure 1.* Total publications as published by year. The Y-axis represents the total number; the X-axis represents the year. According to the refined SSCI data set, Dr. Brazelton published 91 articles. Figure generated by the SSCI.



*Figure 2.* Sum of Times Cited per Year of Dr. Brazelton’s published work in the SSCI. The Y-axis displays the sum total; the X-axis displays the year. A noticeable increase in citations occurs following the publishing of the NBAS in 1973, and this trend continues for much of the rest of Dr. Brazelton’s career. Figure generated by the SSCI.



*Figure 3.* Total publications as published by category (SSCI defined). The Y-axis represents total number of publications; the x-axis represents the category of the publications. Note: only the top 10 categories are included in the figure. Figure generated by the SSCI.

**Does it Matter the Educator's Race when Teaching about Race?**

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Imagine it is your first day at a new school and you are meeting your students for the first time. You are a Caucasian woman of European decent in her thirties and are told by the administration you will be teaching the novel, "To Kill A Mockingbird," by Harper Lee and will be discussing racism with your students. You walk into your classroom and meet your students and realize that 80% of them are African American, 15% are of Hispanic decent and the remaining students appear to be Caucasian. Now that you have met your students and have been told what you will be teaching as well as what themes the administration wants taught, some fear may set in. As you think, "Will I be able to teach about race and how to overcome racism in an effective manner to my students? Can I do this as someone, who grew up in a Caucasian culture?" Now, some will argue, no you can't because you do not understand the hardships that other races have endured over time; however, others will argue that you can be effective when teaching a controversal topic such as racism to your students. The first argues their reasoning as to why as a white individual you cannot be effective with your students.

Beverly Cross is an associate professor of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee that argues that even though student teacher candidates receive method courses as well as observation time in the field, students are still not prepared to be in a classroom of minority students and be effective. In 2003, Cross started to realize that most of the students, who were enrolled in the education program at her university were females and not only females but were mostly of Caucasian background. During this semester, thirteen student candidates were interviewed at the end of their completed courses and their field experience. Cross made sure these candidates were placed in a minority low-income school for at least one semester in order to have exposure and learn from a different culture. Cross was hopeful that they could bridge the, "cultural/racial mismatch gap, that results in a significant detachment of White teacher educators



and White teacher education students from children of color,” (Cross, 204). However, Cross quickly learned that from her interviews from her students that even though they observed and planned lessons for the minority classroom, they were not as effective as she had hoped and had not learned how to embrace a culture that was not their own. For example, when asked how they taught about how to integrate language diversity into their lessons, the feedback Cross received was, “ They could not recall being taught, for example, how to use the students’ language as a bridge for teaching English, connecting to the students’ culture, examining issues of the social production of language, or to use English as a tool of power and social control. The teachers seemed to think that their responsibility for language diversity ended when they heeded the warning not to put the students down for the way they spoke.” (Cross, 206)

As Cross continued interviewing her student teacher candidates, there continued to be a disconnect from what students learned in their methods courses and their time in field; therefore, students were not experimenting with the methods they learned in class to get to know their students, but instead just observed the students in their environment and hardly interacted with them. It is as if the candidates feared interacting with students of a minority group, which is just sad. Another example of Cross’ candidates disconnect was when they were asked about how they brought students’ cultures into the classroom through literature and from all the answers she received, she concluded that, “When asked what else they did with the literature to make it significant in their racially diverse classrooms, there were no responses. The teachers felt that if the literature contained characters from their students’ racial group, then that was meaningful and good urban teaching.” (Cross, 207) In the end of Cross’ research she concluded that, “It is becoming increasingly clear that teacher education also plays a crucial role in reproducing these inequalities.” (Cross, 210). Therefore, Caucasian teachers cannot begin to understand how to

take on a minority classroom without having more exposure in an urban setting and not just observing, but actually interacting and getting to know their students then just by their skin color and family income. However, Cross is not 100% incorrect according to another educator, Melissa F. Weiner.

Weiner agrees with Cross when it comes to having Caucasian teachers in the minority classroom, but she claims that a big reason that Caucasians cannot teach minorities is because of their rose-colored glasses called “colorblindness.” Weiner states that, “...often using a colorblind rhetoric to argue that do not consider skin color in their daily lives; that they judge people based on ‘who they are’...But as so many have documented, colorblindness not only inhibits deep understandings of structural inequalities, but perpetuates racist consequences of multiple ‘colorblind’ policies.” (Weiner, 44) Basically, Weiner wants the audience to know that when teachers do not acknowledge a student’s color, income, and culture, how can they really get to know that their students are more than just a skin color or their parents’ income. Weiner goes on further to explain how when a Caucasian teacher teaches other Caucasian students there is usually no misunderstandings when it comes to culture; however when a Caucasian teacher interacts with a minority group such as African American students, “For example, when African American children collaborate on work, it is seen as cheating, rather than evidence of deeply embedded cultures of solidarity, and often find themselves pushed out of school through harsh disciplinary procedures.” (Weiner, 46). Teachers that are not part of this group are quick to judge and instead of speaking with the students about what happened jumps to conclusions and the students end up in trouble for what they thought was appropriate given their background in their community. Weiner also talks about how teachers’ colorblindness can also be an issue about discussing real life history and current events involving other cultures that they do not feel

like talking with their students about, because they do not understand the culture and they do not feel comfortable talking about it. But instead of having a mature discussion with their class, they chose to ignore it as if it does not exist. This in turn can be an issue for both minority students and Caucasian students, because of their ignorance of knowledge or as Weiner says it's their "blindness to racial and ethnic inequality." (Weiner, 47) Even though colorblindness is an issue not just in our classrooms, but also outside the classroom, fellow educator Jonathan Warren argues that Caucasian teachers can chose to remove their rose-colored lenses and fight against the colorblindness.

In Warren's disposition on colorblindness, he believes Caucasian teachers can overcome it and be an effective part of a minority classroom. However, it does not come easy and there will be some learning about different cultures as well as embracing and accepting others, which can be difficult at times. This can be done by a dedicated person. Warren writes that, "Examples of the profiles of the whites from whom I have learned include high school teachers, who feel inept at dealing with race in their schools and are looking for guidance; young adults who want, as part of their general education , to better understand race; bus drivers; Microsoft employees; and housewives who are in multiracial families and consequently are searching for the more sophisticated discussions about racism." (Warren, 110) By being open-minded and learning about others especially students, teachers can reach their students by learning about their culture and implementing it into their curriculum, which in turn can make students interested in the lesson despite the teacher's race. Warren goes on to say, "Becoming a white antiracist is a long, involved process that requires a crucial acceptance of one's racial identity, not denial of it." (Warren, 111) Therefore, informing teachers that they can overcome racism, but it will take some time. However, Warren later warns us, "Even though it may be uncomfortable, awkward

and painful, it is important for the antiracist teachers to remind whites that it is the path forward. Whites should be encouraged to leave their comfort zone and experience the awkwardness of being a novice, inhabiting publics in which whiteness is not the norm, and subaltern subjects not be muted.” (Warren, 119) In other words, Caucasian teachers should not be afraid to be uncomfortable with their students when discussing major issues such as racism, especially when it comes to the news or something crazy that has happened in the media. Another scholar Andrea J. Stairs would agree with Warren and his findings as she has put together another experiment similar to Cross’ when it comes to student teacher candidates; however, she is in agreement with Warren and not Cross.

Stairs observed two Caucasian female student teacher candidates as they entered their semester working at an urban community school. During her observation of her candidates, Cara and Laura even though both came from Caucasian backgrounds, were able to embrace their students for who they were and were able to put together a lesson that would interest their students. Cara and Laura designed a unit on the Harlem Renaissance and used the students’ culture to connect it to the Harlem Renaissance. They went as far as using current rap lyrics to connect to the historical elements of the Renaissance with their students. Because Cara and Laura took the time to get to know their students and their background, they were able to put together a lesson that their students not only enjoyed but felt a connection to as well. It did not matter that Cara and Laura were both Caucasian and came from a different background than their students. They showed they cared and went the extra mile to show they did not only care about their students but also their culture. Not only did they develop a lesson full of differential instruction, but they also shared a little bit about themselves, like Laura did when she spoke with the students about how she played the oboe when she was in band in school. Sharing a little bit

about herself with her students allowed them to open up to her and made her feel more than just a teacher, but she showed she was also a student at one point in time like them. Like Stairs says, "...culturally responsive teachers not only know their students well, they use what they know about their students to give them access to learning." (Stairs, 40) Even though Cara and Laura spent ten weeks at this particular school Stairs shared, "...Not only did they understand how important it was to modify instruction based on pupils' needs, but they also understood the complexity of urban teaching." (Stairs, 40) As a current teacher candidate, I agree with both Stairs and Warren when it comes to teaching students of a minority group despite my Caucasian background.

Similar to Cara and Laura's lessons I would love to incorporate my students' cultures and make other students aware of the different cultures within our classroom. I also want my students to feel comfortable in my classroom and for them to understand my classroom is a safe space to discuss culture and other sensitive topics. I know over time, students will be challenging both in my classroom and when certain news stories may peak their interests. I want to have eye-opening discussions with my students about the different cultures not just that are present in our classroom, but also on the outside of the classroom. I feel as if my students and I will be able to have eye-opening discussions about the many cultures out there and not just African American or Hispanic cultures, which are a majority of the minor cultures in our classrooms in NWI, but also discuss the many different Asian cultures, Muslim, Native American, etc. There are so many cultures out there that many students may not know about or have misconceptions about. I want students to feel that they can discuss the many cultures in my classroom and feel safe when asking questions to better understand the culture that they are discussing. I also want my students to feel safe when discussing cultural issues that arise in the media especially when it comes to

racism. Racism is one of the biggest issues' students will encounter whether in the classroom, home, work, or just out in the public eye. If we can educate our students in smaller groups and help them better understand what is going on around them, maybe they can go into the world and teach others how to overcome racism by using their knowledge and in acceptance in their communities.

Knowledge and acceptance can be the reasons to help remove racism from our everyday lives. By taking the time to better understand different cultures, communities, and racism, maybe just maybe, we can change the world a little bit at a time. Our students are our future, and don't we want the future to be full of a community and world where we can have friends and family in a community of acceptance.

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**An Analysis of the Implications, Content, & Effectiveness of Sex Offender Registration &  
Notification Laws**

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### **Abstract**

In this research paper, a secondary literature review will be completed with material relating to Sexual Offender Registration and Notification Laws. Additionally, we will look at the effects these laws have on recidivism rates, offenders, and family of sexual offenders. A chronological progression of these SORN laws will also be explored. We will also be summarizing the original crime leading to Megan's Law, the rape and murder of Megan Kanka which occurred in 1994. We will also be analyzing the Federal Legislation that make up Sexual Offender Registration and Notification Laws. We will look at the effectiveness of these laws via recidivism rates and examine the many effects these laws have on offenders. By conducting this analysis we hope to develop a clearer understanding of the effectiveness of forced registration for sex offenders. Additionally we plan to look into the circumstances of the individuals who end up on these registries, and how having this information accessible to public affects those registered individuals.

