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Imperial Presidencies?

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During the 2007/2008 school year, this writer, like many people in the country, grew tired of President George W. Bush. He seemed like a very nice man, but his policies were causing his poll numbers to drop to new lows. Wars had expanded and there seemed to be no end in sight to the war on terror. Congress seemed removed from what was happening in the country and consumed with party politics. The president appeared to be running both the law making and law executing branches of government. There were even calls for impeachment. This writer wrote a paper for NSSA’s fall conference in Albuquerque on executive power (Burum, 2008). It was hoped citizens would vote for change in the next presidential election, the Congress would check expansions of presidential power, and the courts would require presidential actions to be constitutional. Fast-forward to the 2014/2015 school year. This writer is losing hope and, like others, is wondering what happened to change. People voted for hope and change in 2008. People voted for someone who seemed focused on the Constitution and accepting of checks and balances in government. President Obama won reelection in 2012. The country went through midterm elections in 2014, which saw the Republicans taking control of the Senate, increasing their numbers in the House, and gaining control of several governorships and state legislatures (Lee, 2014). The October surprise came near the end of September. The United States is now bombing multiple countries and flying more drones than ever. President Obama’s address to the country sounded like an address that President Bush could have made. Boots on the ground in the form of advisors is increasing and planes and drones are in the air. The Taliban is gone, but a new terrorist group arose from the Taliban. President Obama’s reaction to the midterm election results was to demand the new Congress act on immigration or he said he would take action through his executive powers (Lee, & Nicholas, 2014). Signing statements and attempts to strengthen presidential power are alive and well (Tumulty, 2014). It is time to revisit the prior paper for additional insights.

Textbooks on constitutional law have stated that the powers of the presidency have grown beyond what the Constitution suggests. Article I on Congress is longer and more developed than Article II on the presidency or Article III on the courts. Article I grants far more powers to Congress. James Madison, in Federalist 51, states, “In republican government, the legislature necessarily predominates.” Constitutional law textbooks imply that times of war and domestic crises, such as the Great Depression, caused the powers of the presidency to grow (Stephens & Scheb, 1998). Expansions of presidential power are currently taking place during the War on Terrorism under the policies of both Presidents George W. Bush and Obama. Sometimes Congress has assisted this growth with delegations of power to the executive branch. Some expansions of presidential power have occurred while Congress has urged the president to act while intentionally sitting on the sidelines and hedging their political bets. Presidential power has also often grown because presidents have acted on their own and simply assumed power. However, there is another “war” that appears to be increasing presidential power. There appears to be a war between the two major political parties in their unwillingness to compromise. Unsolved problems
are seen more as fuel for the next election to fire up the parties’ base and bring voters to the polls. When the President is of the opposite party of either or both branches of Congress, there is a tendency to try to achieve the president’s goals by working around rather than with Congress. This writer argues these maneuvers can result in increases in presidential power just as much as military wars or true domestic crises if left unchecked. This paper will examine some examples of increases in presidential power through battles with Congress as well as some curbs that have occurred from the courts during both the George W. Bush and Obama administrations. This writer will argue that activist presidents who are unwilling to work with Congress or who are unwilling to allow Congress to win an argument when they have voted is causing the courts to become more activist to curb unconstitutional abuses of power.

**Theories of Presidential Power**

Article II Section I states, “Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States.” Executive power is not defined. Sections 2 and 3 continue by listing specific enumerated powers granted to the president. The question becomes whether Section I is a separate grant of executive power along with the powers found in Sections 2 and 3, or whether Section I is merely an introductory statement with Sections 2 and 3 solely containing the actual executive powers. James Madison argued for a more restrained role for the President. He envisioned the President simply executing the laws that Congress passed. To do anything more would require a specific grant of power from Sections 2 or 3. This theory has been called the Constitutional Theory of Presidential Power. Under this theory, Section I would not grant any additional powers to the President. Alexander Hamilton envisioned a more activist role for the President. He realized the need for the President to be able to act quickly in times of crisis and be able to respond quickly to the needs of the country as long as such actions did not conflict with the spirit of the Constitution. This theory has been called the Stewardship Theory of Presidential Power. Section I is a separate grant of inherent presidential powers. Sections 2 and 3 are only examples of presidential powers. Presidents cannot be limited to what is listed in Sections 2 and 3 because everything the President may need to do to respond to a crisis cannot be envisioned in advance and listed in the Constitution. To limit the President in this fashion would potentially make it impossible for the country to quickly respond to future crisis situations. James Madison replied to this theory by stating, “No citizen could any longer guess at the character of the government under which he lives” (Stephens, 20014).

The US Supreme Court in 1890 adopted the Stewardship theory of presidential power in the case of *In re Neagle* (Neagle, 1890). David Neagle was a federal marshal who was charged with first-degree murder in California for having killed a man while attempting to protect the life of US Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field. While in California to hear a case, Justice Field was threatened by a disgruntled litigant. Neagle was assigned to protect the justice on his next trip to California. While in California the second time, David Terry found Justice Field in a restaurant and struck him. Neagle shot Terry. It was later determined that no weapon was on Terry so Neagle was arrested. Neagle would
have been protected, if he were acting under federal law, from California prosecution. However, no statute authorized Neagle to protect the justice. The US Attorney General, on his own, decided to assign Neagle the job of protecting Justice Field. According to the US Supreme Court, that act was tantamount to operating under federal law. The Court used the Stewardship Theory of presidential power to conclude that the President was not limited to enforcing the acts of Congress. The US Constitution gives the executive the obligation to protect the peace of the US. Thus the President can do whatever is necessary and proper to fulfill that obligation. Neagle was authorized by the executive and thus immune from prosecution by the state of California.

The US Supreme Court recognized limits on the Stewardship Theory in 1952 in the case of *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company v. Sawyer* (Youngstown, 1952). In December 1951, President Harry S. Truman was informed that negotiations between labor and management in the steel industry had broken down. Concerned about the possible consequences of a work stoppage to the Korean War and the domestic economy, Truman delayed the strike by referring both sides to the Wage Stabilization Board for additional negotiation. By April 1952 it was clear that these efforts were useless and a strike was imminent. Truman ordered Charles Sawyer, the Secretary of Commerce, to seize the steel mills and keep them operating. Splitting 6 - 3, the Supreme Court refused to allow the government to seize and operate the steel mills. Justice Hugo Black wrote for the majority and followed closely the language of the Constitution. The Court rejected inherent executive power as a justification for this action. Justice Robert Jackson, in a concurring opinion, recognized inherent executive power but did not allow Truman’s actions in this case. Congress had already considered and rejected legislation that would have authorized the seizure of the steel mills. Truman’s actions were incompatible with the will of Congress and thus beyond what even the Stewardship Theory would allow. Future US Supreme Court decisions may follow Justice Jackson’s limitation while following the Stewardship Theory. However, the case could have had a very different outcome had the conflict in Korea been less limited. Supreme Court decisions, even the question of whether to accept a case for review, can be influenced by the uncertainty of the danger of the times. Courts are reluctant to take cases or rule against a president if it could affect a war effort when the conflict is extensive and the danger to the country is great. Complex political forces as well as legal principles can influence courts.

From these theories and cases, it is understood that presidents have enumerated powers from Article II Sections 2 and 3. Presidents also have implied powers because they have the powers necessary to carry out the duties listed in Sections 2 and 3. As Section 1 is also a grant of power, presidents have inherent powers. The recognition of inherent powers can certainly increase the power of the presidency. What exactly is contained in inherent powers is certainly not settled. Presidents are very constrained by the Constitution in what they do in domestic affairs. However, presidents are less constrained when they act in the areas of foreign affairs and international relations. A careful reading of the Constitution may indicate that the Framers of the Constitution expected
Congress to play a more significant role in foreign policy. However, emergencies and the need to respond quickly have dictated that the president assumes the lead in these matters. Congress is composed of 535 members that represent small areas of the country. It is hard for the members of Congress to unite quickly to respond to a challenge, and none of the members can claim to speak for the country as a whole. It has fallen on the president to take the lead in these matters. In 1936, the Supreme Court decided, in the case of United States v. Curtiss-Write Export Corporation (Curtiss-Write, 1936), that the president was the primary player in the area of foreign affairs. In May 1934, Congress authorized the president to prohibit U.S. companies from selling munitions to the warring nations of Paraguay and Bolivia. The details on how to achieve this goal were left to the president. Congress provided criminal penalties for violating the act. President Roosevelt issued an executive order imposing an embargo on the sale of arms to the two countries. Curtiss-Write was indicted for conspiring to sell arms to Bolivia. The company argued that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated its lawmaking power to the president because the president could make specific rules controlling arms shipments. The Court distinguished between domestic and foreign delegations of power, and concluded the president could delegate far more power in the area of foreign affairs than in domestic affairs. The Court even suggested the president had inherent power to impose the embargo, even if not authorized by Congress. The Court referred to the president as the “sole organ” in the area of international affairs.

Presidents also derive extensive power over the military from their role as commander-in-chief. Force can be used to protect the interests of the U.S. and its allies as well as to defend against possible attacks. The security of the country would be compromised if the nation could not respond effectively to threats. This is not to imply that there should be no limits to presidential war powers. Justice Black, in The Pentagon Papers case (Times, 1971), suggested the government should not be able to deceive people and send them off to foreign lands to fight and die. The Framers did make the president the Commander-in-Chief. However, the ability to declare war was given to Congress so it could act as a check on the president’s war making powers. The problem is that wars are not always declared. President Jefferson, in 1846, sent the Marines off to Tripoli to fight the Barbary pirates. While this involved combat, there was no declaration of war. The conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, while looking like wars, were not declared wars. President Johnson claimed inherent presidential power including the power to deploy American forces abroad when the President decides the action is necessary. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 allowing the President to defend the government of South Vietnam and American interests in the area. President Johnson expanded this grant of power past what many in Congress thought was authorized. President Nixon used the resolution to wage war in Cambodia, which was even a broader interpretation of the resolution. During the Vietnam War, the Supreme Court had many opportunities to rule on the Constitutionality of the war and presidential powers. However, the Court exercised judicial restraint and refused to do so on the grounds that it was a political question. Political questions are essentially fights between two branches.
of government. Courts subscribing to judicial restraint prefer that these fights be resolved in the political arena instead. Courts exercising judicial restraint will take this approach especially in the areas of international relations, military affairs, and foreign policy (Stephens, 2014).

The Court’s unwillingness to act prompted Congress in 1973 to pass the War Powers Resolution over the veto of President Nixon. The act was designed to limit the President’s unilateral ability to send troops into foreign countries for combat purposes. It requires the President to make a full report to Congress if troops are sent and allows for Congress to force the recall of the troops. The Supreme Court has not ruled on the validity of the Resolution. As the President is the primary player in the area of foreign affairs, the Resolution may be an unconstitutional attempt to limit the President’s power in this area. Those subscribing to the Unitary Theory of presidential power would certainly come to this conclusion. However, the Court may never review the Resolution. The Court could call it a political question and leave the resolution of the dispute to the public. The Supreme Court is very reluctant to decide whether something is a war or whether the president has engaged troops in combat in an unconstitutional fashion. The Court has considered this a political question best left to the voters to decide. In 1863 the Court, in The Prize Cases, said, “The President is not only authorized, but bound to resist force. He does not initiate the war, but he is bound to accept the challenge without waiting for any specific legislative authority” (Stephens, 2014).

A Unitary Theory of executive power developed during President Ronald Reagan’s tenure in the 1980’s (Savage, 2007). Every president since has used the theory to expand presidential power. For example, after 1994, President Clinton used executive orders to advance his agenda without going to Congress in areas of environmental protection and in implementing international human rights theories. Some conservatives charged that he was acting like a dictator. In 1996 when Congress banned the placing of U.S. troops under United Nations’ command, Clinton decided that he could bypass the ban under his power as Commander-in-Chief. These examples demonstrate a president using executive power to gain sole control over the entire executive branch. Those favoring a strong unitary executive would conclude that Congress’ power to interfere in intra-executive decision-making is limited. Only the President should be able to control policy making by executive agencies. In extreme forms this would mean neither Congress nor the courts should be able to tell the president what to do in the area of national security. Also under a strong Unitary Executive Theory independent agencies and counsels would be unconstitutional, as they cannot exercise power not controlled by the president.

President George W. Bush

The theory was reexamined after 9/11 when President Bush’s legal team revived the Unitary Theory. They combined it with the inherent powers of the Stewardship Theory and began to apply it to national security matters. The legal team developed the idea that statutes and treaties that restricted what the military and other security forces could do were unconstitutional. Only the Commander-in-Chief could decide how the executive branch should defend
America. The President can do things even if Congress specifically says no because Congress cannot limit the President's use of inherent power in the area of foreign affairs. This theory spread to suggest the President had power over all permanent parts of the executive branch. It was the job of the President to tell the executive branch how to carry out the laws of the United States. There are many examples where the Unitary Theory of presidential power could apply. One specific power, that of Commander-in-Chief, will be examined.

The events of September 11, 2001, which left 3,000 people dead on American soil, caused President Bush to declare a War on Terror. On September 14 Congress passed a resolution authorizing the use of military forces against nations, organizations or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks on September 11. By October American forces were in combat against the Taliban and hunting for Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan.

On November 13, 2001 President Bush issued an executive order authorizing the use of military tribunals to try foreign nationals apprehended in the War on Terrorism. While most people thought he had the power to do this, many thought he should have been more specific as to when and how the tribunals would be used. Others thought the use of military tribunals would send the message to the world that the U.S. was abandoning normal due process. It was argued that the terrorists win if the country gave up its ideals (Stephens, 2014). By 2002 the military began to incarcerate enemy combatants at the Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay. Detainees were held without any determination as to whether they were terrorists or even enemies of the U.S.

In *Rasul v. Bush* in 2004 (Rasul, 2004), the Supreme Court declared that only federal courts had jurisdiction over the petitions brought on behalf of the prisoners at Guantanamo. The Court did not rule on Bush's 2001 executive order. Following the ruling, the military created special three member military panels to review whether the detainees were being lawfully held. In January 2006, the government resumed military trials of the detainees. This resulted in the 2006 case of *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* (Hamdan, 2006). Hamdan, a Yemeni national, brought suit challenging the legality of the military tribunals. The majority of the Court held that the Bush Administration's plan to try the detainees was unauthorized by statute and violated international law. The Court decided the case despite the 2005 Detainee Treatment Act passed by Congress. This act barred federal jurisdiction to review cases from Guantanamo. The majority decided that they could still rule on the case because, in looking at the congressional record, they decided that the act applied to future cases. It did not apply to pending cases already in the court system. The dissenting justices considered President Bush's signing statement. They concluded that all appellate review in this area was barred. Congress and the President resurrected the tribunal in another form under the 2006 Military Commissions Act. In the 2008 case of *Boumediene v. Bush* (Boumediene, 2006), the Court ruled that foreign terrorism suspects held at Guantanamo have a constitutional right to challenge their detentions in U.S. civilian courts. The Court also decided that the administration's system for classifying detainees as enemy combatants did not meet legal standards despite the President this time having Congress on his side.
through the 2006 Military Commissions Act. The Court said the 2006 law unconstitutionally suspended habeas corpus. They have a right to these protections even though they were declared enemy combatants and even though they are located at Guantanamo.

The dissenting justices in *Hamdan* used a Presidential signing statement when deciding that the Detainee and Treatment Act removed federal jurisdiction to review cases from Guantanamo. The act also prohibited cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of detainees in U.S. custody. A signing statement by President Bush, when he signed the Act, said that the executive branch shall construe the Act, relating to detainees, in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President to supervise the unitary executive branch and as Commander-in-Chief, and consistent with the constitutional limitations on judicial power. Part of the reason for doing so may be Justice Scalia’s frustration with the majority of the Court turning to the congressional record to decide what acts meant. Justice Scalia has always noted that it is impossible to know why a particular member of Congress votes or does not vote for a particular act. Sometimes a congressman votes for the bills of colleagues in order to get their votes on a different bill of greater personal interest. At least with a signing statement there is only one President and the President’s intent is clearer (Scalia, 2008). However, the use of the signing statement can lead to the strengthening down the road of the Unitary Theory of presidential power. Congress needs to be able to check the president through the acts it passes. If signing statements continue to be recognized, Presidents could completely rewrite statutes passed by Congress. A good example of this was the Bush Administration’s attempt to rewrite what should be allowed in interrogation procedures. The signing statement would have rewritten Congress’ statute completely contrary to the intent of Congress by allowing enhanced interrogation techniques like waterboarding, and thus undermined Congress’ attempt to check the President.

The Bush/Cheney legal team would not go to Congress for its approval of the administration’s plan for prisoners. They subscribed to the Unitary Theory of presidential power. Thus they believed Congress’ approval was not needed. In fact, they concluded that going to Congress could pose additional problems. If Congress disagreed with their plans, Congress would have weighed in against the administration’s positions. This could muddy the waters on which branch of government was in control and it could undermine the Unitary Theory. However, by not going to Congress, the administration lost the chance to negotiate a position that both Congress and the executive branch could support right from the start. This would have made it more likely the Court would honor their joint agreement. By having the executive act alone and only later having Congress enter the discussion, the door was opened for the Court to enter the discussion. The Military Commissions Act was considered an unconstitutional suspension of habeas corpus. Prisoners at Guantanamo have the right to challenge their detentions even if not on American soil or Congress and the President decided not to give them this right. Despite the Detainee Treatment Act passed by Congress, which barred federal courts from reviewing cases from Guantanamo,
the majority of the court still decided the federal courts could continue to hear cases that were currently in the system (Stephens, 2014).

President Bush wanted to end the containment policy for Saddam Hussein started by his father after the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He decided military force was necessary to overthrow the dictator and establish a democratic government in Iraq. To convince the people and allies of the need for this action, he stressed the need to eliminate Iraq's presumed weapons of mass destruction. Congress authorized military action in 2002. This concern ultimately proved unfounded. President Bush was able to achieve reelection in 2004, but public and congressional support deteriorated dramatically. Some even called for the President’s impeachment. These critics concluded that the President lied to them about weapons of mass destruction. They also were angry about the President's authorization for the National Security Agency (NSA) to intercept calls between parties in the U.S. and parties outside the country. The President permitted the NSA to bypass the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court warrant requirement before subjecting U.S. citizens to electronic surveillance (Stephens, 2014).

**President Obama**

As a candidate, President Obama was very critical of President Bush’s handling of the War on Terror. As president, Obama continued the fight. In his most successful mission, he ordered Navy Seals to attack a compound in Pakistan, which resulted in the killing of Osama bin Laden. Instead of relying on “boots on the ground,” President Obama used drones and air power extensively in the War on Terror. At least one of these drones targeted an American citizen in Yemen. The Obama administration justified the use of drones based on the President's powers as Commander-in-Chief and the Authorization for the Use of Military Force that Congress passed after 9/11. These actions lead critics to question if the President could order drone strikes on American soil. The Obama administration publicly conceded that the use of drones on American soil against American citizens would be unconstitutional.

President Obama was critical of the Bush Administration’s policies on the detention of prisoners from the war on terror and promised to close the detention center at Guantanamo. He would have had prisoners like Khalid Sheik Mohammed tried in federal district court. The political fallout from the decision to try the alleged mastermind of 9/11 in New York as well as security challenges caused the administration to abandon this plan.

As a presidential candidate, President Obama promised to bring U.S. troops home. By summer 2010, combat ended in Iraq and by December 2011 American forces were finally home. In May 2014, Obama decided on a plan to leave 9,800 U.S. troops in Afghanistan and have the troops out of the country by 2016. In the summer of 2013, Obama considered ordering a military strike on Syria to punish the government for its use of chemical weapons against its citizens. He asked Congress for a resolution authorizing the use of force, but also claimed this was really not necessary as he already had the power to do this under the Constitution and the War Powers Act. In August 2014, Obama reported to the country that the U.S. was bombing ISIS in Iraq and Syria. The President concluded that the 2003 authorization to invade Iraq is justification to now bomb
Iraq. The Bush administration was authorized to attack Al Qaeda and ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) is considered an outgrowth of the group. Congress could react by authorizing or not authorizing the bombings in Iraq or Syria. However, Congress was content to do nothing and allow this to become an election issue in the midterm elections of 2014 if necessary. Individual Congressmen can then frame the issue however it needs to be framed for their constituents during the election cycle. They do not have to defend giving the President unlimited war making powers in this new battle or defend against bombing terrorists should they try some approval less than unlimited and the war effort is not successful because the President was limited in his attempt to fight the terrorists. The Obama administration is acting as if the only check on this military campaign is political. There is little fear as the public is content for the moment to bomb Islamic terrorists, although the goals of the military bombing at the time of the writing of this paper also seem to be evolving to include regime change. The American people like fighting for regime change far less than attacking terrorists. These new wars, or these continuation of old wars, will have to be watched as a potential source of expansions of presidential power and the Unitary Theory of presidential power (Stephens, 2014).

In 2012 Congress reauthorized the USA Patriot Act as well as the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act Amendments of 2008. The Supreme Court dismissed a suit filed by the ACLU and others. In Clapper v. Amnesty International (Clapper, 2013), the Court concluded the groups challenging the law did not have standing to sue since they could only point to potential future, not present, injury. In March 2013, the Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, testified that that the NSA does not collect data on millions of Americans. He had to apologize a couple months later for the statement when Edward Snowden, an employee at the NSA, leaked classified information to the press regarding the scope of NSA surveillance activities on American citizens. Commentators called for Congress to enact legislation that would restrict the NSA’s powers. Speaking in California on June 7, 2013, President Obama said, “I think it is important to understand that you can’t have 100 percent security, and then have 100 percent privacy and 0 percent inconvenience... I think we’ve struck the right balance” (Gerstein & Epstein, 2013).

As a presidential candidate, president Obama also criticized president Bush’s use of signing statements. He called these a “Clear Abuse’ of executive power. While Obama does not issue as many signing statements, he uses them in the same manner. In 2014, Obama made the decision to trade the release of Army Sargent Bowe Bergdahl, the sole remaining U.S. prisoner of war, for five Taliban commanders held at Guantanamo Bay. Current law, part of the 2014 National Defense Authorization Act, states that the defense secretary must notify relevant congressional committees at least 30 days before transferring anyone from Guantanamo and provide assurances that any released person would not again threaten the U.S. When Obama signed the law, he said he thought this requirement was potentially unconstitutional. He said, “The executive branch must have flexibility, among other things, to act swiftly in conducting negotiations with foreign countries regarding the circumstances of detainee transfers.” Obama
did not send notice to Capitol Hill until two days after the detainees were sent to Qatar. Signing statements are a dangerous practice. Presidents are supposed to accept or reject a bill. They cannot veto parts of a bill, and the Constitution certainly does not allow the President to rewrite parts or all of a bill. If this continues, it will be hard for Congress to check executive power (Tumulty, 2014).

**Congress’ Role in Curbing Imperial Presidents**

Supporters of the Unitary Theory during the Bush administration were David Addington and John Yoo (Yoo, 2005). They point to Hamilton in Federalist 70. The Founders put a single President in charge of the executive branch in order to give it unity so it could act decisively and quickly in times of need. Hamilton suggested this was especially important in a time of war for the country to respond and protect itself. This theory is not correct and should not be adopted. Four criticisms of this theory have been raised (Goldsmith, 2007). First, Hamilton in Federalist 70 is talking about a committee verses a single president. Thus Hamilton is saying nothing about Congress verses the President. He is suggesting a committee could not make decisions as decisively or swiftly as a single President. He is not saying that Congress cannot check the executive branch through legislation. Federalist 70 furthers this argument by saying that Congress is the best branch for devising the general rules under which government should act. The Founders considered the legislative branch the best adapted to deliberate and exercise wisdom. The Congress is also best at gaining the confidence of the people and securing their privileges and interests. Second, the theory fails to take into account ideas expressed in Federalist 69. The founders explained that although the American President would oversee the nation’s military, the American Commander-in-Chief’s powers would be subject to much stronger checks and balances than a king. The President must submit to the laws of Congress. The Commander-in-Chief means first general so the military is under civilian control. These powers are much inferior to the powers of a king over a military. Third, Congress is given the power to make laws that are necessary and proper to organize the executive branch and regulate the general conduct of executive officials. This means that the Constitution envisions Congressional oversight over the executive branch. And fourth, the Supreme Court has upheld the power of Congress to pass laws limiting the president’s absolute control over lower-ranking officials. In 1935, the Supreme Court allowed Congress to set up independent agencies inside the executive branch. In 1988 the Supreme Court decided a case on independent counsels, which is incompatible with a unitary executive theory where the president alone would control everyone in the executive branch (Savage, 2007). The President has great power over the military. However, the Constitution does not give the President unlimited powers. While the President is the Commander-in-Chief, Congress is the branch that declares war. Checks and balances were certainly anticipated even in this area.

What theory of presidential power should be adopted? Only the President faces a national election. Thus only the president really speaks for the nation as a whole. Certainly the President needs to be able to respond quickly to the threats to the American people, their interests, and the interests of our allies. The
Constitutional Theory of presidential power does not enable the country to respond quickly to emergencies. However, an extreme form of the Unitary Theory of presidential power does not need to be adopted. The lack of checks and balances is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and too high a price to pay for quick presidential action. The Stewardship Theory of presidential power should continue to be the accepted theory. It allows the president to act quickly in a time of crisis, yet it allows the Congress to check the broad inherent presidential power. Had Congress specified in greater detail and continued to weigh in on how this war on terror is to progress, Congress could have created details that would have unified the congressional and presidential branches of government as they went forward. The people, through their elected representatives, would have a greater say. This is important especially in a war that could continue for decades.

How does Congress check presidential power? The Constitution gave Congress the power of the purse and impeachment. Republicans have tried to use the purse to force changes. All they got was government shutdowns and the blame for any of the pain from a shutdown. They tried impeachment with President Clinton for perjury, but the Congress was not united and a majority of the people thought the action was excessive. Do the checks on presidential power work? Impeachment is not a legal action. It is a political tool. There is no uniform legal definition of high crimes and misdemeanors. The power of the purse and impeachment are political remedies. As such Congress needs to sell the reasoning behind the need for the check on presidential actions not only to their fellow Congressmen, but also to the people. It is easier to take hard votes when one’s constituents are engaged and hopefully in support of curbs on power when needed. Only once the case is made does the proposed remedy sound reasonable and serve as a significant threat to begin to curb the president. Congress cannot turn to the judiciary to serve as their check on the president.

House Republicans, and House Speaker John A. Boehner (R-Ohio), say they intend to sue President Obama for failing to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed” (Savage, D., 2014). There are many examples where Obama rewrote or amended laws under the disguise of executing the law. Numerous examples of unilateral changes can be found in the implementation of Obamacare. The President unilaterally imposed a series of subsidies and taxes on states that declined to establish state healthcare exchanges. Obamacare only allowed subsides and taxes in states that established the exchanges. The Obama Administration interpreted the Act to include Federally established policies under the language of state established policies appears to be headed to the US Supreme Court in 2015. Other Presidential actions do not yet have clear plaintiffs to bring challenges. The President also waived the employer mandate through 2015 to all businesses with fifty or more employees. Another example of a Presidential action is the threat to take unilateral executive action if the Congress does not pass immigration reform. Some members of Congress are threatening to take legal action if the President does immigration without Congress. The Supreme Court has made it clear that members of Congress do not have standing to file lawsuits questioning the constitutionality of presidential
actions. The courts require actual plaintiffs who can show that they are suffering under some law. When Congressmen bring court cases, it looks more like some abstract philosophical dispute than a legal battle with parties who have something to gain or lose. Obama is not the only president to engage in this type of activity. President Bush and Clinton postponed regulations. Courts are reluctant to tell the executive branch how to enforce laws. Sometimes laws just need to be phased in. It is not clear what remedy courts could provide if problems are more serious than postponement. When there are fights between the president and Congress, the resolution of the fight may best be left to the voters.

Congress also needs to actually make laws and bring bills to the floor. Members of Congress are sometimes so worried about the next election and whether voters like them, that many do not take chances. It is easier to vote present than it is to advocate for positions and take votes. Both parties have also found it difficult to unite the different wings of their party to take united stands on issues. This has to be done or the country does not move ahead. Not engaging in serious law making only invites a president to claim that he has a pen and was elected by the people to do certain things. It opens the door for the president to act unitarily through executive orders, agencies, or signing statements.