Megan Kanka was a seven year old girl from New Jersey who was taken from her own yard and brutally murdered by a known sex offender, Jesse Timmendequas, in 1994.

Sources state, “Megan had last been seen riding her bike outside her home in West Windsor Township, New Jersey, on July 29. Her parents found her bike on the front lawn and immediately began to search for her. The following day, her body was discovered in Mercer County Park.”(History, 2009). This case shocked the public and there was national outrage. People wanted to feel secure and to know when they lived near sex offenders. This led to the development of Megan’s Laws at both the federal and state levels.

Before the murder of Megan Kanka, there was no legally required sex offender registry that was mandated to be shared with the public. The only piece of legislation passed regarding registration of sex offenders was the Jacob Wetterling Act which was a part of the Federal Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Office of Justice Programs). This act required sex offender registration, laid foundation for state registration laws, and created the classification of Sexually Violent Predators (Office of Justice Programs). These Sexually Violent Predators were placed on the sex offender registry for their lifetime, this was unheard of before this legislation. However, what makes this act different than Megan’s Law is that this information was not required to be shared with the public. These registries were not public record like we think of today, instead they were primarily accessible to law enforcement and could be shared only by their discretion. After her murder in 1994, multiple legislative acts followed.

The first piece of legislation was the passing of Megan’s Law in 1996, which amended and expanded upon the Jacob Wetterling Act (Office of Justice Programs). Megan’s Law required information on sex offenders to be publicly shared when danger was posed to the public

or to protect the public (Office of Justice Programs). It also made it so that information could be released for any legal reason under state law (Office of Justice Programs). The next large legislative act was the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act in 1998. This act expanded the Jacob Wetterling Act and expanded on state registration by requiring offenders to register in the state they lived and to re-register if they moved states or committed a crime in another state (Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act in 1998).

Legislation on the surveillance of sex offenders increased in the years leading up to the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act in 2006 (Office of Justice Programs). This act included the implementation of the Office of Sex Offender Sentencing, Monitoring, Apprehending, Registering, and Tracking (SMART) as well as expanding jurisdiction over the 212 federally recognized indian tribes (Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act 2006). This act also included all federal, state, territory, tribal, and UCMJ sex offense convictions into the sex offender registry (Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, 2006).

In 2008 the KIDS Act of 2008 took thing a step further. This act aimed “To require convicted sex offenders to register online identifiers, and for other pur-poses” (Keeping the Internet Devoid of Sexual Predators Act of 2008). This act made it so sexual offenders may legally be required to give their social networking information and allowed for an offenders information like “name, sex, resident address, photograph, and physical description” to be shared in certain circumstances (Keeping the Internet Devoid of Sexual Predators Act of 2008).

The Military Sex Offender Reporting Act of 2015 addressed the issue of sexual crimes for individuals “(A) released from military corrections facilities; or (B) convicted if the sentences

adjudged by courts-martial”. This essentially means that if a military personnel committed a sex offense that this was required to be registered like civilian sex offenses were.

The last piece of legislation we will be addressing is the International Megan’s Law to Prevent Child Exploitation and Other Sexual Crimes Through Advanced Notification of Traveling Sex Offenders act which was passed in 2016. This act addresses child sex tourism, and sex offender traveling by allowing the authority’s to “determine if individuals traveling abroad are listed on the National Sex Offender Registry” (International Megan’s Law to Prevent Child Exploitation and Other Sexual Crimes Through Advanced Notification of Traveling Sex Offenders). Additionally, it allowed for a listing of all sex offenders who received permission to travel internationally and provide this information to the “United States Marshals Service’s National Sex Offender Targeting Center” (International Megan’s Law to Prevent Child Exploitation and Other Sexual Crimes Through Advanced Notification of Traveling Sex Offenders). This information was to be shared with the “Angel Watch Center” within 24 hours of a convicted offender being approved for international travel (International Megan’s Law to Prevent Child Exploitation and Other Sexual Crimes Through Advanced Notification of Traveling Sex Offenders). This allowed for the location of offenders travelling internationally to be known and shared for public protection. It also prevented offenders from hiding their registration or criminal conviction in other countries.

All of these laws greatly impacted how sex offender registration information is used. Over the past few decades the general public has been given full access to the identities and locations of offenders of sexual crimes. Today locating sex offenders in your neighborhood or town is as simple as a Google search. Many websites are dedicated to providing full maps of sex offender residencies. Gone are the days of not knowing a sex offender lives next door. We are

now more informed than ever on sexual offenders, and the National Sex Offender Registry is a beloved tool of many parents.

Now that we have looked at what laws exist for Sex Offender Registries, we will look at how well these laws work and how they impact recidivism. According to Jennifer Klein, sex offenders are often perceived and treated with the same fear and stigma despite the variation of crime in which can register you as a sex offender (2017). Even more, Jennifer Klein notes that sex offenders do not have a high rate of reoffending, yet there is separation between the actual rates of recidivism and the fear of reoffending (2017). According to a study done by Arizona Law Professor Ira Ellman, “ 32 percent of sex offenders assessed as a high risk to re-offend did so within 15 years. For offenders judged low risk, the number was 5 percent. And for high-risk offenders who made it 16 years with no re-offenses, their re-offense rate thereafter was zero.” (Yoder 2016). This could mean that lifetime registration may not be fully necessary in all cases. Carr J. B. researched the effectiveness of the sex offender registry in North Dakota and found two things: that the sex offender registry had no effect on recidivism, but there was a reduction in probation violations (2016). This research suggests that the sex offender registry has had minimum impact on deterrence and has created a hefty stigma against anybody included in the sex offender registry, regardless of the crime they may have committed. Levenson, J. S., Grady, M. D., and Leibowitz, G. summarized the barriers faced by sex offenders with reintegration, caused by the sex offender registry, as well as the many flaws that come with the registry (2016). Levenson et al. also suggested five ways in which the sex offender registry could be improved. These suggestions were to stop the subjection of juvenile sex offenders into the registry, determine duration on the registry based on the risk that an individual sex offender poses, give judges back that right of discretion, allow procedures to relieve or remove sex offenders from the

registry, and abolish any restrictions on residence (Levenson et al., 2016). The authors concluded that the application of these suggestions should cause a marked decrease in fiscal and social costs as well as an increase in public safety (Levenson et al., 2016). However, more empirical evidence is required. Steps like these could help relieve barriers to the reformation of sex offenders and hopefully decrease recidivism rates.

According to Rolfe, S. M., Tewksbury, R., and Schroeder, R. D., reentry barriers caused by the sex offender registry “have affected **sex offenders'** ability to find and maintain housing, employment, and social support” (2017). Barriers like these increase the number of homeless registered sex offenders, yet these registered sex offenders often cannot access homeless shelters due to factors such as policy and proximity to children (Rolfe et al., 2017). Not only does the sex offender registry increase the chances of registered sex offenders becoming homeless, it also creates another barrier to finding support that others in the homeless community can obtain. Barriers such as these impact the reintegration success rate of registered sex offenders in our society. Kilmer, A., and Leon, C. S. take a look into how the sex offender registry has affected family life of those on the registry. Specifically, Kilmer, A., and Leon, C. S. questioned those who were family members of the convicted sex offenders, finding that the convicted member of the family had problems connecting with others in the family due to difficulties participating in family bonding activities (2017).

While Sex Offender Registration and Notification Laws have made huge strides in the, past few decades, the issue remains complicated and unsolved. While sex offender registration leads the public to feel safer, they do not actually impact recidivism rates. Additionally, the sex offender registry is not a system without flaws, as it does not accurately differentiate between the different types and severities of sex offenses. In the future sex offender registries will likely need

to be modified to be truly effective measures for informing the public about high risk sex offenders. Discretion will also need to be made between offenses. Additionally, as the modern age of technology continues, sex offense legislation will also need to change to remain diligent and effective. The future handling of sex offenses is murky, however with more research on rehabilitation and community awareness this registry could change vastly in the coming years.

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**Language Creation, its Sound, and its Relationship to Gender and Culture**

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Conlanging is the creation of a constructed language; a conlanger is someone who creates these fictional languages (“About Conlanging”). Some well-known examples of fictitious languages, or conlangs, are Elvish, Klingon, Na’vi, and Dothraki. These languages have been developed so completely, that there are now an abundance of resources for people to become fluent. Colangers will often use their new language to help paint a picture of a culture or society. These languages, based on their sound and construction, are clearly connected to the society, culture, and belief system of the speaking characters. When building a new language, conlangers reference real-world languages. While a conlanger is deciding what parts of these real-world languages to use, they must choose what image and characteristics they wish to give their new people, in order to create an accurate portrayal. These conlangs are representative of the languages and cultures they are molded from, because of the clear stereotypes associated with linguistic sounds.

David J. Peterson, author, artist, and American Linguist, wrote the book *The Art of Language Invention: From Horse-Lords to Dark Elves, the Words Behind World-Building*. Peterson’s novel is an innovative guide to language construction. He provides his readers, and fellow conlangers, with essential tips and tools to consider when creating a language. While Peterson was studying the morphology of language at UC Berkeley, he realized that by using the rules of linguistics, he could construct his own languages. This was the beginning of his newly discovered interest in conlanging. After graduating from Berkeley, Peterson went on to get a masters degree in linguistics from UC San Diego. He is the co-founder of The Language Creation Society, which is nonprofit organization for conlangers (“The Man Who Invented Dothraki”).

When creating a conlang, there are some steps to consider in order to make your language as lifelike as possible. Typically, a conlanger's creator is inspired by real world culture and languages; fake languages become more believable to listeners when they have been created from something our society has heard before. It is also important to study a variety of languages, and to understand the grammar and syntax of these languages. When conlanging, you are not limited to one specific set of language rules. A conlanger can take as much as they want, from as many languages as they want. That being said, it's easier if the conlanger begins with one specific language reference, and works outward from there by adding pieces from other languages. Like in English, many languages borrow words, or roots of words, from other languages. When creating a new language, using pieces from different languages not only creates diversification, but makes it more realistic. As a conlanger begins to create the vocabulary for their language, they can decide to modify pronunciation of specific vowels or syllables; in linguistics this is referred to as the place of articulation ("5 Tips for Creating Believable Fictional Languages").

J. R. R. Tolkien, author of both *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit*, is considered a linguistic genius. Before Tolkien began to write his novels he had completely constructed the languages that his characters would speak. He had worked and reworked his languages so that they could build and function off of one another, while remaining unique and individual. Elvish languages for example, can be broken down into subcategories. The primary name for Elvish tongue is Quenya. However, Sindarin, is another form of Quenya that other elves spoke. Not only had Tolkien created an entirely new language, he had created what sociolinguistics refer to as language variety. Language variety, also called lect, is a general term for the forms of a language such as dialect and register ("Definition and Examples of Language Varieties").

Tolkien based Quenya loosely on the Finnish and Welsh languages. Finnish became especially influential to Tolkien around the time he began to create a mythology for Quenya. Tolkien modified and added to his languages constantly; this included, but was not limited to, conjugation, and pronominal systems (“Languages in The Lord of the Rings”). His Elvish languages were added to when he applied double meanings, refined definitions, and created synonyms.