Conclusions

Citizens may not be concerned about these theories as there is a tendency to assume all will be well again now that we had a midterm election where it could be said a message was sent to the President to restrain his independent agenda and work with Congress. There will be another Presidential election in two years in which to send the message to one party or the other that their agenda’s seems extreme or the party seems obstructionist. However, voters need to remember that the Unitary Theory of presidential power is not limited to Republicans. Both Democrats and Republicans will drift towards the Unitary Theory because it is easier than taking positions during a debate and compromising to achieve a policy. In the Senate it is easier to avoid discussions and votes through the use of a filibuster. In both branches of Congress it is easier to bottle things up in committees. Besides working with another party in Congress, governing with another branch of government, such as the executive, is also hard and time consuming. The only differences between the parties are really just in focus and goals. Neither party will easily give up the presidential power contained in the Unitary Theory. People need to elect representatives who will do the job of legislating, which is compromising and educating the public on issues and alternative solutions. The most ideological extremes of either party need to be looked at with suspicion. Gridlock, and an absence of the willingness to compromise, is not helpful. Presidents need to be selected for their experience in and ability to work with others, especially members of Congress. Presidents are not elected to be solo players. There is no mandate to make laws. There only is a mandate to work with Congress. People also need to be concerned as justices leave the Supreme Court. If parties continue to place justices on the Court who envision a very expansive role for the courts, the justices will continue to make the courts an equal player in the making of public policy. This judicial activism can create its own host of problems. Every branch in our system needs to be
less activist and more willing to work with other branches and compromise for the good of the country.

While James Madison’s belief that Congress would dominate the federal system did not occur. There is no reason we need to drift towards an extreme form of unitary presidential power, a gridlocked Congress, or an activist judiciary. Subscribing to the Stewardship Theory can allow the country to act quickly when needed while still allowing Congress later to check the President. The courts should have a lesser seat at the table when drafting public policy and should be encouraging the Congress and President to come to a consensus and actually govern. Judicial restraint would encourage needed compromises. However, for this ideal situation to occur, the people need to assume their role. The people hold the power in a democracy. They delegated some of their power to the branches of government. If that power is not being used according to the principles in the Constitution, the government looses legitimacy in the eyes of the people. The people in a democracy have duties. They must become informed on the issues. They must vote the representatives who not only follow the ideals of the constituents, but also the ideals on the workings of the government as expressed in the Constitution. The people have to be vigilant and notice when their representatives are not following the constitution and vote these people out of office, regardless of how this affects their party. If not, the people will get all the bad government they deserve. Ideas of Imperial Presidencies became popular with Author M. Schlesinger’s 1973 book (Schlesinger, 1973). In that book he argued that the presidency was out of control and acting through unconstitutional means. People in the executive branch often achieve their positions through personal loyalty to the president. Advisory bodies to the president are also loyal to the president. None of these people have any incentive to advise contrary to the president’s wishes. Presidents can easily find themselves in a bubble surrounded only by loyal supporters. Dissenting voices can be nonexistent especially when criticizing the means a president is considering using to achieve shared goals. The philosophy can become such that the ends justify the means. The president can tell the country that president will just use a pen and act if Congress does not approve what the president wishes to do, and no advisors will caution the president that this maneuver is contrary to the constitution. Worse, in Imperial Presidencies, the president’s “court” many times takes it upon themselves to just do something they know the president would approve of. Some argue this is what Oliver North did when facilitating funding to the Contras. No need to wait for orders when one knows what the president wishes. Activist presidents using more extreme forms of Unitary Power, of complete control over the executive branch and agencies, can easily find their presidency also slipping into an Imperial presidency, where the president’s loyal supporters start acting for the president to achieve the president’s goals without any order to do so. When the president does not follow the Constitution, it is unlikely supporters will follow the Constitution either. Unchecked presidential powers will skyrocket.

There were signs in the 2008 elections that some American voters were looking for candidates who wanted to be leaders in developing policy. Many
candidates asserted that they were candidates of hope, change, and action. Six years later, people are questioning the results of that election. Obama sounds so much like Bush. Let’s hope our politicians will change, or not be reelected, so that a more functional government can lead. This appears to have happened in places during the midterm elections. This may be something that will be on the voters’ minds for the 2016 Presidential elections. The hope and change that this country needs is restraint in government officials and a healthy respect for our government’s checks and balance system. Political parties governing together is needed more than parties continuing to take extreme partisan positions that encourage representatives in the different branches of government to win their proposed positions at all costs and implement change through unconstitutional means. At times people comment that it is better to vote one’s party than have the opposing party exercising extensive powers. No, it is better to punish and vote a different party into power when the party in power becomes too activist. Only by sending the message that excessive and especially unconstitutional uses of presidential power will not be tolerated, will the practice slowly be curbed. People need to remember that their party will not always be in power. Whatever growth of presidential power that starts when one’s party is in power will continue when the opposing party is in power. Legitimacy in government is lost when Constitutional checks and balances are not respected. The presidential candidates for both parties need to be scrutinized by voters concerning their ideas on the use of presidential power and acceptance of checks and balances.

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Legitimacy Theory in the Federalist Papers

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Abstract

In the classical liberal tradition legitimacy is understood as the willingness of the governed to accept the authority of the government as appropriately and acceptably constituted, and worthy of loyalty and obedience. Legitimacy is considered essential for stability in democratic regimes, and necessary for the government to function effectively without encountering resistance and, in the absence of voluntary compliance, needing to resort to coercion to enforce its decisions. The Federalist Papers can be understood as an extended argument for the legitimacy of the new government proposed by the Constitution and the Convention in which it was drafted. In terms of contemporary scholarship on the concept, the Founding Fathers had a sophisticated understanding of legitimacy, and made an important contribution to legitimacy theory.

Recent opinion surveys reveal an erosion of trust and confidence in the United States government, if not quite yet a crisis of legitimacy. Therefore, it would seem timely to re-examine the Founder's arguments for the legitimacy of both the Constitutional government they proposed to replace the Articles of Confederation, and the Convention that drafted the document. An analysis of the Founders' conception of legitimacy in contrast to other schools of thought reveals a systematic theory consistent with the standards of representative democracy, in the words of Madison closing Federalist #10, “a Republican remedy for the diseases most incident to Republican Government.”

Introduction

In the Western liberal tradition (Locke, 1963, pp. 348-50), the legitimacy of the governing authority is derived from a source anterior to and higher than the government itself—the consent of the governed. This principle is enshrined in the two great founding documents of the United States: the Declaration of Independence that declares that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and the Constitution ordained and established by “We the People.”

The concept of legitimacy comprehends two political dimensions. The first dimension, descriptive, comprehends legitimacy, in the Weberian sense, as the belief, whether by tradition, charisma, or legality, in the acceptability of governing authority and the need to obey its commands. The second dimension, normative, establishes an objective template or standard for the acceptance of political authority and the obligation to obey. In contemporary terms, the descriptive dimension can be understood as the perception that governing institutions have been established not by coercion but by voluntary consent and acceptance, and that they are the right and appropriate institutions for the society and worthy of support, trust, confidence, and affection (Lipset, 1981, 64; Easton & Dennis, 1969, 57, 128). This paper will refer to this belief system as the subjective/affective dimension of legitimacy. The normative dimension can be understood as the objective assessment of governing institutions as legitimate because they conform to particular external standards or values, and perform their tasks effectively (Lipset, 1981, 64; Huntington, 1981, 41). This assessment process will be referred to herein as the objective/evaluative dimension of legitimacy.

As shall be seen later, Publius understands and interprets legitimacy in contemporary terms, but what follows are two brief examples:

On the subjective/affective dimension, in Federalist #62, Madison declares that legitimacy underpins political stability in democratic regimes, and, conversely, that instability undermines legitimacy. An orderly and stable government commands respect,
and gains “attachment and reverence” in the hearts of the people. A disorderly and unstable government has the “deplorable effect” of diminishing that reverence and attachment (Johnson, 2004, 448), and also “forfeits the respect and confidence of other nations” (Johnson, 446).

On the objective/evaluative dimension, in Federalist #33, Hamilton asserts that, “If the Federal Government should overpass the just bounds of its authority, and make a tyrannical use of its powers; the people whose creature it is must appeal to the standard they have formed, and take such measures to redress the injury done to the constitution, as the exigency may suggest and prudence justify” (Johnson, 224). In short, for Publius, governmental legitimacy turns on the ends toward which it exercises its powers, the means chosen to achieve them, and whether it gains the loyalty, support and obedience of the people.

With the exception of brief references by Wills (2001, 121, 149), the numerous commentaries on the Federalist Papers do not deal with legitimacy. The inattention to legitimacy in the commentaries is not for lack of attention to the concept by Publius. Hamilton addresses the concept in Federalist #’s 17, 101, and 115. Madison does so at considerable length in Federalist #’s 9, 45, 49, 55, and 62. This paper now turns to these Papers to distill from them a fully developed and highly sophisticated theory of legitimacy with objective standards and criteria for assessing the legitimacy of American governing institutions as they were created by the Founding Fathers, and have evolved over the centuries since.

**PUBLIUS’ THEORY OF LEGITIMACY**

The people are the sole source of governmental authority:

> The fabric of American Empire ought to rest on the solid basis of THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE. The streams of political power ought to flow immediately from that pure original fountain of all legitimate authority (Hamilton, #22; Johnson, 2004, 156).

As the people are the only legitimate fountain of power, and it is from them that the constitutional charter…is derived…consonant to the republican theory, to recur to the same original authority…whenever it may be necessary to enlarge, diminish, or new-model the powers of government (Madison, #49; Johnson, 2004, 361).

**Subjective/Affective Legitimacy**

Hamilton explores the sources of affective legitimacy in the context of a discussion about the relative balance of power between the state governments and the federal government (Federalist #17; Johnson, 2004, 115). He claims it to be a “known fact” that human affections vary in proportion to the distance or diffusiveness of their object. On the same principle that people have a stronger attachment to family than neighborhood and to the neighborhood than the larger community does, they would “feel a stronger bias toward their local governments than toward the government of the Union.” He then argues that the state governments have “one transcendent advantage” in attracting “popular obedience and attachment.” That advantage rests in the states’ administration of criminal and civil justice, making the state the “immediate and visible guardian of life and property.” Protecting the most immediately familiar and personal
interests and concerns of the people contributes more than anything else to impressing upon their minds “affection, esteem and reverence towards the government” (Johnson, 2004, 361).

In Federalist #46, (Johnson, 2004, 335-6), Madison continues Hamilton’s train of thought on the affective dimension of legitimacy, again in the context of inquiring into which level of government “will have the advantage with regard to the predilection and support of the people.” For Madison, a number of considerations, including those enumerated by Hamilton, “seem to place it beyond doubt, that the first and most natural attachment of the people will be to the governments of their respective states.” Among those considerations are the opportunities to serve in, and to enjoy the emoluments of the great number of offices in state government. In addition, the state governments attend to more matters affecting the domestic concerns and personal interests of the people, with which they are “more familiarly and minutely conversant.” Furthermore, the people are more likely to know, be friendly with, and have family and party ties to members of the state government. As a result, it is toward the state governments that “the popular bias may well be expected most strongly to incline.”

**Objective/Evaluative Legitimacy**

If state government has the advantage on the affective dimension of legitimacy, then federal legitimacy appears to be based on the division of labor between the two levels of government, and turns on the assessment of its effectiveness. Again, Hamilton and Madison are in agreement, both positing that the strong affective attachment that people have with their state government can only be matched or displaced by better administration on the part of the Federal Government (Hamilton, Federalist #17, 115; Madison, Federalist #46, 337; Johnson, 2004).

As to the objects of federal administration, Hamilton and Madison stipulate similar purposes/powers. For Hamilton (Federalist #23; Johnson, 2004, 157), the “principle purposes” for the federal government of the union are the “common defense of the members,” defending the public peace “as well against internal convulsions as external attacks.” In addition, “the regulation of commerce with other nations and between the states,” and, in conclusion, “the superintendence of our intercourse, political and commercial, with foreign countries.” For Madison (Federalist #45; Johnson, 2004, 333), the “powers delegated…to the Federal Government…few and defined,” are not within the internal realm, but rather are “exercised principally on external objects,” those being “war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce,” with which the power of taxation is, for the most part, connected. Furthermore, “the operations of the Federal Government will be most extensive and important in times of war and danger,” while those of the state governments will loom larger in “times of peace and security.”

To the federal powers, Jay adds “preservation of peace and tranquility” against both foreign and domestic causes, adding that an “efficient national government” affords the best security “against hostilities from abroad” (Federalist #3; Johnson, 2004, 15). Should the people become more partial to the federal government as opposed to their state governments, the condition could only be “manifest and irresistible proofs of a better administration” to overcome previous propensities (Federalist #46; Johnson, 2004, 337). Still, state governments would have little to fear in losing legitimacy because “it is only within a certain sphere that foederal [sic] power can… be advantageously administered” (Federalist #46; Johnson, 2004, 337).
However, within that sphere, Publius argues that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate, and that a review of the provisions of the Constitution reveals a government with the “aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration.” Madison’s view of good government posits an effective relationship between the ends of government and the means to achieve them. For him, a “good government” implies, “first fidelity to the object of government which is the happiness of the people, secondly, a knowledge of the means by which that object can be best obtained.” Some governments are deficient in both means and ends, but most in means. Madison asserts that, “in the American governments, too little attention has been paid to the last.” He goes on to declare that “the federal constitution avoids this error, and what merits particular notice, it provides for the last in a mode which increases the security for the first” (Federalist #62; Johnson, 2004, 445-6). In brief, the federal constitution creates a government with the means to achieve the ends for which it was established.

In Federalist #45 (Johnson, 2004, 329), Madison declares that government has no other value than the attainment of “the public good, the real welfare of the great body of the people,” and that is “the supreme object to be pursued.” In Federalist #51 (Johnson, 2004, 375), Madison also declares, “Justice is the end of government,” as it is also “the end of civil society,” and that it “ever has been and ever will be pursued, until it be obtained.”

Do these formulations provide objective standards against which the effectiveness of the Federal Government, and, therefore its legitimacy, can be assessed? To answer that question, it is necessary to establish criteria for measuring the objective ends to which it is assigned by Madison: the people’s happiness and welfare, the public good, and justice.