Although Tolkien used pieces of other languages like Finnish to shape Elvish language, their culture was one created entirely on its own. Albeit a reader’s first inclination may be to associate the elves with some type of royal hierarchy, they act nothing like a hierarchy in the traditional or historical sense. They are strong, but graceful, and individual to any real-world societies. Tolkien created his language using sounds and rules from languages he believed would capture the tenacity of the elves, while staying true to their grace and refinement.

Galadriel, a female elf, was one of the most powerful and wisest characters Tolkien created. She is respected, and was a bearer of one of the three rings of power. A female being responsible for something so dangerous, and having so much power of her own, is representative of the Elfin culture. The women are thought of as equals to men; females can be leaders, strong, and influential. In the world Tolkien has created for the elves, there are no gender barriers or biases. Interestingly, both Finnish and Welsh cultures are historically progressive when compared to others. Finish customs can be described as liberal, and is considered to be a very equal country in terms of gender (“A Guide to Finish Customs and Manners”). In 1906, they gave women the right to vote, and were the first parliament to adopt gender equality (“Finland’s Parliament: Pioneer of Gender Equality”). Finnish was Tolkien’s favorite language. It is easy to

see the similarities between the society Tolkien studied and the society he created. Some may go as far as to argue that Tolkien was a feminist, including a subliminal agenda within his texts.

George R. R. Martin, author of *A Game of Thrones*, was not as linguistically invested as Tolkien was in the creation of the language for his people, the Dothraki. Although Martin did create a number of words and phrases for the Dothraki, the language was not fully developed until the novels became an HBO television series. The previously mentioned American Linguist, David J. Peterson, built off of the words Martin had used, and developed the complete language. Peterson referenced Russian, Turkish, and a variety of other languages throughout the development of Dothraki. The problem with creating a linguistically sound language, was that Peterson had to make sure his construction, and pragmatics, matched that of which Martin had already created. Peterson later wrote the novel *Living Language: Dothraki*, which is the complete guide to the language and culture of the Dothraki.

In Dothraki society, women are unimportant and continuously objectified. In the Dothraki society women are used for reproduction; females are marginally more important than their horses. The Dothraki men are portrayed as brutal and animalistic. During a Dothraki wedding, men have sex with as many women as they please (in public), and if two men choose the same woman, they must fight to the death. This is common and expected; weddings that have less than three deaths are considered uneventful (“Dothraki” [awoiaf.westeros.org]).

Martin has explained that the Dothraki were inspired by a mix of the Mongols, Huns, Native American plains tribes, and other nomadic horse riding people (“Dothraki” [gameofthrones.fandom.com]). The angular and guttural sounds of their language are illustrative of the Dothraki ruggedness and harshness. Although Mongolian women traditionally had more

freedom than Persian or Chinese women, they experienced inequality. Women didn't hold rank like men, and had a very different set of expected jobs ("Mongol Women and Their Social Roles"). Likewise, in the early 20th century, Russian women were treated as if they were the property of men ("Women Before, During, and After the Russian Revolution"). Both of these societies were notoriously patriarchal and had a wide influence on the Dothraki culture and language.

What is interesting about both the Dothraki and Elvish languages is how vastly different they sound. In Quenya, "Aia" and "Alla" are the equivalents to "hello." Elvish languages, in comparison to Dothraki, are much smoother and feminine sounding. In languages such as Spanish, endings are changed and added to words depending on whether or not they are masculine or feminine; an example of this is "hijo" for son, and "hija" for daughter. Notably, a number of Elvish words also end with with the Spanish feminine letter 'a.' Although Tolkien did not document using Spanish as a reference when creating Elvish languages, it is easy to make the comparison between the two.

Male and female elves share a variety of attributes. Not only could the Elvish language be referred to as feminine, but the Tolkien's elves could arguably be called feminine in the traditional sense, or perhaps sexually ambiguous. The Elfin men have smooth pale skin, and keep their hair down and very long. Some men will even adorn their hair with clips and beads. Their clothing typically consists of beautifully embellished robes and cloaks. Elfin society is refined, cultivated, and elegant. Everything about the elves is softer than many other societies, much like their language is intended to speak for.

In contrast, the Dothraki culture is traditionally a masculine language; it is loud and curt. For example, In Dothraki, “m’ath” and “m’ach” are the English equivalents to “hello.” They are nomadic, and the main sources of Dothraki pride are their horsemanship and victories in battle. The translation of “Dothraki” in their own language is “riders” or “men who ride.” The Dothraki culture is partially based on Mongolian culture. Mongolia is known as “the land of the horse.” Much like the Dothraki, Mongols were known for being the best horsemen on earth. However, in terms of looks, the Dothraki are modeled after traditional Native Americans and not Mongolians. Dothraki are dark skinned, dark haired, tall, and physically fit. The contrasts between Dothraki and Elvish are rooted in the cultures they were formed from.

The question that this poses, is why certain sounds within languages evoke specific stereotypes. Why is it that when we hear a “softer” language, we assume the people are civilized? These stereotypes in sound, are intimately tied to our understanding of what gender and culture is. The softness and sexual ambiguity of the Elves are both deeply connected to our understanding of what their culture is. We tend to see them as socially progressive; many of the sounds within Elvish come with positive stereotypes and conceptions. Which is ironic, considering many societies that have historically found sexual ambiguity to be negative. To be sexually ambiguous, could infer homosexuality, and homosexual people have historically suffered greatly from hatred and persecution. This contradicts with our stereotypical ideas behind what sexual ambiguity means within a language; within a language, sexual ambiguity seems to imply some type of social enlightenment. The males of this culture live in a world of gender equality, magic, and even immortality; they have no need for what has been traditionally been deemed as masculine traits.



In contrast, although as a society we have historically fostered macho-masculinity, our idea of what it means to have a masculine language can at times be associated with negative qualities. Although this negative perception is most certainly is tied to the male gender, and how a large number of them are formally known for having treated women, is this stereotype fair? By Associating sounds within a language with any stereotype can be a slippery slope, and dangerously influence our assumptions about an entire culture.

The beauty of conlanging, and creating a language from scratch, is having the capability to mold it into exactly what you want, or need from it. Tolkien successfully created an original, and otherworldly society, using pieces of many different languages. Tolkien, being a linguist, was concerned greatly with the construction of his languages; the believability of these languages, and seemingly evolutionary process, was his ultimate goal. This is in stark contrast to Martin, who was invested much more so in creating a culture, rather than a language. Martin blended different types of people and societies to inspire his idea of what a Dothraki warrior should be; the language acquisition of the Dothraki came much later. Despite these differences, both authors achieve the same end.

The creation of a new conlang is obviously a grueling process. Conlangs are formed from some type(s) of already formed language(s); they will have cultural references and gender identity references. The parts of a real world language a conlanger choses to use are representative of the society they wish to invent. Whether Tolkien and Martin were intentional in the stereotypes they bought into is unclear. What is clear, however, is that the real-world languages they chose to reference during the creation of their conlangs became representative of the fictitious people and societies they intentionally created.

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**The Relationship Between Parental Perceptions of Public Safety and Degree of Freedom  
Given to Children to be Away From Home**

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between parental perceptions of public safety and the degree of freedom given to their children to participate in activities outside of the home. A survey was created that asked parents questions regarding the types of communities they live in, schools their children attend, and their perception of their children's safety at school. The survey included where they live, as well as whether or not parents and/or children had been victims and/or witnesses of violence. Subjects were solicited from Amazon *Mechanical Turk* (MTurk), a website that pays subjects upon completion. Previous studies failed to focus on reasons parents do not allow children to participate in "away-from-home" activities such as going to malls, concerts, and other unsupervised events. It was hypothesized that our society's instant and continuous coverage of news coupled with what seems to be an increase in reports of mass shootings have had an impact on individuals' perceptions of public safety.

## Introduction

Public Safety is defined as the state of well-being and protection for the general public (US Legal, Inc. (n.d.)). This definition would apply in both domestic and environmental settings (e.g. home, work, and school) of various places including malls, concerts, and movie theaters. Public safety is a growing concern for many individuals around the world due to the increasing amounts of mass shootings. In the United States, death due to gun violence is one of the leading causes of fatalities and injury (Law & Psychiatry, 2010). Mental illness is often associated with perpetrators of mass shootings and refers to a wide range of mental health disorders that affect one's mood, thinking and behavior (Mental illness, 2015). Mass media (e.g. social media and television news) may expose the violence that occurs at a faster rate and to a larger audience, increasing individuals' sense of safety while out in public [LP3][MLH4][MLH5](S.J. Ball-Rokeach, M.L. DeFleur, 1976).

Currently, research implies that **mass shootings** may enhance mental health stigmas creating stereotypes that individuals with mental illness are violent and a threat to public safety (Rosenberg, 2014). In 1998, the National Instant Criminal Background Check System (NICS) received authorization from the 1993 Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act to create an effective and comprehensive method to implement restrictions on guns purchases from licensed dealers by persons with excluding circumstances. From that report, there was a less than 7% detection of individuals with "mental defect" [LP6][MLH7] in 2006 (Law & Psychiatry, 2010) this basically implies that those individuals previously showed had received treatment for some kind of mental distress before committing the act of violence. The previous study examined if individuals applying for a firearm were possibly untested individuals with mental illness prior to applying for firearms.

Variables that could possibly influence an individual's feeling of safety while in a public or home setting include factors such as: gender, generation, and location (e.g. both International, and Inter-States). This study examined the possible connection between an adult's perceptions of public safety and how their perceptions impacted the degree of freedom given to their children to be away from home.

In a previous study in Switzerland, during the 2004-05 school year, 1,345 questionnaires were distributed to parents of **children** in three age groups (i.e., 6/7, 9/10, and 13/14 years). A total of 1,081 parents (80%) provided a home address, which could be linked to environmental data using a geographic information system (GIS). Results indicated that the family home address was associated with spending time **doing activities away from home** in families with adolescents and younger **children**, mostly in more urbanized areas (Bringolf-Isler, B., Grize, L., 2010). The news, social media, Amber Alerts, and Internet access to violence may influence parent's perceptions of their children's safety in public.

The effects of mass shootings on society and individuals' perceptions of public safety in other studies were linked to mental illness and demographics. The studies failed to focus on reasons parents do not allow children to participate in "away-from-home" activities such as going to malls, concerts, and other unsupervised events.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between parental perceptions of public safety and the degree of freedom given to their children to participate in activities outside of the home. [A survey was created using various information from previously constructed surveys [LP8][MLH9][MLH10]that asked parents questions regarding the types of communities they live in, schools their children attend, and their perception of their children's

safety at school. The survey included where they live, as well as whether or not parents and/or children had been victims and/or witnessed of violence.

### **Hypothesis**

I hypothesized that as parental concerns about public safety increases, the degree/amount of freedom given to their children to engage in activities away from home will decrease. I also hypothesized that parental perceptions of public safety will differ for rural versus urban families.

### **Research Mechanism**

I developed a questionnaire that collected demographic information, parental perceptions of public safety, societal incidents that influence parental perceptions of public safety, and the length of time the families resided in their community. Participants were also asked to identify their ethnicity, the number of children in their household, and describe parental support [LP11][MLH12][MLH13] this would mean having more than one primary parental support in place (e.g. grandparents, co-parenting due to divorce or separation). Each participant was asked to provide details for descriptive answers, providing a slot after more specific questions. This information could be used for future research questions.