Hamilton addresses happiness and the public good (Federalist #1; Johnson, 2004, 4) in questioning whether Americans can demonstrate the capability of establishing good government by reflection and choice, or forever be politically victimized by accident and force. “Happy will it be” by choice based on “a judicious estimate of our true interests…connected with the public good, and under “a constitution conforming to the true principles of republican government,” (Johnson, 2004, 7), a constitution whose “natural guardians” are the people (Federalist #16; Johnson, 2004, 11). In effect, the happiness of the people consists in republican self-government under a constitution through which they make thoughtful decisions about their true self-interests, i.e., the public good.

Jay comes to a similar conclusion in Federal #2 in which he equates happiness under the constitution, and public good as the attainment of prosperity by a people “no less attached to union, than enamoured [sic] of liberty”…living under a “wise and balanced government for a free people,” (Johnson, 2004, 10) again, republican self-governance.

For justice, we turn to Madison in Federalist #10 in which he alludes to the “diversity in the faculties of men,” the protection of which is “the first object of government;” “From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results” (Johnson, 2004, 62). Therefore, it appears for Madison, that justice is linked with protecting the liberty of people to use their differential faculties, abilities and talents even if resulting in different outcomes. In short, justice consists in ensuring liberty even under
conditions of inequality in the possession of property leading to different sentiments and views, from which ensues “a division of the society into different interests and parties...a landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a monied [sic] interest with many lesser interests,” all of which “grow up of necessity in civilized nations” (Federalist #10; Johnson, 2004, 63). Nevertheless, in the case of a dispute between conflicting interests, the “rules of justice” require “exact impartiality” and the holding of a “balance between them.” The task of regulating various and competitive interests “forms the principle task of modern Legislation,” involving “the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of Government” (Johnson, 2004, 63). This part of the discussion seems to indicate that justice requires political equality if not necessarily social or economic equality.

In democratic regimes, constitutionalism is synonymous with the idea of limited government. “Constitutionalism, by dividing power provides a system of effective restraints on governmental action” (Friedrich, 1950, p. 26). Irrespective of the manner in which the restraints are established and maintained, the result is “a body of rules ensuring fair play thus rendering government ‘responsible’” (Friedrich, 1950, p. 26). For Hamilton, among the “efficacious principles for maintaining the excellencies [sic] of republican government” are the “regular distribution of power into distinct departments—the introduction of legislative balances and checks,” courts with judges holding office during good behavior, and popular elections to the legislature (Federalist #3; Johnson 2004, 577). The constitution “ought to be the standard of construction for the laws,” wherein “the laws ought to give place to the constitution,” a doctrine “deducible from...the general theory of a limited constitution” (Federalist #81; Johnson, 2004, 577), which is “merely intended to regulate the general political interests of the nation,” rather than to regulate “every species of personal and private concerns” (Federalist #84; Johnson, 2004, 613).

For Madison, the limitations are built into federalism and separated powers between the branches of government. The powers of the Federal Government are enumerated and delegated, “few and defined,” and “exercised principally on external objects, such as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce.” While the powers reserved to the states are those concerned with “the lives, liberties and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the state” (Federalist #45; Johnson, 2004, 333).

Under the proposed Constitution, the jurisdiction of the Federal Government “extends to certain enumerated objects only, and leaves to the several states a residuary and inviolable sovereignty over all other objects” (Federalist #39; Johnson, 2004, 275). Furthermore, in the American compound republic, the powers surrendered by the people after going first to two distinct levels of government are then subdivided into distinct and separate departments at each level. The result is a “double security” for the people’s rights. The different governments will control each other, while each will be controlled through its own internal division of powers (Federalist #51; Johnson, 2004, 373).

This paper turns now to Madison’s original contributions to legitimacy theory. In Federalist #62 (Johnson, 2004, 444), Madison acknowledges that the “the facility and excess of law-making seem to be the diseases to which our governments are most liable.” He then disparages as blunders “the repealing, explaining and amending laws which fill out and disgrace our voluminous codes” (Johnson, 2004, 445). There follows
an extremely critical analysis of mutable policy-making, and its deleterious consequences for public confidence in government and its legitimacy. A continual change of even good policy is said to be imprudent, and not likely to succeed.

“Stability in Government is essential to national character...as well as to that repose and confidence in the minds of the people...” (Federalist #37; Johnson, 2004, 253). The effects of mutable government are “mischievous” and could “fill a volume,” starting with its forfeiting of the respect and confidence of other nations and the advantages of “national character” (Johnson, 2004, 446). A government characterized by mutability risks being taken advantage of, and losing its fortune to wiser nations.

Worse yet may be the internal effects of mutable policy that “poisons the blessings of liberty itself.” No good is done for the people if even their own representatives make laws that are too voluminous to be read, or too incoherent to be understood, revised, repealed or changed so incessantly that the rule of law literally breaks down (Federalist #62; Johnson, 2004, 447).

Particularly egregious for Madison is that mutability in law-making gives an “unreasonable advantage...to the sagacious, the enterprising and the moneyed few over the industrious and uninformed masses of the people” (Federalist #62; Johnson, 2004, 447). Remarkably anticipating rent-seeking almost two hundred years before Tullock (2002) and Buchanan (1998) coined the term to describe a process in which the enterprising few exploit the political system to obtain benefits for themselves at the cost to the many, Madison, fearing an erosion of the rule of law, characterizes rent-seeking with precision.

Every new regulation concerning commerce or revenue, or in any manner affecting the value of the different species of property, presents a new harvest to those who watch the change, and can trace its consequences; a harvest reared not by themselves but by the toils and cares of the great body of their fellow citizens. This is a state of things in which it may be said with some truth that laws are made for the few not for the many (Federalist #62; Johnson, 2004, 447).

Here, then, a description of those who game the system, successfully gaining benefits for themselves at the expense of everyone else. Echoing Madison, Olson (1982) contends that a political system characterized by rent-seeking is divisive socially and politically, lacks a common ground for building consensus, and may be ungovernable.

Madison concludes Federalist #62 with the brief that “no great improvement or laudable enterprise, can go forward, which requires the steady stream of national policy.” Summarizing his previous analysis, Madison calls “the most deplorable effect” of mutable, unstable and exploited government policy the “diminution of attachment and reverence which steals into the hearts of the people, towards a political system which betrays so many marks of infirmity, and disappoints so many of their flattering hopes” (Johnson, 2004, 448). So, the most deplorable effect is the government’s loss of legitimacy. Moreover, its loss of legitimacy and respect cannot be reclaimed “without possessing a certain portion of order and stability” (Johnson, 2004, 448).

While Madison’s critique targets government under the Articles of Confederation, any government exhibiting the same liabilities threatens its own legitimacy. In Federalist #62, Madison offers a theory of legitimacy under which a causal relationship exists between objective/evaluative legitimacy and subjective/affective legitimacy. A political
system characterized by the objective liabilities of mutability, incoherence, and favoritism causes the subjective “diminution of the attachment and reverence of the people.” Furthermore, a government cannot win respect without possessing the order and stability that makes it respectable.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has endeavored to distill from the Federalist Papers a coherent, systematic political theory of legitimacy that can serve as a standard or template that conforms to contemporary standards, and can be used today to evaluate governmental legitimacy. Hamilton advocated a standard in Federalist #33 for the people to use to determine whether government has overstepped its constitutional bounds and used its authority unjustly. The criteria for that standard are: 1) a political process that ensures authentic democratic self-governance in our representative institutions through which we make decisions about our true self-interests, i.e., the public good; 2) the constitutional protection of liberty as the first object of government in fulfilling its constitutional responsibilities; 3) political equality respecting the fundamental political rights of the suffrage, speech, assembly/association, and petitioning government for the redress of grievances; 4) objectivity and impartiality under the “rules of justice” in adjudicating disputes between competitive interests; 5) government limited under the Constitution to its delegated, enumerated powers effectively carried out; 6) stable, coherent policies under the rule of law that distribute public and collective goods equally without favoritism or advantage to any particular interest over another, no benefits for the few at the expense of the many.

Failure on the part of government to meet these criteria, as Madison theorizes, is to flunk the test for objective/evaluative legitimacy, leading to forfeiting subjective/affective legitimacy; that is to say, the government finding a way to undermine its own legitimacy.
References
Mindfulness Based Conflict Resolution

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Conflict resolution programs are frequently included as a component of an effective school counseling program and are recommended by the American School Counseling Association (ASCA, 2004). These programs typically teach and reinforce not only the basic skills of conflict resolution and peer mediation but also the skills required for effective communication. These communication skills include the ability to actively listen, reflect feelings back to the person who is speaking, paraphrasing, and summarizing (Ivey, et al, 2007). Increasingly, educators are becoming more aware of the need for attunement as part of this skill set. Attunement occurs when a person intentionally focuses on the internal world of another (Siegel, 2007). Practicing attunement is essential for effective conflict resolution and one of the most effective ways to learn attunement is through the practice of mindfulness.

The term mindfulness is a concept derived from Buddhist teachings; however, mindfulness in not a religious concept. The term is often used interchangeably with meditation and is embraced by people throughout the western culture. Mindfulness is simply the practice of paying attention to what is happening within us and around us through an intentionally heightened sense of awareness (Kabat-Zinn, 1994). This paper presents a model for mindfulness based conflict resolution and provides an orientation to the model and guidance for its practical application.

Conflict Resolution is the process by which people resolve a dispute or a conflict so that their interests are adequately addressed, and they are satisfied with the outcome (Association for Conflict Resolution, 2007). Additionally, conflict resolution education includes the educational practices that model and teach the processes, practices, and skills that help address conflicts and create safe communities (Association for Conflict Resolution, 2007).

Although each school community has the ability to exercise creativity around what to include in their conflict resolution program, some common elements of conflict management programs include the following: climate survey, needs assessment, school wide conflict management education, peer mediation training, communication skill training, character education and other opportunities for social emotional-learning. This model suggests the addition of mindfulness training to these programs based on the potential for its mitigation of the contributing factors in conflict problem situations. The characteristics of interpersonal conflict often include incomplete communication, inaccurate information, stress overload and unmet psychological needs such as fairness, recognition, control, security and identity. This model proposes that training in mindfulness be offered to every one in the school community including every student, teacher, and staff member.

The practice of mindfulness contributes to the ability to attend more completely to the information being shared not only in conflict resolution situations but also in everyday communication. Additionally, mindfulness has been shown to mitigate stress across developmental levels (Kabat-Zinn, 1994). The practice of mindfulness greatly enhances brain activity in the prefrontal cortex. This brain area is associated with functions that allow executive control and guidance over more primitive brain structures such as the limbic system (Siegel, 2007). The middle prefrontal cortex is critical to relationships and communication. Additionally, this area is involved in selective attention, working memory, self-observation, response inhibition and empathy (Siegel, 2007). Providing students with training in mindfulness can offer opportunities to
This model recommends training and education in mindfulness with a daily 3-7 minute practice time depending on the developmental level of the child, with older children practicing for longer periods of time. In the tradition of mindfulness meditation, the object of meditation is the breath. Practitioners are encouraged to sit in a comfortable position and notice the breath. The breath is used as a point of focus because it is a natural process that is impossible not to do. Therefore, it is always available to the practitioner. The practitioner is aware of the breath and knows that thoughts will come and go. The object of mindfulness meditation is not to avoid thoughts, stop them, or repress them. Rather, the aim is to regard them non-judgmentally with an open attitude. In the Buddhist tradition, meditation is regarded as a way to cultivate an attitude of unconditional friendliness toward oneself.

Adding training and practice in mindfulness can greatly enhance a school wide conflict resolution program. Students and other community members will benefit from the practice of being more aware of the present moment both internally and externally. Our school communities can benefit from students and other stakeholders who are more attuned to themselves and one another and who practice more effective communication (ASCA, 2004).

References

Radicalism versus Conservatism:
The Forgotten Conflict
Between Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Booker T. Washington
in the Black Struggle for Civil Rights

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Abstract
This paper analyzes the conflict between Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Booker T. Washington as a forgotten episode in the Black struggle for civil rights in the United States of America. It argues that Wells-Barnett was a titan of a forgotten radicalism and progressive feminism. It also argues that Washington was a titan of a forgotten conservatism and regressive elitism. With regard to that context, this paper presents an analysis of the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. In terms of the conflict, his paper examines how Wells-Barnett and her husband Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. were undermined by Washington for daring to oppose the social policies advocated by the Tuskegee Machine. This paper also examines how Wells-Barnett and her husband mounted a bold opposition to the machinations of Washington despite facing reprisals. In addition, it addresses how Wells-Barnett supported W. E. B. Du Bois when he took his radical stance against Washington in *The Souls of Black Folk*. Furthermore, the National Afro-American Council is identified as a key battleground for the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. This paper uses a mixed methods approach to trace out the controversial conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington.

Introduction
Within the Black experience of the United States of America (USA), there have been a number of conflicts between individuals centered around ideology and/or personality issues. There was a conflict between W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. It centered around ideological differences between Du Bois and Washington with regard to political nationalism. Du Bois took the position that Black people should engage in political nationalism, economic nationalism, and cultural nationalism. He felt that it was imperative for Black people to wage a struggle for equal rights and social justice in the USA. In contrast, Washington took the position that Black people should engage in economic nationalism, but not political nationalism. To curry favor with the White population, Washington encouraged Black people to give up the right to vote. Washington also took very little action to support cultural nationalism and cultural pluralism.1

Another key conflict occurred between W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. As was the case with Washington, the ideological differences between Du Bois and Garvey centered around political nationalism. Garvey (1922) took the position that Black people should abandon political nationalism in this land because he said that, “America is a white man’s country” (p. 1). Instead of engaging in racial solidarity and collective behavior around political matters like the right to vote in the USA, Garvey posed that Black people should abandon the USA and take flight to Africa. The position of Garvey on political nationalism was applauded by the Ku Klux Klan. However, Garvey, like Du Bois, was a strong advocate of economic nationalism and cultural nationalism in the USA. Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) encouraged Black people to engage in racial solidarity and collective behavior around economic matters and cultural matters.

The great irony of the conflict between Du Bois and Garvey is that both were proponents of Pan Africanism. The social phenomenon of Pan Africanism involves an international form of Black nationalism, which includes racial solidarity and collective behavior around political matters, economic matters, and cultural matters. Both supported the notion that Black people should fight for the liberation of Africa from the
economic, cultural, and political domination of White people. Du Bois and Garvey are on record for opposing the perpetuation of economic imperialism and cultural imperialism. Likewise, Du Bois and Garvey are on record for supporting the idea that Africans have the right to self-determination, including the formation of independent nation-states. The key difference between their two positions on Pan Africanism is that Du Bois wanted Black people to fight for the right to vote and social justice within the USA and Garvey did not. Following Du Bois, social scientist Gerald Horne has warned us that, "If you want to protect your economic interests, you must have a political arm." This paper will analyze the conflict between Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Booker T. Washington as a forgotten chapter in the Black experience. It will argue that Wells-Barnett was a titan of a forgotten radicalism and progressive feminism. As a radical and a progressive feminist, Wells-Barnett advocated racial solidarity and collective behavior around economic, cultural, and political matters. It will also argue that Washington was a titan of a forgotten conservatism and regressive elitism. Washington, as a conservative and regressive elitist, advocated economic nationalism, but not political nationalism and cultural nationalism. With regard to that context, this paper will present an analysis of the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. In terms of the conflict, this paper will examine how Wells-Barnett and her husband Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. were undermined by Washington for daring to oppose the social policies advocated by the Tuskegee Machine. This paper will also examine how Wells-Barnett and her husband mounted a bold opposition to the machinations of Washington despite facing reprisals. In addition, it will address how Wells-Barnett supported W. E. B. Du Bois when he took his radical stance against Washington in *The Souls of Black Folk*. Furthermore, the National Afro-American Council is identified as a key battleground for the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. A mixed methods approach is used in this paper to trace out the controversial conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. The methodological approach included observation (aka direct observation) and the case study. The research technique involved content analysis of primary and secondary source documents and the collection of visual images through digital photography.

**The Forgotten Radicalism and Progressive Feminism of Wells-Barnett**

Ida B. Wells-Barnett was a formerly enslaved person who became a national figure as a result of an 1884 lawsuit she filed against the Cheasapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad. She charged the railroad company with racial discrimination for being forced out of the first-class section and thrown off a train. Initially, Wells-Barnett won her case in a lower court. That event made her a relatively famous woman ("A Darky Damsel," 1884a). However, Wells-Barnett eventually lost the case three years later as the result of an appeal by the railroad company to the Tennessee State Supreme Court ("Chesapeake," 1887). As opposed to Booker T. Washington, Wells-Barnett accepted the agitation and protest tradition of Frederick Douglass. Like Douglass and W. E. B. Du Bois, Wells-Barnett believed that Black people must wage a struggle for equal rights in the USA against the proponents of White supremacy. She shared the view of Douglass and made a conscious decision to wage struggle against the White supremacists. She encouraged Black people to fight for equal rights and said that they should reject second-class citizenship. Wells-Barnett took the position that the Black masses should...
have access to liberal arts education and industrial arts education. She also took the position that females should be treated equally to males. In her diary, pamphlets, speeches, and essays, Wells-Barnett delivered this message.4

Wells-Barnett lived from 1856 to 1931. Before she died in 1931, Wells-Barnett became a prominent teacher, journalist, and newspaper publisher. Wells-Barnett also became a sociologist, political activist, civil rights activist, settlement house founder, and social movement leader. Some organizations founded or co-founded by Ida B. Wells-Barnett include the Ida B. Wells Club (1893); London Anti-lynching Committee (1894); National Association of Colored Women (1896); Frederick Douglass Center (1904); Negro Fellowship League (1908); NAACP (1909); and Alpha Suffrage Club (1913). With the help of the Black media and White media, her name became well-known in this country and abroad. To help spread the word about lynching in the USA, she made two trips to Great Britain (Wells-Barnett, 1970; Duster, 2010). Wells-Barnett appeared before large crowds who expressed gratitude for the information she disseminated about lynching.

The Forgotten Conservatism and Regressive Elitism of Washington

As a formerly enslaved person, Booker T. Washington became a national figure as a result of his famous Atlanta Compromise Speech. Before a predominately White audience, Washington told the audience that he was an advocate of Black people giving up the right to vote and accepting the color line policy in the form of de jure segregation and de facto segregation. Unlike Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Washington rejected the agitation and protest tradition of Frederick Douglass. In the case of Douglass, he said that Black people must wage a struggle for equal rights in the USA against the proponents of White supremacy.

Washington did not share the view of Douglass. He made a conscious decision to accommodate himself to White supremacists. Instead of encouraging Black people to fight for equal rights, Washington said that they should accept second-class citizenship. Washington also said that the Black masses should reject liberal arts education in favor of industrial arts education. Evidently, Washington took the position that the Black masses should do as he said, not as he did. For example, Washington sent his daughter Portia Washington to Wellesley College, an elite, predominately White female college where she focused her studies on a liberal arts education with a focus on English, German and French literature (“Booker T. Washington’s Daughter,” 1901, p. 2). He also sent his sons Booker T. Washington, Jr. and Ernest Davidson Washington to Fisk University for a liberal arts education. Nevertheless, in books, speeches, and essays, Washington advocated that the Black masses should avoid the very thing he was providing to his own children.

Washington, who lived from 1856 to 1915, became a prominent teacher, principal, and orator. He also became an adviser to presidents of the USA, newspaper publisher, writer, college founder and leader, and social movement leader.5 Some organizations or initiatives founded or co-founded by Washington include Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (1881); Tuskegee Negro Conference, aka Farmers’ Conference and Workers’ Conference (1892); and the Negro Business League (1900). Washington’s name was known in this country and abroad because of the White media. They saw Washington as a safe Negro who would do their beckoning.
As a general rule, Washington was cheered by the White media when he advocated Black disenfranchisement. Likewise, the elite of the White media cheered on Washington when he suggested that anybody without property should deny the right to vote. Whereas the White conservatives and Black conservatives cheered on his regressive elitism, Black progressives became increasingly alarmed. They expressed shock as Washington became more and more conservative between 1895 and 1903. From time to time, Washington did issue a public denunciation of lynching.

Under pressure from the radical wing of the National Afro-American Council, Washington (1899b) broke his silence on lynching and issued a statement wherein he asked White Southerners to stop the brutal practice. Washington pointed out that “lynching was instituted some years ago with the idea of punishing and checking outrage upon women” (p. 7). Based on his analysis of what he called the “cold facts,” Washington concluded that four-fifths of the victims of lynching had nothing to do with insulting women (e.g., rape charges). Instead, Washington noted that they were accused of murder, rioting, incendiariism, robbery, larceny, self-defense, alleged stock poisoning, malpractice, alleged barn burning, suspected robbery, race prejudice, attempted murder, horse stealing, and mistaken identity, etc. He also noted that White people were being lynched, too. In addition, the conservative Washington surmised that lynching injured the moral sensibility of White people and that Black people needed to reduce their criminal behavior.

Following the publication of The Souls of Black Folk by Du Bois (1903), Washington felt compelled once again to issue a public denunciation of lynching as an evil practice. Some five years after his first open letter, Washington (1904) issued a second one regarding lynching. In that second letter, Washington made a protest against lynching. He also complained about the lack of trials for Black people accused of murder and other offenses in the South. Instead of a trial, Washington lamented that those Black people faced a lynching by a White mob. Washington requested that ministers and the corporate press press the mob violence in the form of a lynching. He complained that:

Within the last fortnight three members of my race have been burned at the stake; of these one was a woman. Not one of the three was charged with any crime even remotely connected with the abuse of a white woman. In every case murder was the sole accusation. All of these burnings took place in broad daylight and two of them occurred on Sunday afternoon in sight of a Christian church.

Washington added:

If the law is disregarded when a Negro is concerned, it will soon be disregarded when a white man is concerned; and, besides, the rule of the mob destroys the friendly relations which should exist between the races and injures and interferes with the material prosperity of the communities concerned.

In this particular letter, Washington was making the case that every person deserves a trial no matter what type of crime a person has committed. With that position, his ideas lined up more closely with those of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., and W. E. B. Du Bois.

The Battle Between the Radicals and Conservatives in the National Afro-American Council
From 1898 to 1907, the National Afro-American Council became the setting for a battle between radicals and conservatives. The radicals held the president position in the organization in 1898-1899, 1899-1900, 1900-1901, 1901-1902, 1905-1906, and 1906-1907. During those years, Alexander Walters, a bishop in the AME Zion Church, served as the president. The conservatives gained control of the president position in 1902-1903, 1903-1904, and 1904-1905. T. Thomas Fortune, a former radical turned conservative and close friend of Booker T. Washington, held the president position in the organization during those years. It should be noted that Fortune resigned the position in 1904 and was replaced by another conservative, namely William Henry Steward. In the case of the conservative William Henry Steward, he was defeated in a re-election campaign for the organization’s presidential post by the radical Alexander Walters.6

In her autobiography, Wells-Barnett (1970) has provided important details about the battle which took place between the radicals and conservatives in the National Afro-American Council. She has explained that the battle began between the radicals and conservatives emerged at the very first meeting of the National Afro-American Council in Washington. Wells-Barnett noted that T. Thomas Fortune, a major functionary in the Tuskegee Machine, had issued the call for the meeting, but exhibited a “pugnacious attitude” and “spent more time trying to point out the shortcomings of the race than in encouraging us to unite” (p. 256). For that reason, Wells-Barnett found him to be unacceptable to be at the head of the fledging organization. She reported:

When we returned to the afternoon service, the nominating committee which had been appointed in the morning brought in a report making Mr. Fortune permanent chairman. When the motion was put to adopt the committee report I halted it. I called attention to the fact that Mr. Fortune had said in his morning address that he had no confidence in the race’s ability to unite its forces in its own behalf and that he for one was through making sacrifices in its behalf. I wished to know if he planned to accept the presidency of this organization after having made such a declaration. He arose and answered that he did mean what he had said in the morning—that he did not have any confidence in the race’s support and that he declined to accept the presidency. It seems very clear, notwithstanding his declaration, that if I had not asked those pertinent questions he would have permitted himself to be elected president of an organization in which he had no confidence. (pp. 255-256)

In her view, Wells-Barnett had stopped a member of the Tuskegee Machine from ascending to the top position in the organization’s top position.

Wells-Barnett (1970) went into battle mode at the first meeting of the National Afro-Council and emerged the victor in an important skirmish. Instead of Fortune taking the top position, it went to an important ally of Wells-Barnett. She related:

Someone immediately nominated Bishop Alexander Walters of the AME Zion Church to be president in his stead. That motion prevailed and Bishop Walters became president of what was known as the Afro-American Council. Your humble servant was made secretary. (p. 256)
Like Wells-Barnett, Walters was a member of the radical camp in the National Afro-American Council.

In November 1898, White people in Wilmington, North Carolina engaged in a brutal attack upon Black people in that city which left dozens, if not hundreds, dead. A Georgia White woman named Rebecca Felton had given a widely reprinted speech in Tybee, Georgia urging White people to lynch Black people to put the latter in their places. Alex Manly, a Wilmington Black man and editor of the *Wilmington Daily Record*, responded with editorial denouncing Felton’s speech. The White press reprinted the editorial of Manly and used it to fuel longstanding White resentment to Black success. Soon afterwards, White terrorists in organizations like the Rough Riders, Red Shirts, and Ku Klux Klan began to terrorize Black people, including Wilmington. On November 10, 1898, thousands of White terrorists assaulted the office of Manly and began to kill Black people. The White terrorists achieved the objectives of (1) forcing Manly to leave the city or die, and (2) destroying Black political power on the eve of an election (Giddings, 2008).

Giddings (2008) has pointed out that the National Afro-American Council responded to the crisis in Wilmington by calling an emergency meeting held that December in Washington, DC. Wells-Barnett was one of the members of the National Afro-American Council who made it there. At the emergency meeting, Wells-Barnett presented an address titled “Mob Violence and Anarchy, North and South.” In her speech, Wells-Barnett blasted William McKinley, the president of the USA, and Booker T. Washington. She charged that McKinley had ignored the rights of Black people and spent too much time decorating Confederate graves. Wells-Barnett asserted that Washington “made a big mistake in imaging that black people could gain their rights merely by making themselves factors in industrial life” (quoted in Giddings, p. 403). There was a split in the conservative camp at the Washington, DC meeting. Henry Cheatham, the recorder of deeds, opposed the criticism of McKinley, but T. Thomas Fortune felt compelled at the time to support such criticism. Giddings has informed us that Fortune even authored the resolution criticizing McKinley.

When she wrote about the Washington, DC emergency meeting, Wells-Barnett (1970) was relatively brief. She explained that the emergency meeting had attracted a large gathering. Wells-Barnett also related that there were “very strong resolutions passed condemning the president of the United States for ignoring that terrible affair” (p. 257). She continued:

Strange to say, there was objection to the passage of this resolution, and it finally developed that the president had been advised by some of the so-called leaders of the Negro race whom he had called into consultation to make no reference to the affair. When the Afro-American Council adjourned not only the president of the United States but the entire country knew that the men who had so advised him did not represent the best thought of the race. (p. 258)

Wells-Barnett did not mention Washington by name, but it is clear that she lumped him into the so-called leaders category. In December 1898, McKinley made a speech at Tuskegee Institute and failed to mention or condemn the atrocities in Wilmington. Washington (1973a) had advised McKinley in a letter written on November 27, 1898 to encourage “colored people to get education, property, and character, as a basis of
citizenship” (p. 521). He also advised McKinley to urge that “both races be moderate, reasonable, self-controlled and live on friendly terms” (p. 521). 7

As Wells-Barnett (1970) has noted, there was a showdown between the radicals and conservatives over Booker T. Washington at the 1899 National Afro-American Council in Chicago. Although his functionaries in the conservative camp attended the meeting, Washington declined to do so. However, he was in Chicago during the meeting of the National Afro-American Council, but would only meet privately with Alexander Walters. Margaret Murray Washington was one of the conservative functionaries who attended the meeting of the National Afro-American Council. Upon being invited to make a presentation, Margaret Murray Washington declined and stated that she took exception to her husband being verbally attacked. Wells-Barnett said that she was surprised by the statement of Margaret Murray Washington. With regard to that incident in Chicago, Wells-Barnett (1970) wrote:

The Afro-American Council had not made any attack upon Booker T. Washington, but a statement had been made in the meeting referred to that Bishop Walters, our president, had gone from the meeting to the Palmer House to confer with Mr. Washington. Some delegate then rose and asked why the president of our meeting had to go to the Palmer House to confer with Mr. Washington for a secret conference and that Mr. Washington would not appear in our meeting. The speaker went on to state that he had been informed that Mr. Washington had been sent to Chicago to hold the Afro-American Council in check so that no expression against the president of the United States would emanate therefrom, as it had done in Washington the winter before. (pp. 261-262)

Although Walters told Margaret Murray Washington that those were the facts of the matter, the situation did not go away. Wells-Barnett has pointed out that a local reporter at the event wrote a report for the Chicago Journal wherein he stated that Booker T. Washington and Margaret Murray Washington had been attacked.