### **Participants**

If the participants elected to participate, they acknowledged that they were at least 18 years old, a US citizen living in the US, and currently have at least one child. They were able to access the questionnaire through Amazon *Mechanical Turk* (MTurk) - a website that pays individuals to participate with compensation upon completion. No identifying information such as name or address were requested from participants. Data was analyzed with supervision from mentoring staff and research team. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire that requests some demographic information as well as information about their perceptions of public safety when



going to and from school and/or on the playground. Each participant was free not to answer any particular questions if they felt uncomfortable, and they were free to withdraw participation at any time without penalty. This survey took approximately 15 minutes for each participant to complete the entire survey.

**[LP14]Process of Analysis**

- Answers analyzed using one-way between-subject ANOVAs.
- 1 represents never safe to 4 representing always safe.

**Ethnicity**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	9	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Caucasian	227	76.9	76.9	80.0
	African-American	25	8.5	8.5	88.5
	Hispanic	12	4.1	4.1	92.5
	Asian	9	3.1	3.1	95.6
	Multi-culture	7	2.4	2.4	98.0
	Other	6	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	295	100.0	100.0	

**HomeStatus**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single	62	21.0	21.0	21.0
	Married	215	72.9	72.9	93.9
	Other	18	6.1	6.1	100.0
	Total	295	100.0	100.0	

**Region**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Suburban	148	50.2	50.2	50.2
	City/Urban	79	26.8	26.8	76.9
	Rural	68	23.1	23.1	100.0
	Total	295	100.0	100.0	

Most of the participants were Caucasian, married, and lived in suburban areas.[LP15][MLH16]

**WitnessViolence**

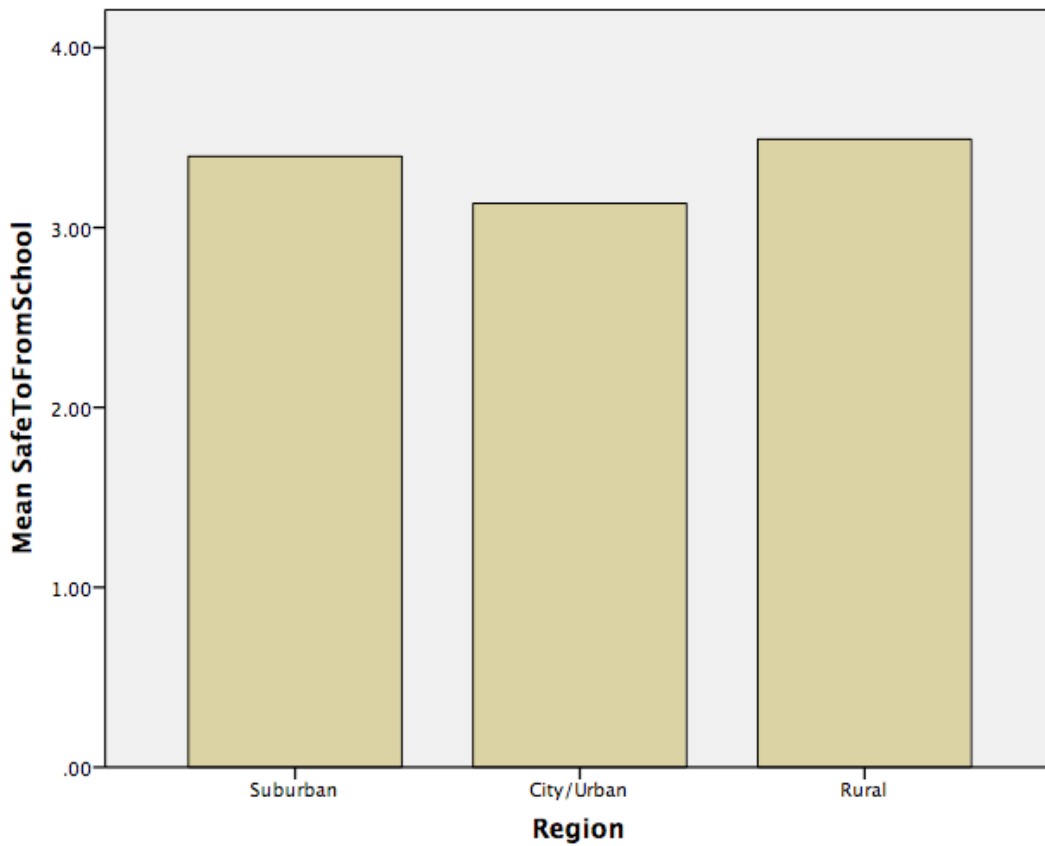
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	248	84.1	84.1	84.1
	Yes	47	15.9	15.9	100.0
Total		295	100.0	100.0	

**VictimViolence**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	255	86.4	86.4	86.4
	Yes	39	13.2	13.2	99.7
	No Answer	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total		295	100.0	100.0	

You will need to discuss the tables above.

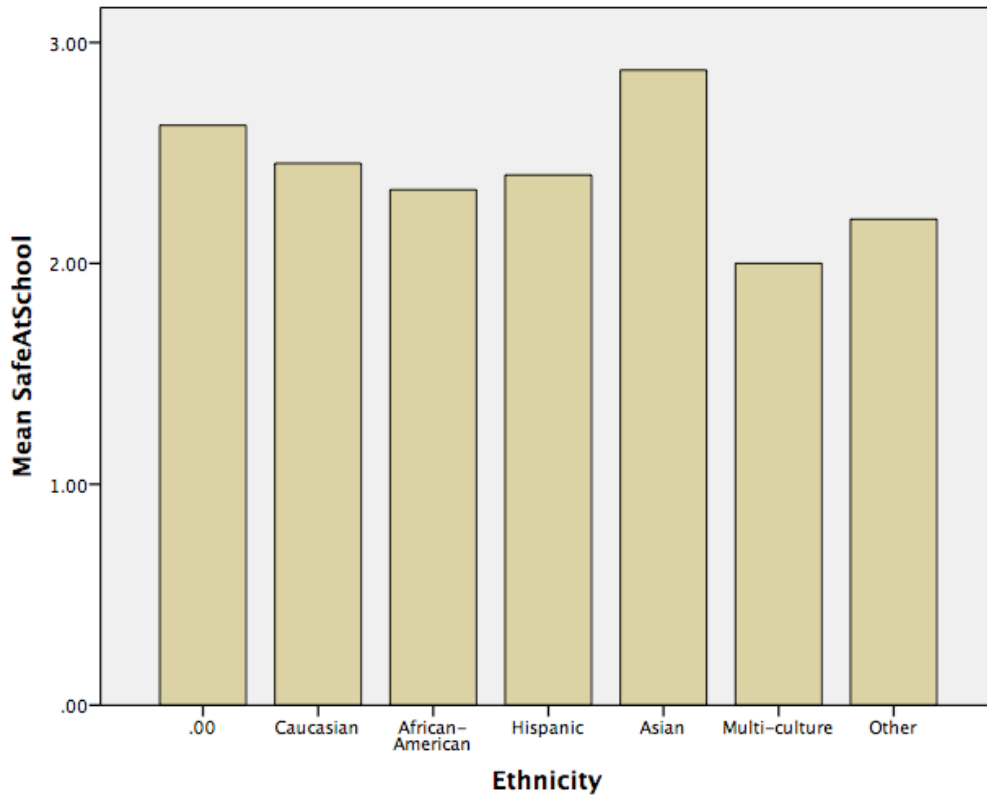
I did not find a significant difference in terms of the type of neighborhood our participants lived in (suburban, city/urban or rural) when they were asked how safe they felt their children were at school,  $F(2, 274) = 1.33, p = 0.27$ . Thus, my prediction that participants in urban areas would feel that their children are less safe at school was not supported.[LP17]



I found a significant difference among participants in terms of their neighborhood type on how safe they felt when their children were going to and from school,  $F(2,274) = 4.00, p = .019$ .

Specifically, urban participants ( $M = 3.14, SD = 0.93$ ) felt significantly less safe than participants from rural ( $M = 3.49, SD = 0.70, p = 0.03$ ) or suburban areas ( $M = 3.40, SD = 0.93, p = 0.05$ ).

Note that in general, our participants generally reported feeling safe.



- I found a marginally significant effect of ethnicity on participants’ reported feelings of their children’s safety while at school,  $F(6, 274) = 2.04, p = 0.06$ .

### The follow-up Research

In the future, I hope to obtain a more diverse group of people that better represents the average American Household with children e.g. single-parent and/or co-parent homes. One observation I could make would be to monitor the time of day and which days to survey is dispensed to participate e.g. working verses at home parents.[LP18][MLH19] The latitude and longitude could be checked for demographics of each participate to see if the families are located in areas of reported mass shooting occurred.

## Limitations

In the future, it will be important to ask more specific questions regarding safety of children, e.g. did you or your children witness a shooting on and/or off school property. It will also be important to obtain a larger sample size (e.g. survey approx. 100-500 participants who live in each of the mentioned areas e.g. rural, suburban, and metropolitan locations) for greater balance of collected data. Specifically, larger number of parents from ethnic groups such as African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and Pacific Islanders should be included. A larger number of parents from urban and rural areas may be beneficial as well for comparison purposes.

Examination of transitional objects and transitional **phenomena**; a **not-me** possession e.g. participates feelings that incidents represents only individuality compared to a collective societal crisis. The original concept of *transitional phenomena* was used by Donald Winnicott to describe the intermediate area of human experience between inner reality and the outside world. Transitional phenomena as a class of experiences also represent the use of illusion in allowing the creative co-existence of primary creativity and objective perception based on reality ("Transitional Phenomena." International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis. November 14, 2018 from Encyclopedia.com).

## Discussions

Based from the collected data, would this population (e.g. narrow group) with those demographics be likely to have been witness or victims to violence and/or crime. This study may examined the possible connection between adult's perceptions of public safety and how their perceptions impacted the degree of freedom given to their children to be away from home[LP20][MLH21]. [LP22]

## Conclusion

I have found that an individual's feelings of his/her children's safety while in a public or home setting seems to be influenced by what type of neighborhood he/she lives in (urban, suburban or rural), and possibly their race. Specifically the data showed that parents living in rural areas would have less concerns about their children's safety than parents living in urban areas. On average, families of mostly targeted areas (e.g. locations where mass shootings have occurred) were the least concerned regarding their child's safety.[LP23][MLH24]

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US Legal, Inc. (n.d.). Public Safety Law and Legal Definition | USLegal, Inc. Retrieved from <https://definitions.uslegal.com/p/public-safety/A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effects ->

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**Ethnicity**

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		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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	City/Urban	79	26.8	26.8	76.9
	Rural	68	23.1	23.1	100.0
	Total	295	100.0	100.0	

Process of Analysis

- Answers factored on a One-way Anova.
- 1 represents never safe to 4 representing always safe.

Most of the subjects were Caucasian, married, and lived in the suburban areas.

The latitude and longitude could be checked for demographics of each participant.

The follow-up:

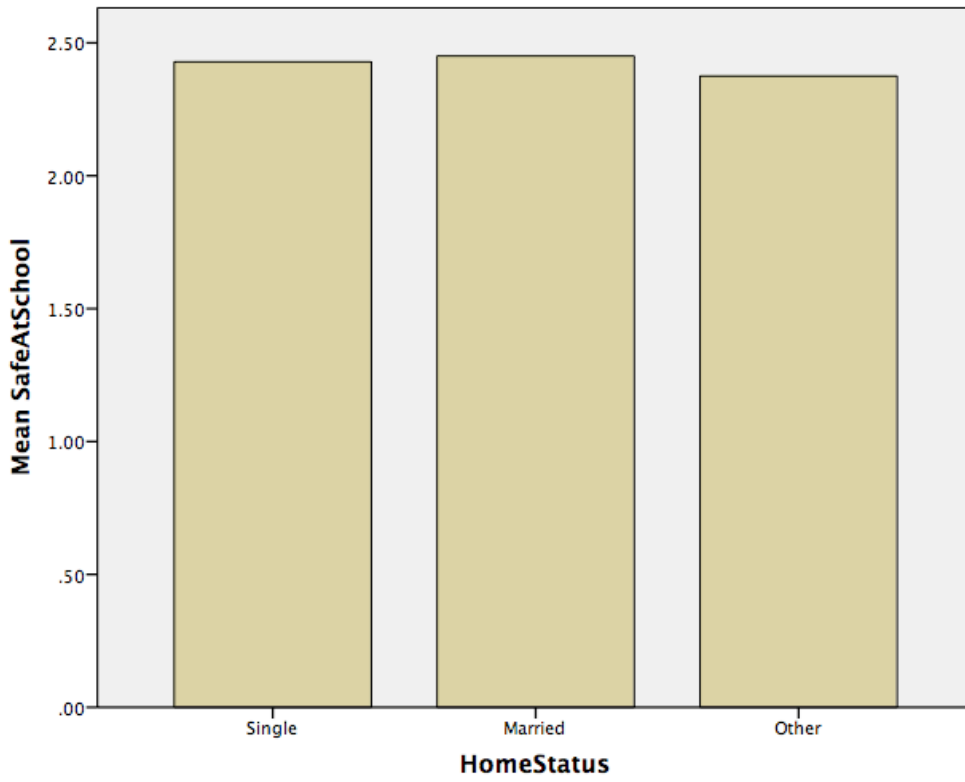
- How to obtain a more diverse group of people that better represents the average American household with children e.g. single-parent and/or co-parent homes.
- Monitor the time of day and which days to survey is dispensed e.g. working verses at home parents.

**WitnessViolence**

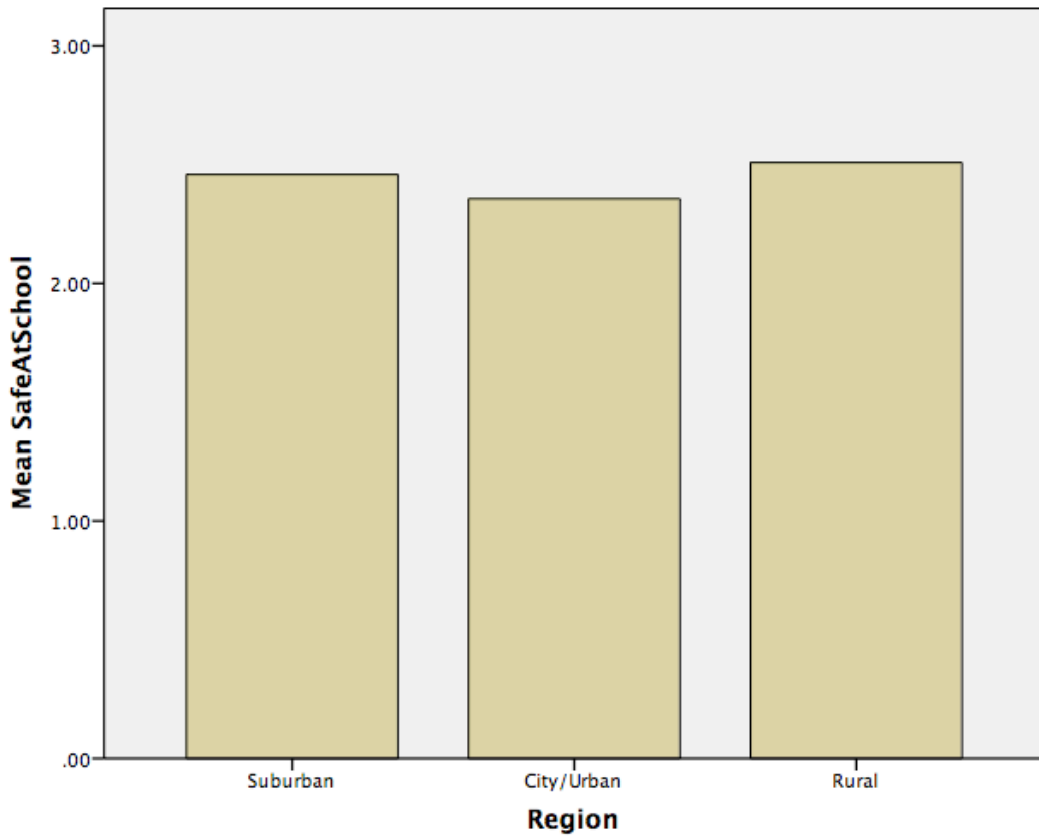
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	248	84.1	84.1	84.1
Yes	47	15.9	15.9	100.0
Total	295	100.0	100.0	

**VictimViolence**

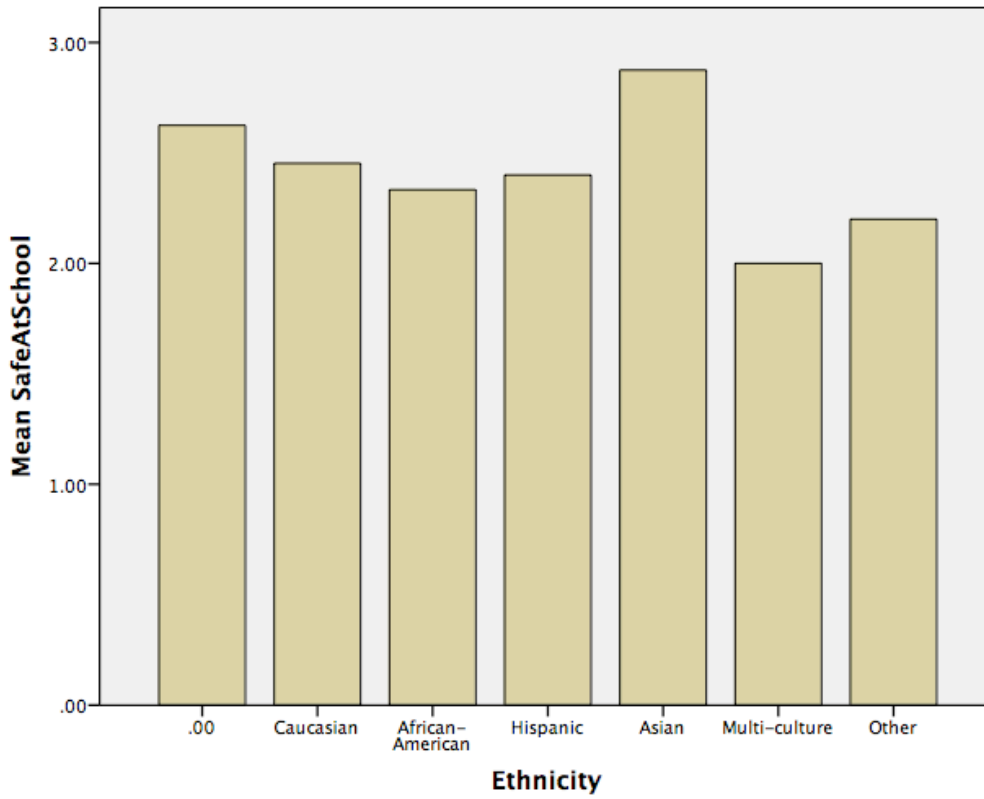
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	255	86.4	86.4	86.4
Yes	39	13.2	13.2	99.7
No Answer	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	295	100.0	100.0	



Would this population with this demographics be likely to have been witness or victims to violence and/or crime?



**Not a significant difference in Region when Safe at School. We earlier predicted that participates in Urban areas would feel the less safe.**



Ethnicity with feeling safe at school.

Asians-American participates est. always felt safe (marginally).

Multi-cultural American participates est. felt the less safe.

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafeAtSchool

Ethnicity	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
.00	2.6250	.51755	8
Caucasian	2.4528	.56989	212
African-American	2.3333	.48154	24
Hispanic	2.4000	.51640	10
Asian	2.8750	.35355	8
Multi-culture	2.0000	.57735	7
Other	2.2000	.44721	5
Total	2.4416	.55985	274

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafeAtSchool

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	3.754 <sup>a</sup>	6	.626	2.042	.060
Intercept	385.723	1	385.723	1258.845	.000
Ethnicity	3.754	6	.626	2.042	.060
Error	81.812	267	.306		
Total	1719.000	274			
Corrected Total	85.566	273			

a. R Squared = .044 (Adjusted R Squared = .022)

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafeAtSchool

HomeStatus	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Single	2.4286	.59870	56
Married	2.4505	.54638	202
Other	2.3750	.61914	16
Total	2.4416	.55985	274

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafeAtSchool

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	.096 <sup>a</sup>	2	.048	.153	.858
Intercept	616.844	1	616.844	1955.846	.000
HomeStatus	.096	2	.048	.153	.858
Error	85.469	271	.315		
Total	1719.000	274			
Corrected Total	85.566	273			

a. R Squared = .001 (Adjusted R Squared = -.006)



**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

HomeStatus	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Single	3.2373	.81662	59
Married	3.3881	.76724	201
Other	3.2353	.97014	17
Total	3.3466	.79109	277

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	1.261 <sup>a</sup>	2	.631	1.008	.366
Intercept	1204.147	1	1204.147	1924.185	.000
HomeStatus	1.261	2	.631	1.008	.366
Error	171.468	274	.626		
Total	3275.000	277			
Corrected Total	172.729	276			

a. R Squared = .007 (Adjusted R Squared = .000)

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

Ethnicity	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
.00	3.5000	.75593	8
Caucasian	3.3709	.77612	213
African-American	3.2000	.81650	25
Hispanic	3.5000	.84984	10
Asian	3.4444	.72648	9
Multi-culture	2.8333	.98319	6
Other	3.0000	1.09545	6
Total	3.3466	.79109	277

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	3.474 <sup>a</sup>	6	.579	.924	.478
Intercept	731.036	1	731.036	1166.168	.000
Ethnicity	3.474	6	.579	.924	.478
Error	169.255	270	.627		
Total	3275.000	277			
Corrected Total	172.729	276			

a. R Squared = .020 (Adjusted R Squared = -.002)