During the time of the 1899 National Afro-American Council meeting in Chicago, W. E. B. Du Bois was in the process of making the transition from conservative to radical. 8 Wells-Barnett (1970) recalled that it was Du Bois who called for Booker T. Washington to be given the benefit of the doubt during a crucial session. Earlier that year, Sam Hose was the victim of a lynching which had taken place in Georgia. As was the case with many other radicals in the National Afro-American Council, Wells-Barnett found herself in an uproar about the matter. The lynching of Sam Hose became a wedge issue in the National Afro-American Council between the radicals and conservatives. On the one hand, the radicals wanted the organization to issue a statement condemning the dastardly deed. On the other hand, the conservatives wanted the organization to appease Washington by maintaining his customary style of silence on the issue of lynching (McMurray, 1998; Giddings, 2008).

Eventually, the National Afro-American Council, Wells-Barnett, and Washington released statements about the lynching of Sam Hose. The National Afro-American Council issued a statement calling for White politicians and White court officials to protect the rights of Black people. Wells-Barnett released Lynch Law in Georgia, a pamphlet with a focus on Hose’s ordeal. Under the pressure of the radicals,
Washington released a statement. He posed that lynching was hurting the growth of the South; that crimes by Black people were widespread; and that Black people needed to denounce the beasts in human form guilty of assaulting women. Wells-Barnett took strong exception to Washington's statement and began to criticize him in a public fashion by September 1899. Earlier that year, in January 1899, Wells-Barnett had praised Washington during a Boston speech she gave at a pro-Washington rally. That same month, Washington praised her at during a New York speech he gave. However, the Sam Hose lynching changed that situation (McMurray, 1998; Giddings, 2008).

Nevertheless, as the social conditions for Black people worsened, Wells-Barnett became more radical and Washington became more conservative. Following the Sam Hose lynching, Wells-Barnett began to criticize Washington in print. In a September 25, 1899 letter to Washington, Timothy Thomas Fortune (1976) felt compelled to inform him that Ida B. Wells-Barnett “has just written me a sassy letter complaining about the cutting out of her disparaging reference to you in her Chicago letter. Peterson however did the cutting. She is a sort of bull in a China Shop” (p. 220). By July 1900, Wells-Barnett was in full force against Washington and his social policies. During that month, Wells-Barnett wrote an editorial for the Chicago Conservator and charged that Washington “will not go anywhere or do anything unless he is ‘the whole thing’” (Quoted in Harlan and Smock, 1976, p. 589).

In the aftermath of the lynching of Sam Hose, Du Bois moved toward the radical camp and away from the conservative camp. Four years later, Du Bois released his landmark book which was welcomed with open arms by radicals like Ida B. Wells-Barnett and her husband Ferdinand L. Barnett. Shortly after the book was released, Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Ferdinand L. Barnett attended a gathering of Black people and White people at the home of Celia Parker Wooley, a White woman who happened to be a liberal and the founder of the Frederick Douglass Center. The expressed purpose of the gathering was to discuss the The Souls of Black Folk. In addition to Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Ferdinand L. Barnett, the other four Black people present at the gathering were Charles E. Bentley and his wife Florence Bentley, and S. Laing Williams and his wife Fannie Barrier Williams (Wells-Barnett, 1970).

According to Wells-Barnett (1970), most of the discussion focused on the chapter titled “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others.” She has related that:

Most of those present, including four of the six colored persons, united in condemning Mr. Du Bois’s views. The Barnetts stood almost alone in approving them and proceeded to show why. We saw, as perhaps never before, that Mr. Washington’s views on industrial education had become an obsession with the white people of this country. We thought is was up to us show them the sophistry of the reasoning that any one system of education could fit the needs of an entire race; that to sneer at and discourage higher education would mean to rob the race of leaders which it so badly needed; and that all the industrial education in the world could not take the place of manhood. We had a warm session but came away feeling that we had given them an entirely new view of the situation. (pp. 280-281)

At the gathering in the home of Celia Parker Wooley, Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Ferdinand L. Barnett made it very clear that they supported the positions supported the
positions laid out by Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*. It was the first time they had done so, but not the last.

On May 30, 1903, Wells-Barnett sent W. E. B. Du Bois a letter. She informed him about the discussion of his book in Wooley’s home and about her plans to hold a similar discussion in her home during June to support the book. Wells-Barnett implied that the gathering in her home would be all-Black—unlike the gathering in Wooley’s home. In the manner of a mentor, she also urged Du Bois to send a letter of acknowledgement to Celia Parker Wooley about her autobiography *The Western Slope* and to get into contact with Jane Addams (Wells-Barnett, 1973).\(^\text{11}\)

The next year, Wells-Barnett (1904) published an article titled “Booker T. Washington and His Critics.” In her article, Wells-Barnett posed that there was a critical mass of Black people during his lifetime who criticized the accommodationist social policies advocated by Booker T. Washington. Although she did not name them, such people included Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., W. Calvin Chase, W. E. B. Du Bois, Reverdy C. Ransom, Monroe Trotter, Henry Turner, and Alexander Walters. Of course, those Black people were deeply involved in the affairs of the progressive wing of the National Afro-American Council. Wells-Barnett charged that Washington’s accommodationist social policies resulted in the following three things: (1) a growing prejudice in northern institutions of learning against the admission of Black students; (2) a contracting of the number and influence of the schools of higher learning so judiciously scattered through all the southern states by the missionary associations for Black people’s so-called benefit; (3) the lack of a corresponding growth of industrial schools to take their place; and (4) a cutting down of the curriculum for Black children in the public schools of the large cities of the South, few of which had ever provided high schools for the Black race.

Wells-Barnett (1904) noted that Tuskegee was the only endowed institution for Black people in the South, but could not accommodate even one-hundredth part of the Black youth in need of education. Like Du Bois, Wells-Barnett took the position that Black people should take a both/and approach to a liberal arts education and an industrial arts education rather than an either/or approach. Wells-Barnett related that White capitalists like Collis Huntington and Andrew Carnegie were giving financial support to the efforts of Booker T. Washington to promote an industrial arts education over a liberal arts education. In her view, the industrial arts education advocated by Washington was nothing more than manual training instead of a college education. Wells-Barnett wrote:

> Mr. Washington’s reply to his critics is that he does not oppose the higher education, and offers in proof of this statement his Negro faculty. But the critics observe that nowhere does he speak for it, and they can remember dozens of instances when he has condemned every system of education save that which teaches the Negro how to work. They feel that the educational opportunities of the masses, always limited enough, are being threatened by this retrogression. And it is this feeling which prompts the criticism. They are beginning to feel that if they longer keep silent, Negro educational advantages will be even more restricted in all directions. (p. 520)
For Wells-Barnett, Washington’s accommodationist social policies, which she called retrogression were, in fact, regression of the highest order.

Looking further at Washington, Wells-Barnett (1904) took the position that his critics were well aware that he was sacrificing the civil rights of Black people in order to get money from powerful White people.

The demand from this class of Negroes is growing that if Mr. Washington can not use his great abilities and influence to speak in defense of and demand for the rights withheld when discussing the Negro question, for fear of injury to his school by those who are intolerant of Negro manhood, then he should be just as unwilling to injure his race for the benefit of his school. They demand that he refrain from assuming to solve a problem which is too big to be settled within the narrow confines of a single system of education. (p. 521)

Elsewhere in the same article, Wells-Barnett remarked:

Does this mean that the Negro objects to industrial education? By no means. It simply means that he knows by sad experience that industrial education will not stand him in place of political, evil and intellectual liberty, and he objects to being deprived of fundamental rights of American citizenship to the end that one school for industrial training shall flourish. To him it seems like selling a race’s birthright for a mess of pottage. (p. 521).

Wells-Barnett and the other critics clearly took the position that, for the Black masses, there should be a both/and approach rather than an either/or approach to a liberal arts education versus an industrial arts education.

In addition to the issue of education, Wells-Barnett mentioned lynching and Black disenfranchisement in relation to Washington’s accommodationist social policies. With regard to Washington’s stance on lynching, she wrote:

Mr. Washington says in substance: Give me money to educate the Negro and when he is taught how to work, he will not commit the crime for which lynching is done. Mr. Washington knows when he says this that lynching is not invoked to punish crime but color, and even industrial education will change that. (p. 520)

In terms of Black disenfranchisement, Wells-Barnett stated:

There are many who can never be made to feel that it was a mistake thirty years ago to give the unlettered freedman the franchise, their only weapon of defense, any more than it is a mistake to have fire for cooking and heating purposes in the home, because ignorant or careless servants sometimes burn themselves. The thinking Negro knows it is still less a mistake to-day when the race has had thirty years of training for citizenship. It is indeed a bitter pill to feel that much of the unanimity with which the nation to-day agrees to Negro disfranchisement comes from the general acceptance of Mr. Washington’s theories. (pp. 520-521)

She also blasted Booker T. Washington for using jokes during his public speeches that made fun of Black people to appease White people. Washington did not respond directly to Wells-Barnett, but he did engage in a secret campaign to try and destroy
Wells-Barnett and her husband. There are letters in the Booker T. Washington Papers at the Library of Congress that make his actions very clear.

On the one hand, there are letters from Washington to his followers instructing them to attack or spy on Wells-Barnett and her husband Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. as targets. Two letters written by Washington (1977, 1979) indicate that he used Charles William Anderson to spy on Wells-Barnett, Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., W. E. B. Du Bois, and others. For example, a June 16, 1904 letter written by Washington (1977) provides direct evidence that he used Charles William Anderson as a spy in the North and sent him to sabotage the activities of Wells-Barnett and her husband. With regard to the Negro Bureau of the Republican Party, Washington wrote:

Barnett and his wife who had it during the last two campaigns will want it again, but we must defeat Barnett if possible; he is a regular sneak. During the last two years of the Presidential campaign he and his wife spent their time and effort in stirring up the colored people and embittering them against the President, and the last few months of the term they spent their time in trying to prove their loyalty to the powers that be. Both Barnett and his wife abused McKinley shamefully during the first part of his administration and they did the same thing in regard to President Roosevelt, and in both cases at the proper time they laid low and proclaimed themselves loyal supporters of the administration. The time has come when such treachery should be punished as it ought to be. I rather think that Denan will have a good deal to say as to who shall be recognized in Chicago. The situation is a little complicated because Barnett is one of the assistants in his office, but I think there are other colored men in Chicago who have more influence than he has. (p. 533)

As Washington noted, Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. had served two four-year terms at the helm of the Negro Bureau of the Republican Party. Washington wanted Barnett out of the position.

The following month, on July 21, 1904, Washington (1979) directed Anderson to tell George Bruce Cortelyou, a White man in the President Theodore Roosevelt’s administration, about the political activities of Wells-Barnett and her husband. Washington stated:

There is one thing which perhaps you omitted to inform Mr. Cortelyou about, and that is the fact that Barnett during the first part of McKinley’s term did all he could to prejudice the colored people against the administration and only came around to support him and his policy toward the end of his administration when he wanted to get hold of the campaign. He did the same thing in regard to Mr. Roosevelt. He and his wife were most bitter during the first year of Mr. Roosevelt’s administration. At some time, in the proper manner, Mr. Cortelyou should know all this. (p. 25)

In both letters, Washington told Anderson to take harmful action against Wells-Barnett and her husband. Washington sought to make things as difficult as possible for Wells-Barnett and her husband.
On the other hand, there are letters written to Washington by members of the Tuskegee Machine that show they followed his instructions to attack or spy on Wells-Barnett and Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., W. E. B. Du Bois, and others. This is especially true of Charles William Anderson. Two of Charles William Anderson’s (1981a, 1981b) letters show that he embraced the role that Washington gave him to spy on Wells-Barnett, Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., and W. E. B. Du Bois. Anderson reported to Washington in a letter dated May 31, 1909 that: “Du Bois, Waldron, Walters, Sinclair, Max Barber, Wibecan, Dr Mossell[,] Bulkley, Milholland[,] Ida Wells, and entire cosmopolitan dinner crowd in Secret conference to-day. Public meeting to-night have had newspapers cover it another secret session to-morrow. Think Villard is with them” (p. 127). During the previous day, on May 30, 1909, Anderson (1981a) sent another letter to Washington and informed him that he sabotaged a big public testimonial in honor of Du Bois. Anderson wrote: “I am doing all I can to discredit this affair. I think I have succeeded in defeating the dinner project to Du Bois, by asking all of my friends and yours not to subscribe to it. They will either have to drop it, or give him a small private dinner” (p. 127). Anderson added: “I feel confident that a big public testimonial, such as was planned, cannot be pulled off” (p. 127).

Like Anderson, Emmett J. Scott was a follower of Washington who saw Wells-Barnett, Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr., and other progressives as targets who needed to be neutralized. As was the case with Anderson, Scott took delight in his role to sabotage and block the efforts of Wells-Barnett, her husband, and other progressives. Following the 1901 meeting of the National Afro-American Council, Scott (1977) wrote an August 13, 1901 letter to Washington wherein he bragged that, “I found the Convention most sympathetic in our direction. I am glad Mrs. Barnett was not there to complicate the situation” (p. 186). Without the presence of his wife, Scott wrote that Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. even issued faint praise for Washington as a “matchless orator & wise leader” (p. 186). Scott also noted to Washington that, “I am to be Chairman of the Business Bureau and am to bring the Business League & the Council into affiliation in promoting the business features of the organization” (p. 186). Some three years later, on July 12, 1904, Scott (1979) sent a letter to Washington which provides important verification about the latter’s plan to sabotage the activities of Wells-Barnett and her husband. In his letter, Scott praised the Tuskegee Machine in its “effort to block Barnett and his wife” (p. 16). The animosity of Washington and the Tuskegee Machine towards Wells-Barnett seems to have continued up to his death. In a letter he wrote to Emmett J. Scott on January 16, 1914, which was just over year before his death, Washington (1982) expressed delight that Wells-Barnett, Monroe Trotter, and Henry Mossell were no longer in the NAACP. He also reported that factions had developed in the NAACP and that “Villard and Du Bois do not speak to each other” (p. 417).