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

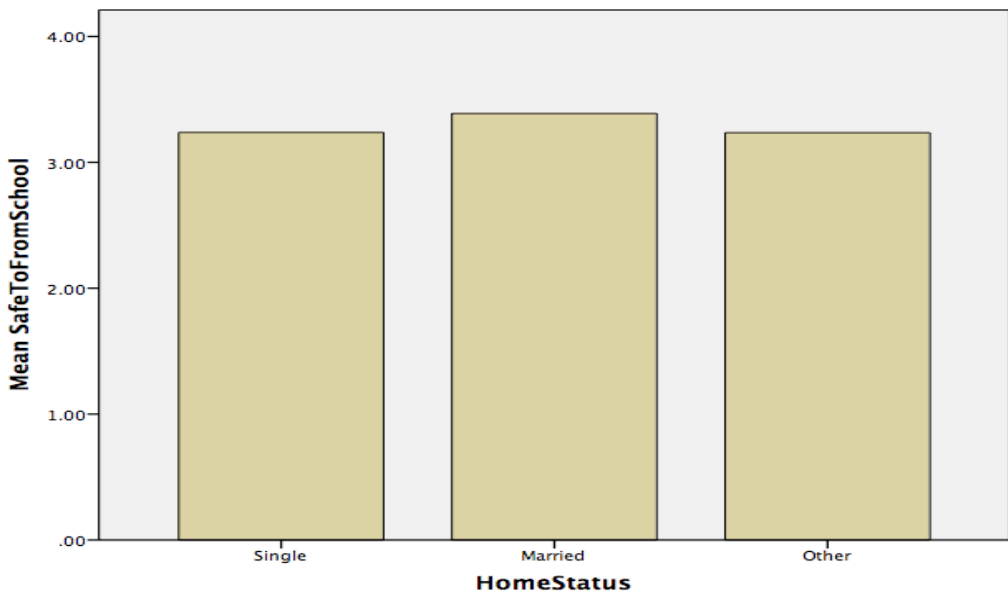
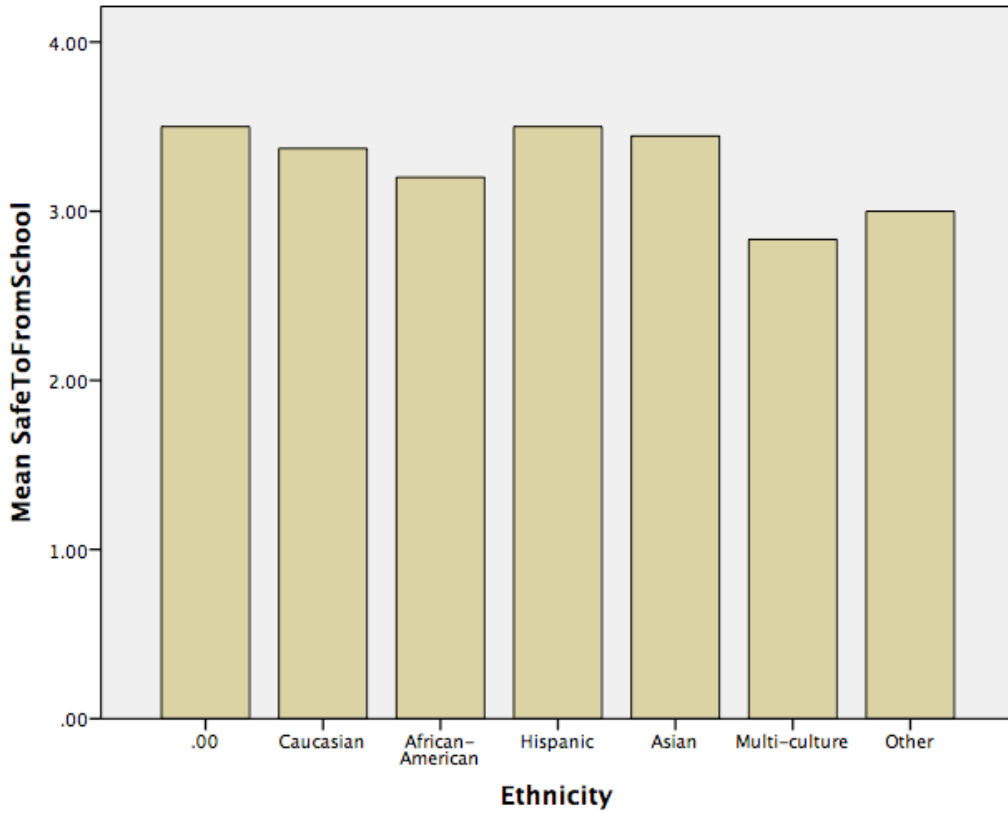
Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Suburban	3.3958	.73111	144
City/Urban	3.1351	.92639	74
Rural	3.4915	.70400	59
Total	3.3466	.79109	277

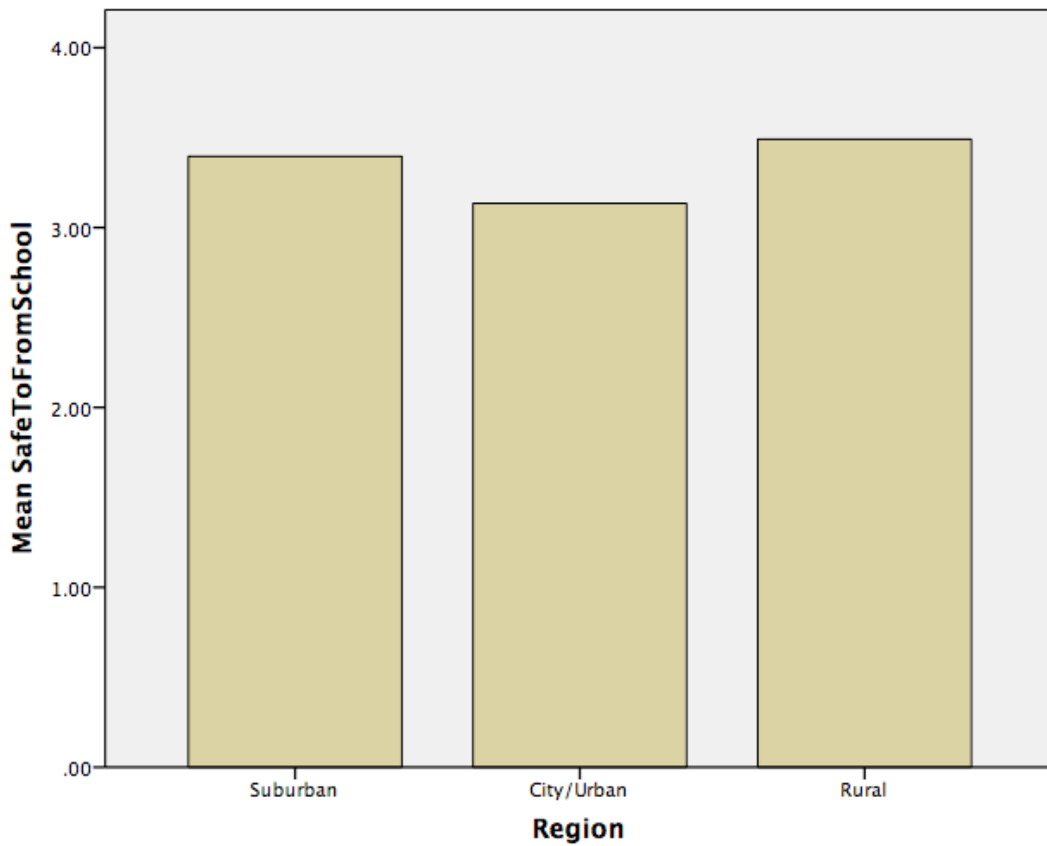
**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	4.897 <sup>a</sup>	2	2.449	3.998	.019
Intercept	2685.329	1	2685.329	4384.029	.000
Region	4.897	2	2.449	3.998	.019
Error	167.832	274	.613		
Total	3275.000	277			
Corrected Total	172.729	276			

a. R Squared = .028 (Adjusted R Squared = .021)





A significant Anova occurred with Region when feeling safe going to and from school.

- On average, urban families felt significantly unsafe compared to both rural and suburban families.
- On average, most of all families often felt safe.

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

Region	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Suburban	3.0621	.82681	145
City/Urban	2.9740	.91729	77
Rural	3.4138	.72631	58
Total	3.1107	.84575	280

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	7.109 <sup>a</sup>	2	3.555	5.116	.007
Intercept	2405.401	1	2405.401	3462.027	.000
Region	7.109	2	3.555	5.116	.007
Error	192.458	277	.695		
Total	2909.000	280			
Corrected Total	199.568	279			

a. R Squared = .036 (Adjusted R Squared = .029)

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

HomeStatus	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Single	3.0877	.89204	57
Married	3.1159	.82208	207
Other	3.1250	1.02470	16
Total	3.1107	.84575	280

**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	.039 <sup>a</sup>	2	.020	.027	.973
Intercept	1025.321	1	1025.321	1423.424	.000
HomeStatus	.039	2	.020	.027	.973
Error	199.529	277	.720		
Total	2909.000	280			
Corrected Total	199.568	279			

a. R Squared = .000 (Adjusted R Squared = -.007)

**Descriptive Statistics**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

Ethnicity	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
.00	3.1111	1.05409	9
Caucasian	3.1613	.79743	217
African-American	2.9583	1.08264	24
Hispanic	3.2000	.91894	10
Asian	3.0000	.75593	8
Multi-culture	2.1667	.40825	6
Other	2.8333	1.16905	6
Total	3.1107	.84575	280

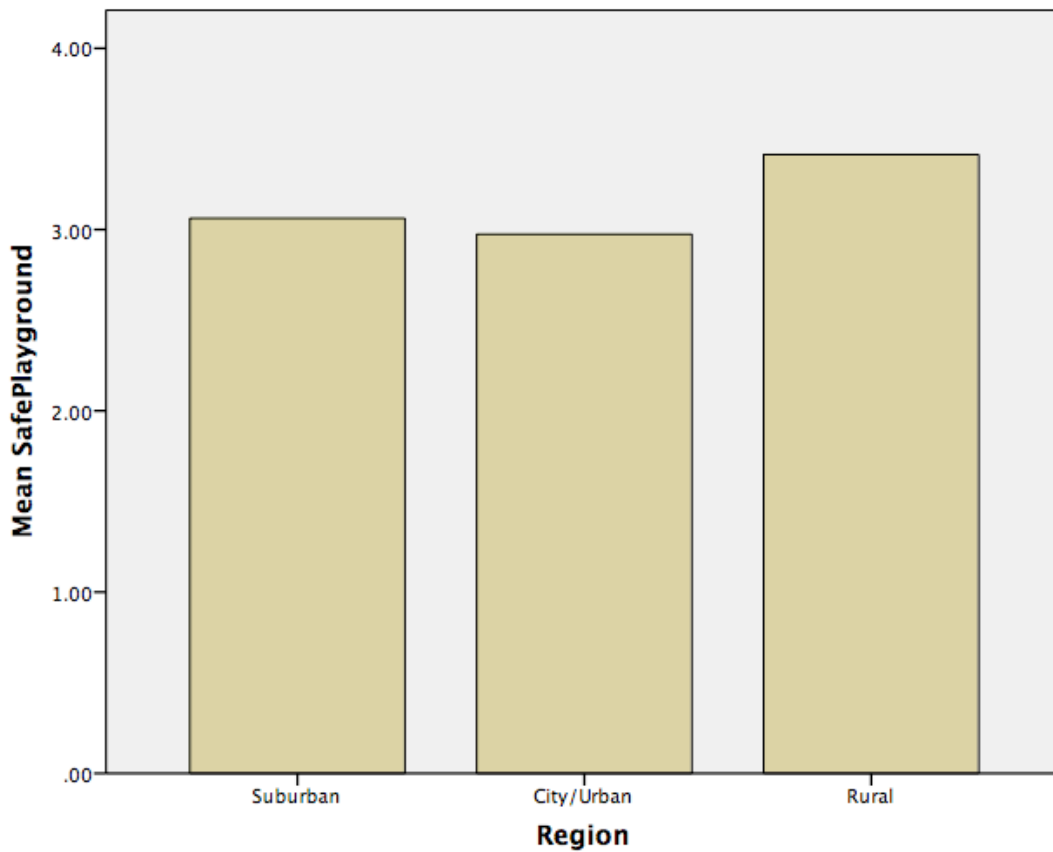
**Tests of Between-Subjects Effects**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	7.099 <sup>a</sup>	6	1.183	1.678	.126
Intercept	583.210	1	583.210	827.233	.000
Ethnicity	7.099	6	1.183	1.678	.126
Error	192.469	273	.705		
Total	2909.000	280			
Corrected Total	199.568	279			

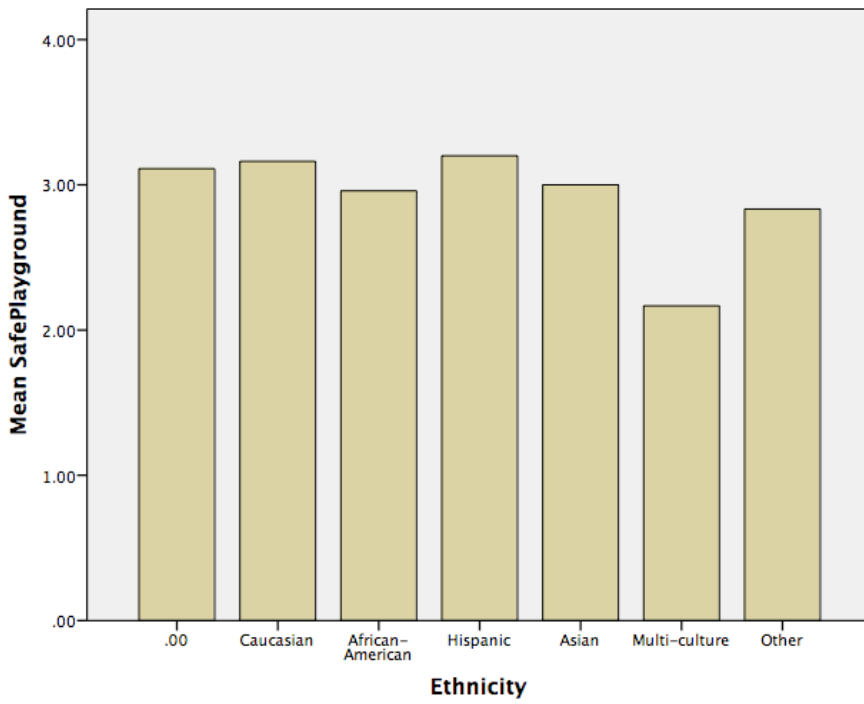
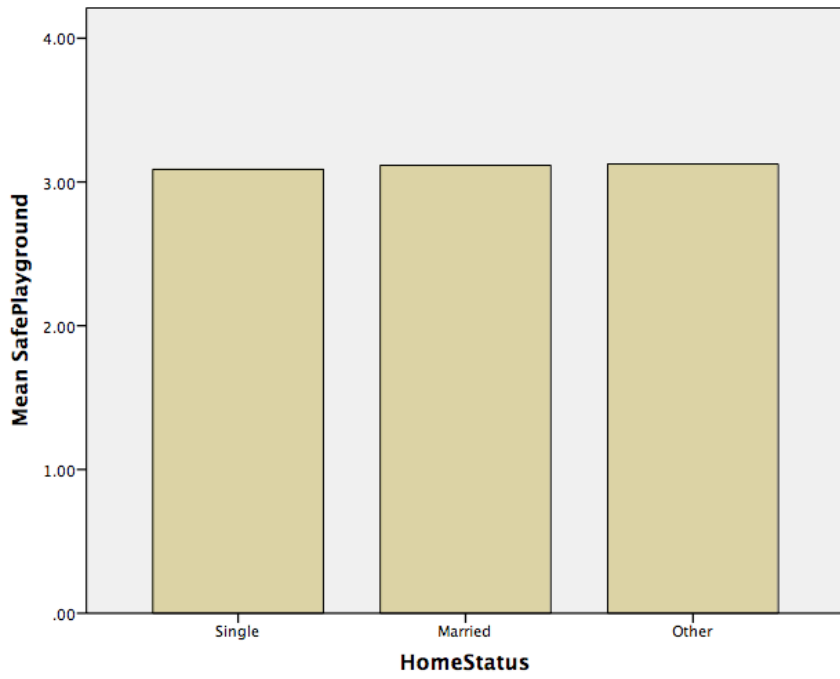
a. R Squared = .036 (Adjusted R Squared = .014)





A significant Anova occurred with Region when feeling safe with their children playing on the playground.

- Rural families felt significantly safer than Urban and Suburban families on the playground (e.g. feeling often safe compared to always safe).



**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable: SafePlayground  
 Tukey HSD

(I) Region	(J) Region	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Suburban	City/Urban	.0880	.11754	.734	-.1889	.3650
	Rural	-.3517*	.12950	.019	-.6569	-.0466
City/Urban	Suburban	-.0880	.11754	.734	-.3650	.1889
	Rural	-.4398*	.14492	.007	-.7813	-.0983
Rural	Suburban	.3517*	.12950	.019	.0466	.6569
	City/Urban	.4398*	.14492	.007	.0983	.7813

Based on observed means.  
 The error term is Mean Square(Error) = .695.

\*. The mean difference is significant at the

**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable: SafeToFromSchool  
 Tukey HSD

(I) Region	(J) Region	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Suburban	City/Urban	.2607	.11194	.054	-.0031	.5245
	Rural	-.0957	.12098	.709	-.3808	.1894
City/Urban	Suburban	-.2607	.11194	.054	-.5245	.0031
	Rural	-.3564*	.13660	.026	-.6783	-.0345
Rural	Suburban	.0957	.12098	.709	-.1894	.3808
	City/Urban	.3564*	.13660	.026	.0345	.6783

Based on observed means.  
 The error term is Mean Square(Error) = .613.

\*. The mean difference is significant at the

**World Languages in France**

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Abstract

Modern globalization has put increased demand on various aspects of multicultural education. This means public schools are now starting to place more emphasis on learning a world language, so students are prepared to navigate in the world as businesses expand to global platforms. The European Union, for example, has taken measures to encourage multilingualism in students. Among these nations is France, in which 99 percent of its population learned two or more foreign languages in 2016 (Eurostat, 2017). The United States, by contrast, had only 20 percent of its student population enrolled in a world language course (Mitchell, 2017). This is almost an 80 percent difference, and it is necessary to explore the reasons behind why France is outperforming the United States in world language education. Factors including geography, access to world language resources, and implementation of programs are some aspects which have some influence on the multilingualism of students within a nation, but as technology has been more present in the lives of individuals in recent decades, the former two arguments are no longer considered limitations to the prospect of language learning. Therefore, the problem lies primarily in the way schools implement a subsequent language in their curriculum. Influences of the curriculum include national and state (or provincial) standards, and how much authority one has over the other. In the United States, for instance, states may or may not choose to make world language a part of their graduation standards, while provinces in France do not have this option.

With increased reliability on technology and the internet, internationalism has rapidly increased over the past decades. As time continues, it becomes increasingly necessary to learn a second language in addition to one's own native language. This has caused schools to evaluate how they teach a second language and when they implement world languages in the school curriculum. Nevertheless, the United States of America continues to be viewed as a monolingual society despite the rising number of students who speak a language other than English in the home, according to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (America's Languages: Investing in Language Education for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, 2017). This is likely the result of public schools in the United States neglecting to promote the importance of world language in the professional world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In North America, the three dominant languages are English, Spanish, and French. While French is a North American language, it is mostly isolated to one province in Canada, and is therefore not a practical language to study in comparison to others, unless it has some personal relevance to an individual. This leaves Spanish and English to compete for the most practical language in North America. Both the United States and Canada recognize English as a dominant language (albeit not legally recognized as the official language of the United States), and although Mexico claims Spanish as an official language, one cannot deny that Spanish has a strong presence in the United States. For this reason, finding the resources to teach the Spanish language is easier than other, less prevalent languages in the United States, such as Arabic.

Some may argue that despite the increasing immigration in the United States, finding an individual who is qualified to teach a common world language is not as simple as one may believe. As previously mentioned, there is an increasing reliability on the internet, and reaching out to any individual in the world can occur with just a few keystrokes. Certainly, if the United

States was in search of an individual to teach a wider variety of languages in the school curriculum, it could be done quite simply, and therefore we cannot consider a lack of resources a contributing factor to why the United States remains monolingual.

It is a possibility that the proximity of practical languages and the resources to teach other dominant languages worldwide are not the only contributing factors. The problem may stem much deeper, and the American school system may be at fault for perpetuating the monolingualism of the United States. Even if certain languages like Arabic or Mandarin are minority languages in America, one cannot deny their influence and presence around the globe. This is the reason these languages should be taught in the United States public school system. Furthermore, the internet has been a powerful outlet in education, including world language education, with programs like Mango Languages, Duolingo, and Innovative Language. These programs promote their use in the public-school system to supplement the language learning experience for students. There are countless guides on YouTube to give students the tools for literacy in a secondary or tertiary language, so one must ask oneself: with these resources available to us, why is America primarily monolingual?

Perhaps, then, it is an error in the policies America enacts. To better illustrate this argument, it is best to look at a country that has both the resources to supply adequate world language education and firmer policies regarding the quality of said education. France, for example, is one of the few European nations mandating students to study two foreign languages, and it is policy to implement foreign language instruction at a younger age. One of France's advantages is its geographic location as inhabitants are a brief train ride away from various countries. This is potentially why the French Ministry of Education places a stronger emphasis on language learning in its school curriculum.

Europe not only differs from America in its variety of native languages spoken on the continent, with 24 recognized languages (Eurostat, 2017), but also in how they choose to teach world language in the public-school system. The variety and geographic arrangement of nations and their respective languages is likely a factor in why multiple nations, France included, modified their systems to enhance their language learning curriculum. It is necessary to state that although geography has placed more importance on world language education in this case, it does not imply that Americans should not feel equally compelled to modify their language-learning curriculum because, as previously stated, even if a language is a minority in one's nation, that does not mean it cannot still have influence or dominance across the globe or in the world of professionalism.