In addition to Anderson and Scott, Washington used members of the Tuskegee Machine like Cornelius Bailey Hosmer and Edward Elder Cooper to spy on Wells-Barnett or block them as an enemy. An April 20, 1912 letter written by Hosmer (1981) demonstrates his spying activity and how members of the Tuskegee Machine saw Ida B. Wells-Barnett as an enemy of their cause. In a report to Emmett J. Scott, Hosmer declared that, “I have heard Mrs. Ida-Wells-Barnette speak to her followers lately. Her talks bespeak jealousy at the influence of Dr. Washington, at the growth and importance of the Local and national Negro Business League, as well as at the success of the
Chicago Negro Y.M.C.A. And so it goes” (p. 524). A November 25, 1903 letter written by Cooper (1977), another spy for Washington, also shows that members of the Tuskegee Machine saw Wells-Barnett and Du Bois as the enemy of their cause. Cooper called William M. Turner, a Memphis correspondent for his newspaper known as The Colored American, “a fourth edition of Ida B. Wells” and “a great admirer of Prof. Du Bois” (p. 352). He bragged that he cut all of the poison out of an article by Turner that “made several thrusts” at Washington (p. 352).

Summary and Conclusion

This paper analyzed the conflict between Ida B. Wells-Barnett and Booker T. Washington as a forgotten episode in the Black struggle for civil rights in the USA. It argued that Wells-Barnett was a titan of a forgotten radicalism and progressive feminism. It also argued that Washington was a titan of a forgotten conservatism and regressive elitism. With regard to that context, this paper presented an analysis of the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington. In terms of the conflict, this paper examined how Wells-Barnett and her husband Ferdinand L. Barnett, Sr. were undermined by Washington for daring to oppose the social policies advocated by the Tuskegee Machine; how Wells-Barnett and her husband mounted a bold opposition to the machinations of Washington despite facing reprisals; and how Wells-Barnett supported W. E. B. Du Bois when he took his radical stance against Washington in The Souls of Black Folk. The National Afro-American Council was identified as a key battle ground for the conflict between Wells-Barnett and Washington.

Shortly before the Brown vs. Board of Education decision was issued by the Supreme Court, Frazier (1953) published an important paper titled “Theoretical Structure of Sociology and Sociological Research.” Among other things in his paper, Frazier argued that it is necessary to study social attitudes (i.e., ideas) in the context of a system of social relations. He also argued that one must take into account the social context in which ideas are formed and treat them in reference to their organic relation to the social situation. Frazier proceeded to describe the social conditions faced by Black people during the nadir. He explained how White Southern demagogues used the ideology of White supremacy to gain political power. Frazier wrote:

In order to gain political power, they sought the support of the wealthy as well as the poor whites. First, they offered no threat to the economic interests and political power of the planters and industrial capitalists. Secondly, they convinced the poor whites that their condition was due to the presence of the Negro. Therefore, they proposed and carried through legislation which accomplished the following: (1) the disfranchisement of the Negro; (2) the public school funds which were appropriated on a per capita basis of children of school age were diverted from Negro to white schools (until then white and Negro children received the same per capita appropriation and white and Negro teachers the same salaries); and (3) the establishment of a legalized system of racial segregation designed to maintain the social and economic subordination of the Negro. In order to justify this programme before the nation, the demagogues with the support of planters and capitalists carried on a propaganda campaign for a quarter of a century against the Negro. This propaganda aimed to prove that
the Negro was subhuman, morally degenerate and incapable of intellectual development. Therefore, an adequate sociological analysis of racial attitudes in the South cannot ignore the role of propaganda and the deliberate inculcation of racial prejudices. (p. 7)

Unlike Wells-Barnett, Washington made a decision to accommodate White supremacists by accepting second-class citizenship for Black people. When he gave speeches to predominately White audiences, Washington would often tell minstrel-type jokes that were designed to make White people laugh at Black people. Many Black people like Wells-Barnett and Trotter found his jokes to be offensive to Black people.

In the second part of his paper, Frazier (1953) outlined the role that Washington played in his acquiescence to White supremacists and White capitalists. He explained:

In the southern part of the United States where the Negroes were disenfranchised, it was necessary to set up an informal and extra-legal system of social control which was essentially political in character and had much in common with a system of “indirect rule.” In the Southern States, Booker T. Washington was the accepted spokesman for the Negro and practically dictated the appointment of Negro educators and other leaders to positions of responsibility within the Negro communities. Even on the national scene his authority represented a type of indirect rule in that he dictated the few political appointments which Negroes received at the time. Likewise, the activities of the philanthropic foundations which devoted themselves to the welfare of the Negroes may be placed in the same category. In distributing funds for education and welfare, the various foundations selected certain Negroes for leadership and these leaders played a predominant role in maintaining control within Negro communities. (p. 12)

Frazier understood clearly that Washington was one of the first of his types to emerge, but not the last. He argued that White supremacists and White capitalists created people like Washington to play a role in the social control of Black people.

The Black population in the USA managed to respond to White supremacy and White capitalists by developing another type of leader who was bold and uncompromising in the Black struggle for civil rights. Instead of telling White supremacists and White capitalists what they wanted to hear, this type of leader was willing to speak truth to power. Wells-Barnett fell into the category of being a type of leader who was willing to speak truth to power. Whereas Washington deserves to be remembered as a titan of a forgotten conservatism and regressive elitism, Wells-Barnett deserves to be remembered as a titan of a forgotten radicalism and progressive feminism. The conflict they had also deserves to be remembered.

Notes
1. It should be noted that Washington was strongly influenced by the position of Samuel Chapman Armstrong on assimilation. In one part of Up From Slavery, Washington (1902a) said that Armstrong “was a great man—the noblest, rarest human being that it has been my privilege to meet” (p. 54). He stated in another part of Up From Slavery that Armstrong “was, in my opinion, the rarest, strongest, and most beautiful character that it has been my privilege to meet” (p. 73). However,
Washington, to his own credit, had a high regard for the Negro Spirituals, which Du Bois (1903) referred to as the Sorrow Songs. Like Du Bois, Washington believed that Black people should embrace and hold on to the Negro Spirituals instead of rejecting them, as Harlan (1972a) pointed out.

2. Gerald Horne made this statement during an interview with Wilmer Leon. It took place on September 6, 2014 and was broadcasted on the Sirius/XM Satellite Radio Channel 110 call-in talk radio program “Inside the Issues with Wilmer Leon.”

3. The Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Library has digitized both documents and made them available online as part of the Ida B. Wells Papers 1884-1976. See “A Darky Damsel” (1884b) and “Cases” (1887).

4. It should be noted that DeCosta-Willis (Wells-Barnett, 1995) has posthumously published a very important diary that Wells-Barnett wrote during her stint in Memphis. Likewise, Thompson (1990), Harris (Wells-Barnett, 1991), and Royster (Wells-Barnett, 1997) have published important compilations of the writings of Wells-Barnett. For discussions of the sociological aspects of the writings of Wells-Barnett, see Cromartie (2009a, 2009b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d).

5. For important discussions of Washington’s various activities, see Abramowitz (1968), Boston (2012), Harlan (1971, 1972a, 1983), Harlan and Daniel (1970), Jackson (2009), and James (1968). Some of those writers have sought to revise the image of Washington and make him a secret militant instead of an accommodationist to White supremacy. Further, during his lifetime, Washington bought and published at least two periodicals. One was the Colored American Magazine, a Boston-based periodical he acquired in 1904. The second was the New York Age, which was a newspaper he took from T. Thomas Fortune in 1907 after they had a conflict over the Brownsville incident. To the dismay of Washington, the former militant (Fortune) found it difficult to refrain from engaging in protest when 167 Black soldiers were discharged from the military with dishonorable discharges after they clashed with White people in Brownsville, Texas. Washington kept his involvement with the New York Age secret and placed his stock in the name of Emmett J. Scott. Nevertheless, he closely watched the business and editorial aspects of both periodicals (Harland & Smock, 1976).

6. According to Thornbrough (1961), the National Afro-American Council held its meeting in the following years and in the following cities: 1898, Washington, DC; 1899, Chicago, IL; 1900, Indianapolis, IN; 1901, Philadelphia, PA; 1902, St. Paul, MN; 1903, Louisville, KY; 1904, St. Louis, Mo; 1905, Detroit, MI; 1906, New York, NY; 1907, Baltimore, MD.


8. When he was still a conservative in 1895, the youthful Du Bois (1973) sent Washington a letter commending him for his Atlanta Compromise Address.

9. Davidson (2009) has noted that Wells-Barnett had an attitude towards race relations that was relatively close to Washington’s before the lynching of Moss, McDowell, and Stewart. Then, she discovered through her research that getting ahead could provoke a Black person to be lynched by White people. Wells-Barnett had once held the conviction that “maintenance of character, money getting and education would finally solve our problem, and that it depended on us to say how soon this would be brought about” (Quoted in Davidson, 2009, p. 172). However, that
conviction was transformed by the lynching of Moss, McDowell, Stewart, and Sam Hose. On November 30, 1890, Wells-Barnett (1977) wrote a letter to Washington praising him for criticizing the foibles of Black ministers. Wells-Barnett commended Washington for issuing a “manly criticism of our corrupt and ignorant ministry” (p. 108). She also commended him for “condemning the practices of our ministers” (p. 108). That letter showed that the two formerly enslaved people had very similar ideas up to that point.

10. For a discussion of Wells-Barnett’s editorial in the Chicago Conservator, see Harlan (1972a) and Harlan and Smock (1976). In her editorial, Wells-Barnett charged that Washington sought to establish the National Negro Business League as an organization wherein he “will be president, moderator and dictator” (Quoted in Harlan, 1972a, p. 267). Wells-Barnett also stated that Washington “had ample opportunity to suggest plans along business lines and Prof. Du Bois, the most scholarly and one of the most conservative members of the Council, who is chairman of the Business Bureau would have been glad to receive Mr. Washington’s co-operation” (Quoted in Harlan, 1972a, p. 267). In his discussion of Wells-Barnett’s editorial, Harlan (1972a) said that, “According to Du Bois’s complaint some years later, President Walters promised to give him the money, but at an executive committee meeting several months later T. Thomas Fortune killed the appropriation. . . . There is considerable evidence to support Du Bois’s interpretation” (p. 267). Looking back at the emergence of the National Negro Business League, Harlan and Smock (1976) have written: “While it was BTW who developed the National Negro Business League, the idea grew out of the work of Du Bois and others at Atlanta University during the Atlanta Conference of 1899 on the subject of “The Negro in Business.” Du Bois was a member of the committee that drafted a call for the creation of local, state, and national associations of black businessmen. Later that year Du Bois became the director of the Afro-American Council’s Negro business bureau with the responsibility of organizing local business leagues. Du Bois accepted this post with the stipulation that postage money was to be supplied by the council. Several months later, however, BTW’s friend T. Thomas Fortune killed the appropriation of postage funds and Du Bois was unable to carry out his plans. Later BTW asked Du Bois for his list of names, which became part of the base on which BTW built his organization” (p. 526). Harland and Smock continued: “At the Afro-American Council convention held in Indianapolis in Aug. 1900, just a week after BTW had launched the NNBL, Du Bois was not re-elected as director of the Negro business bureau. Emmett J. Scott succeeded Du Bois in the position, thus assuring BTW’s control of activities related to black businessmen in both the NNBL and the Afro-American Council (p. 526). For an insider account on the development of the Negro Business League, see Washington (1902b). See Du Bois (1976) for the important letter he wrote to Washington on May 16, 1900 about a list of business people he had developed because of his interest in economic nationalism. There is clear evidence that Booker T. Washington and members of his Tuskegee Machine blocked the efforts of Du Bois and more progressive forces in the National Afro-American Council to develop an effective Negro Business Bureau and effective local business leagues.
11. As Giddings (2008) has noted, there is no record of the reply of Du Bois to Wells-Barnett. There is also no record of any letters to Wooley and Addams. Although the letters have not been located, that does not mean he did not respond. This is significant given that later in the same year Wells-Barnett and her husband joined with the local Equal Opportunity League to sponsor a Chicago lecture by Du Bois. The lecture took place in December 1903.

References
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Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee,” Shelby County, April Term, 1887. Box 8, Folder 11. Series VIII. Ida B. Wells Papers 1884-1976, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.
Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad Company v. Wells, 4 S. W. 5 (Tenn. S. Ct. 1887).


Addressing Issues of Race on a Racially Diverse Campus

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Co-chair, Rethinking Race: Black, White & Beyond
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University of Akron: BACKGROUND
# UA Fall 2014 Enrollment

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Count</th>
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<td>Graduate Students</td>
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[http://www.uakron.edu/ir/enrollment-data.dot](http://www.uakron.edu/ir/enrollment-data.dot)

## UA Fall 2014 Enrollment by Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
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<tr>
<td>African American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>21,962</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Resident Alien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Two or More Races</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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</table>
Homogenous hometowns and schools

• Segregation is on the rise nationally
  – In 2009, 44% of public school students were minority
  – 8% of whites attend schools whose student bodies are predominantly comprised of racial minorities;
  – Compared with 65% of African American students and 72% Latino students.
• Desegregation plans overturned by conservative courts
  – 2007 US Supreme Court rulings involving Seattle & Louisville KY public schools
• Result: today, public schools are less racially integrated than in 1954
  – Brown v. Board of Education

Just ask my students (4 @ 5 DB responses):

• My hometown and high school were not diverse at all. My school district was given the name "the bubble" if that tells you how cookie cutter it was.
• My hometown and high school were both small and in farming communities. Neither were diverse.
• Growing up, **** really wasn't that diverse. High School wasn't diverse.
• I don't think my hometown or my high school was very diverse. We had about the same people who did mostly all the same stuff that every one else did.
The Akron Town Meeting

In 1997, President Bill Clinton chose the University of Akron as the location for his first Town Meeting on Race.