Teaching world languages has only recently become a priority in France, now offering a variety of languages not only in public schools but in language centers as well. Among the most common languages studied in France are English, Spanish, German, and Portuguese. The first world language is introduced to students in primary school, with the hope that students will better acquire fluency in the language they choose to study. Even with the variety of languages offered, many students opt to study English because of its dominance in the world of business and association with political influence. This has caused France to mandate students study a third language to help students broaden their linguistic education and gain the most benefit from their educational experience.

Looking at France's national standard for teaching world languages, it is stated that the objective in teaching world languages is for students to be able to communicate in at least two living languages upon completing secondary education (Ministere de l'Education Nationale, 2018). The French government states that to attain this objective, there is a common European



standard in which a nation within the European Union must follow when designing a world language curriculum. This means when designing its own curriculum, France must keep in mind the standards of the European Union. While there exists a similar practice in the United States, there are some differences that the author will discuss in further detail later in this article.

Between the ages of three and five, children are sensitive to the pronunciation of various sounds that exist in a language. It is at this point that children are more capable of producing new sounds, which makes this the ideal time for them to learn about references that are cultural, lexical, and phonological (Ministere de l'Education Nationale, 2018). These references will serve as the scaffolding to learning more complex aspects about languages later. It is for these reasons France has required that preschools teach nursery rhymes, encourage verbal interaction, and have children listen to a language that is not their own. This is all to prepare students for their first year of primary school.

In France, students must be aware of a foreign language, starting in their first year of primary school. It is a priority that they practice this foreign language through each level of school from first year of primary school to high school. France has mandated that one and a half hours per week is dedicated to the teaching of living world languages (meaning this will exclude ancient or dead languages). Not only does implementing a second language for primary school students offer linguistic diversity, but it also maintains a student's ability to adhere to the readability of linguistic routes. The goal is by the end of their final year in elementary school, students will be able to communicate simply with a representative who speaks the language distinctly. For the sake of promoting a proper transition between primary and secondary school, it is necessary for first- and second-degree teachers work together for the benefit of the students.

Middle school teachers pick up where the first-degree teachers left off and are careful not to repeat material students have already learned.

Students in France begin their journey to learning a foreign language in primary school and continue their studies in their sixth year. It is at this point schools implement a third language to the school curriculum. As previously mentioned, this is for the sake of offering linguistic variety to students and further their literacy in their native language as well as subsequent languages. This third language may be a regional language or another living foreign language; however, unlike primary school, schools dedicate 6 hours per week to foreign language acquisition. With this comes the teaching of regional languages and cultures, which schools may implement for up to two hours per week. Upon leaving fifth year, students also learn about the languages and cultures of other European nations, which, like the teaching of regional languages and cultures, can add an additional two hours weekly to the curriculum. With increased focus on the languages and cultures throughout the region as well as throughout Europe, the relevance and versatility of studying an additional language is clear to students.

Not only is the education of European cultures and languages useful, but it is also an effort on the part of the French government for reconciliation between France and Germany (Doublier, 2018). This means there is more of an emphasis to take up German as a subsequent language. In addition, there is increased importance placed on learning Latin and Greek as these two languages have significantly influenced many of the words and languages used today. As the student studying either Latin or Greek, the amount of time suggested by the French government ranges from one to three hours per week, depending on the student's level.

France has taken measures to ensure language fluency starting at preschool, which is not the practice in the United States. The French Ministry of Education states that high schools accentuate the practice of a foreign language orally (2018). Given the increasing globalization technology provides, it is a requirement for students to learn professional and technological vocabulary to be more marketable and better navigate in the professional world. Schools measure a student's comprehension in the second trimester and an oral assessment measures a student's ability in the third trimester. The testing process is quite vigorous, so apathetic students cannot simply pass these exams through guesswork.

Seeing the structure of the French school system and its practices in teaching multiple languages, we can better criticize the American system, and perhaps understand what is causing the United States to be monolingual. To reiterate, France may have a geographical advantage in having surrounding countries with various languages, but modern technology prevents geographical location from being an excuse for monolingualism. Because of this, one must critically look at the lack on emphasis on world language learning in the United States.

One can argue that American schools are not embracing the resources that the internet provides. While this may play a role in what is limiting American students from achieving more in their academic careers, if American policies are limiting a school's ability to harness these tools, then one cannot expect to see schools using these tools. To see what it is schools require in the world language department, it is necessary to see how the standards of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the French Ministry of National Education differ. It is important to note these are national standards and will naturally vary by state standards.

The national requirements for the teaching of world languages in the United States divides into the following groups: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities (American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages, 2018). Each category has its own measurement of what students must learn. For communications, there are three main branches including interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational. In the former, world language learners learn to create meaningful messages in the target language through speaking, writing, or signing to convey emotions, information, and thoughts. The second, interpretive communication, demand students use a higher level of thinking and must analyze, interpret, and comprehend what they hear or read on an assortment of topics. The latter states learners will be able to share and explain information on a variety of topics and adapt this information to the appropriate audience.

The cultures aspect divides into two main groups: relating cultural practices to perspectives and relating cultural products to perspectives. In the first category, students must investigate, illustrate, and contemplate on the traditions and practices of the culture(s) surrounding the target language, while the second category focuses on the relationship between the culture and products it produces. Fundamentally, students need to learn about holidays, practices, traditions, cuisine, and the like by these standards. It is also important for students to note how the geography of a nation influences what it produces and how those products influence traditions. An example would be how jack-o-lanterns associated with pumpkins in America, but as pumpkins are not a common product of Europe, beets and potatoes (A&E Television Networks, 2018) are an alternative product used for jack-o-lanterns in the United Kingdom.

The next standard to address is connections, in which there are also two main categories: making connections and acquiring information and diverse perspectives. This means students need to increase their awareness of other disciplines while using the target language as scaffolding for critical thinking skills and use creativity to problem-solve, and attain an alternate perspective based on the language and cultures taught. Each school subject teaches a certain set of skills, and as mathematics courses teach logic, world language enforces creativity and critical thinking. This is a rather simple skill to implement, as a language behaves similarly to a puzzle, in that one can dissect a sentence, rearrange the wording, replace certain words to convey a different message, or literally translate certain phrases to gain a better perspective as to how native speakers perceive the world around them. Inherently, language is malleable, making it easy to alter to convey a meaningful idea.

The fourth standard revolves around comparisons, which focuses on contrasting the target language and its respective cultures. Again, this is a simple practice to implement as no two languages behave the same way. The same rule applies to culture, and because language and culture possess a symbiotic relationship in which they influence each other, one can efficiently observe and contrast the relationship of the target culture with the home culture of the student. This is most evident in idioms, which are difficult to directly translate while maintaining its original meaning.

The fifth and final category is communities. It is at this point students need to use their linguistic knowledge beyond the classroom walls in the real world to collaborate and further expand globalization. This means applying this knowledge to the real world, and the most common outlet is recruitment purposes and surviving in the increasingly competitive job market. While it is impossible to deny how attractive the word “bilingual” appears on a curriculum vitae,

the fact remains that in America, “bilingual” just remains a marketable word rather than a tool used for everyday interactions.

The standards are well defined, easily implemented, and remain relevant to the content area, so why are the standards not effective in shaping a multilingual America now that globalization is most prevalent? Children today simply cannot afford to remain monolingual as we, as an international society, are more competitive today than ever before. By allowing our students to remain monolingual, we ensure America’s political and economic isolation. Since the standards are achievable, and America has access to the appropriate resources, it must be the way in which America implements these policies that renders the measures to teach world languages ineffective.

The United States only has 20% of its K-12 students studying a world language, according to the Pew Research Center (2018). Only 24 states have policies in place with state that for one to graduate, a student must complete either world language courses or courses not related to language learning while 16 states have no policy mandating students take a foreign language as a prerequisite for graduation (Pew Research Center). This may be a contributing factor in perpetuating monolingualism, because states have some authority in what subjects they teach and when to implement them. By contrast, France has national policies to ensure all students are receiving similar education throughout the nation.

To better prepare students for success in the field of language learning, it is imperative to have full cooperation of the school system by national standards as well state or provincial standards. In the United States, national standards can be rather vague and allows for states to exercise sovereignty over their own educational standards. Therefore only 24 of 50 states have a

world language curriculum that students must fulfill to graduate on time. In the state of Indiana, standards are strict in comparison to those set by the ACTFL. The main points such as communities, cultures, comparisons, and so forth are scaffolding tools for Indiana standards. With the broad definitions of what the nation expects, Indiana has implemented a better-defined set of standards by which students make adequate progress. Because fewer than half of the States mandate world language courses to graduate, bringing students closer to multiculturalism becomes more difficult.

Granted, France is roughly the size of Texas, so having a smaller territory makes implementing national standards significantly easier there than in the United States, but one must agree that to achieve our goal of promoting multilingualism, we must first ensure everyone is on the same page. After all, it would not be equal education if only certain states set standards mandating a student be fluent in two languages to graduate while others decided to remove world language from their curriculums altogether. The first step we must take is to update national educational standards placing more emphasis on the importance of world language.

In addition, it is necessary to introduce world language at an earlier age. France's policy is to make students aware of other languages by age 5, which appears to yield academic benefits. There is a window of time in which it is best to introduce world language to students, but this window is quite small. While France does not necessarily begin teaching a secondary language to children at age 5, schools teach children that other languages do exist. What is admirable about this is it is not overwhelming to the students, and from an early point, students learn that there is relevance in learning another language. Knowing that there are other individuals who speak differently and that it is easier than before to reach out to these individuals adds valence to the ability to speak a second language.

France's system is also prudent to begin language learning at an earlier age than most U.S. school systems. The ideal time to learn a second language is prior to age 7 (Nexus Santé, 2016). French schools must implement a second language the year immediately following their equivalent to kindergarten. At this point, children are about 6 or 7, which would be the end of the ideal window of time to acquire a second language. Learning a language after this point is not insurmountable, but it does become particularly more difficult. While experts recommend students acquire a second language sooner than the age of 7, there are some benefits to waiting until this point to begin subsequent language acquisition. To some extent, it gives children more time to develop their primary language skills, which acts as scaffolding to learn additional languages.

The primary language often acts as a reference when learning other languages. For example, we must learn what subjects, verbs, direct and indirect objects are in the primary language and then identify these items in a foreign language. Next, we make connections between languages through the observation of grammatical behavior and the examination of cognates. By ensuring the child has strong comprehension of the first language, we improve his or her ability to learn and utilize subsequent languages appropriately. By age 7, students should be comfortable in their native language, and therefore be ready to learn another language (if one assumes the child in question does not have an intellectual disability and is performing at the same academic pace as his or her peers).

In short, France is significantly more proactive in teaching a world language program and setting its students up for success. The modern world is quite globalized as it is, and it is unlikely this will change in the future. For this reason, the United States should not be so lax in its own world language programs. Technology has provided countless immediate resources to learning a



world language, and even if one chooses to ignore these resources, it is possible to find someone who is qualified to teach a world language to students quite easily. American children could easily become bilingual, and therefore marketable in this modern world is the United States took the initiative and became stricter on its curriculum. Even if we have national standards by which to teach a subsequent language, these are counteracted if states choose to not enact world language education into their graduation programs. Certainly, if the United States does not change this, it will not escape the monolingualism that endures today.

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