10 year anniversary: 2007

• Inaugural year of Race Week

The first series was modest, but
  – Response was overwhelmingly positive
  – Dedicated faculty decided to make it an annual event
  – Expanded to two weeks
    • 1st two weeks of February 2008
  – New name: Rethinking Race: Black, White and Beyond
What makes it unique

Goal: Rethinking Race will engage faculty, staff, students, and community in explorations into race through curriculum-driven multi-disciplinary programming that will enrich the learning experiences of participants by encouraging critical thinking.

- Engages all sectors of campus
- Outreach to the community
- Embedded into syllabi of faculty across campus
- Approaches race broadly, beyond black/white
- Broad range of platforms: plays, lectures, concerts, films, facilitated conversations, music, comedians, etc.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS
Keynote Speakers

Donna Brazile (2009)

Amb. Andrew Young (2007)

Herman Boone (2010)

Dr. Michael Eric Dyson (2010)

Tim Wise (2010, 2012)

Dr. Cornel West (2011)

Keynote speakers

[Images of keynote speakers]
Films: filling in the “beyond”

Selections from 2014 film festival
- “Lee Daniels’ The Butler”; kick off film
- “Topaz”
- “Linsanity”
- “Los Trabajadores/The Workers”
- “Being Hmong Means Being Free”
- “Reel Injun”
- “Comedy Middle Eastern Style”
- “Dark Girls”
- “Precious Knowledge,” Arizona multicultural education controversy

Face2Face Conversations
Face-2-Face topics:

- Native Americans: Wasn’t This Their Country?
- From San Juan to Akron
- Neither Black nor White: Biracial Issues
- Race and the 2013 election
- Talking Black in the Classroom
- Racial stereotypes in children’s media
- Micro aggressions
- Islamaphobia
- Race, Power and Privilege
- Hate Speech, the Constitution and You
- Is Racial Prejudice Inherited?
Data

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<td>65</td>
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<td>2014</td>
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Impacts Students from Every College

College of the Student Participants
- A&S
- Summit
- Educ
- U Coll
- Nurs
- Engr
- CBA
- CPA
- HSHS
- Other

Academic Level of Student Participants
- Fresh
- Soph
- Jr
- Sr
- 5th Yr
- Grad
- Early C
Open-ended responses

• Common themes
  – “I never really looked at it that way” or
  – “How did I get this far in my education without having learned this?” are commonplace.
• This represents what higher education is all about”
• Changed my life and career goals
• I learned about how Mexican Americans were segregated and discriminated against. I didn't realize that this really happened since most of the segregation we hear about is regarding African Americans.

Student Comments

• Reinforced the education I have received in Sociology.
• The most un-opinionated lecture, based on facts and respectable research. I learned a lot of interesting statistics regarding health disparities.
• ... improved my critical thinking about race and the speaker’s topic. It challenged me with issues that are usually uncomfortable to talk about.
• ... to witness all of these opinions all these different view points helps to realize the true diversity we should be valuing not just the racial and cultural diversity.
Student Comments (continued)

• It made me eager to take a class concerning the subject.

• I've always wanted to understand the demands and incentives that promoted global and foreign policies. Now I have a base to begin my own research on labor.

• I have much stronger desire to explore the issues addressed on my own and share what I have learned with others.

• I was debating whether I should continue with my learning of the Spanish language and Latino culture. Now I know I want to continue so I can better understand and communicate with those that are struggling with injustice.

Significant Projects Resulting from Rethinking Race

1. Started a chapter of Student African American Brotherhood (SAAB).
   – 2013, Student African American Sisterhood chapter
3. Developed a curricular strategy to integrate teaching and learning of cultural competency across the undergraduate curriculum.
4. Native American community health outreach program relaunched

A culturally competent individual values and respects difference and seeks to understand the worldview of culturally diverse populations.
Persistent Wage Discrimination in Academia

Jane Honeycutt
Northeast State Community College
Abstract

Despite the fact that the Equal Pay Act prohibiting wage discrimination based on gender has been in place for fifty years, women still experience a substantial gender wage gap across occupational fields, including within academia. A number of theories exist to explain the wage gap, but none of the theories completely explains the persistence of wage discrimination against women. This paper will examine the strengths and weaknesses of the primary existing explanations for the gender wage gap, human capital theory, career interruptions, and workplace discrimination. Finally, proposals for action to address the problem will be explored.

Persistent Gender Wage Gap in Academia

The 1963 Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are the two primary federal laws prohibiting wage discrimination based on gender. The Equal Pay Act prevents employers from compensating male and female employees differently when they are performing equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions, except where such payment is made pursuant to (i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex. (as cited in Nelson and Bridges, 1999, p. 26)

The Equal Pay Act establishes that if a female employee proves that there is a wage discrepancy between males and females who are doing the same job and that the reason for the discrepancy is not a result of one of the four exceptions, she will win the case, and her employer will be liable (p. 26). Clearly, then, both intentional and unintentional discrimination are illegal; further, it is illegal to rely on stereotypes and assumptions about abilities when making employment decisions (Lowden, n.d.). However, in 1974, only ten years after Title VII, Patricia Harris, commenting on the position of women in academia, observed that more men than women were encouraged to further their education in graduate school and to present and publish papers. She also pointed out that the standard of competence “has been established by male performance” (p.11). She argued at that time that “women tend to get short shrift in the academic selection process” because society, including administrators in academia, assume that women will choose to emphasize their roles as mothers and wives before undertaking intellectual pursuits (p. 11). One would think that in the 21st century, nearly fifty years after Title VII, that such problems would have become a distant memory. Unfortunately, however, contemporary research reveals that while some women have made substantial progress in the workplace, with a small number of females heading companies in the Standard and Poor’s 500 index, most working women are not receiving the same pay as their male counterparts. Even those women who are heading companies are making only 75% of what their male counterparts are earning (Fox-Cardomone, 2010, p.1).

In the context of higher education, in the first quarter of 2010, women were earning 79% of what men were earning, so while this number reflects some improvement since the 1970’s, we still see a gender gap higher than 20%. In 1974, Harris stated that “the restrictions which limit women’s participation in higher education are due largely to prejudiced assumptions about women and their roles and not to objective questions of
competence” (p.12). This paper will examine the reasons that scholars have provided for the fact that contemporary women receive fewer promotions and lower pay than their male counterparts in academia, examining the following explanations:

- Human Capital Theory
- Career Interruptions
- Workplace Discrimination

While some pay disparity can be explained by the choices women make with regard to maximizing human capital and career interruptions, women are experiencing an unexplained wage gap that can only be explained by workplace discrimination, which is illegal and which should be acknowledged and addressed in specific ways by individuals experiencing this discrimination and society as a whole, beginning with higher education institutions.

Salary and Promotion Disparities

In its 2004-05 report, the National Center for Educational Statistics reported that the average male faculty earned $69,337 as compared to the average female faculty who earned only $56,926, a difference of 22% (Fox-Cardomone, 2010, p. 2). The American Association of University Professors report, which based its data on information provided by the United States Department of Education’s Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) supported these findings when it reported that female professors earned 81% of what their male colleagues earned in 2005-06 across all ranks and all institutions. This gap is even more extreme at universities which award doctorates, with women only earning 78.1% of what their male counterparts earn. The AAUP report also reveals that salary discrepancies between men and women have remained the same since the 1970’s. Many argue that, since women have moved from making 56% of what men earned in the 1950’s to making three quarters of what men make, the society is making progress and that the gender wage gap is narrowing. However, this gap has not moved since the 1980’s and 1990’s and has serious implications for the quality of female employees’ lives:

For a female faculty member who teaches for 35 years, this disparity results in a reduction in the net present value of lifetime earnings of $87,885 to $142,800; given that retirement income is also based on earnings, the lifetime loss of income for someone who retires after 35 years of service and lives to 80 is approximately $120,000 to $200,000. (Fox-Cardomone, 2010, p.2)

Unfortunately, not only do we see women earning smaller salaries than men, but women in academia are much less likely to be promoted than men. In 2006, the AAUP reported that female faculty members are less likely to be employed full-time and that a disproportionately small number of female faculty enjoy tenure-track positions despite the increases in women completing their doctoral degrees (as cited in Cardomone, 2010, p.3). An examination of community colleges reveals that women make up 47% of the full-time, tenured faculty, but at the four-year university which awards baccalaureate and masters degrees, only 33% of the full-time tenured faculty are women. Only 25% of the full time, tenured faculty are women at doctoral institutions. Altogether, only 24% of women hold the rank of professor as of 2005-06, and that number goes all the way down to 19% at doctoral universities (p.3).
These numbers call for an investigation into whether these differences between male and female academicians are a result of historical and institutionalized bias against women or whether these differences are the reflection of women’s choices which are influenced by the gender role expectations of the society in general.

Human Capital Theory

The Human Capital Theory of the wage gap contends that individuals are compensated based on particular attributes that they bring to the workplace, and that pay is based on the existence or non-existence of these attributes. “Human capital theory acknowledges that differences in pay between groups may exist, but that the statistics describing those differences may or may not take into account the potential differences in worker characteristics that could help to explain the pay differences (Fox-Cardomone, 2010, p.3). In other words, Human Capital theorists reject the notion that discrimination explains between-group pay differences, arguing that the forces determining the differences are neutral, that pay is based on education and job experience, not gender. With this in mind, it is important to examine the foundation of human capital acquisition, education.

According to Eide (1998), more males than females major in technical fields like computer science and engineering, and these fields lead to higher wage jobs at the completion of a baccalaureate degree. Women, on the other hand, choose undergraduate majors such as the arts because the skills acquired are less likely to “atrophy” when they take time off due to pregnancy and childbirth. Unfortunately, these careers are associated with lower salaries even when women attend graduate school. Indeed, more women than men do attend graduate school, with 54% of women choosing to pursue an advanced degree, but they still earn less than men. Women score higher than men on vocabulary skills, which correspond to their higher likelihood to choose to attend graduate school, while math scores have very little influence on their choice to attend graduate school, further supporting the claim that women are pursuing less technical fields, the fields which are associated with higher pay. Eide (1998) also claims that women anticipate lower wages as a result of majoring in liberal arts and social science, so they are more likely to pursue graduate study in an attempt to increase wages in the future.

Further support for this idea is provided by labor economists, most of whom concur that while the possibility of sex discrimination in pay does exist, most gender inequality reflects “differences in the choices men and women make about investment in human capital, occupational selection, and labor force participation, and the rational responses of employers to labor market conditions “(Nelson and Bridges, 1999, p.4). In fact, Richard Posner, considered the father of the law and economics movement, as well as a former law professor at the University of Chicago, and judge on the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals made the following statement when giving the American Nurses’ Association the chance to make their case of pay discrimination against the State of Illinois:

Economists have conducted studies which show that virtually the entire difference in the average hourly wage of men and women, including that due to the fact that men and women tend to be concentrated in different types of jobs, can be explained by the fact that most women take time out of the labor force in order to take care of their children. As a result
they tend to invest less in their “human capital” (earning capacity); since part of any wage is a return on human capital, they tend therefore to be found in jobs that pay less. (as cited in Nelson and Bridges, 1999, p.34)

With this statement, Posner legitimizes the idea that the gender wage gap is a direct result of women’s choices, rather than any residual discrimination on the part of employers. In other words, the market determines the worth of particular fields, and men more than women choose fields associated with higher pay and gain less experience due to taking time off to care for children. Posner believes that “deviations from market rates in favor of male workers are… rare oddities that would require the erection of barriers to keep women from seeking better paying jobs. Such blatant efforts to segregate jobs by sex presumably could be readily detected and remedied” (p.35).

However, it is worthwhile to stop and reflect on the implication in Posner’s argument, that women have alternative options when the issue of caring for children arises. Males in this society are not expected to choose between family and career; in fact, married men tend to earn more once they have children. Indeed, society expects that if both parents are working, then the woman takes time out to care for the children. Therefore, do women really have the kind of choice that economists claim that they have, or are they responding to persistent traditional gender role expectations that have been laid out for them by society, with additional career expectations tacked on?

Georgetown University’s report on the market value of college majors reveals that even within the higher wage jobs such as computers and mathematics, within-job gender discrimination exists. As predicted by Posner and others, only 31% of computer science and mathematics majors are women, while 69% of computer science and mathematics majors are men, but the rate of pay for males ($73,000) exceeds that for females ($60,000) by $13,000, giving men a full 18% pay advantage over women within the same job that is associated with a relatively high salary. Interestingly, a female-dominated major associated with much lower pay, such as arts, offers a substantial advantage for males as well. Women earn a full 16% less than men, making $40,000 to the men’s $48,000. These numbers belie the notion that women in academia and elsewhere are paid less due to the market value of the subject areas in which they have majored, since men will still earn more than women whether they are teaching a subject associated with high pay or low pay (Carnevale, et.al, 2013).

Career Interruptions

Perhaps in response to these confounding numbers, economists frequently argue that women contribute to the gender wage gap not only by choosing careers associated with lower pay, but because they choose to interrupt their careers during child-rearing years. Presently, however, in addition to children, contemporary women find themselves caring for their parents as well. Recently, the National Academy on an Aging Society found that 75% of people caring for the elderly are women, and this informal arrangement is, of course, uncompensated (Barnett, 2005). According to the National Women’s Law Center (2000)

Not surprisingly, elder-caregiving responsibilities affect the caregivers. Some 49 percent of these women have had to change their work schedules, 11 percent have had to take a leave of absence, 7 percent have had to take a less demanding job, and some have had to leave the workforce entirely. (as cited in Barnett, 2005)
Notice the language in this statement. Women “have had to…”, acknowledging not choice, but a perceived requirement on the part of women. It is not as if women prefer care-giving to career, but when a need arises within a family, women are the designated care-givers, much to their cost. Several studies reveal the high price women pay for these career interruptions. According to Judiesch and Lyness (1999) when women return to work, their wages drop 30% below where they were before the interruption. Even worse, “after twenty years of continuous employment, these women still earn about 5 percent less than comparable women without career interruptions” (as cited in Barnett, 2005). Even short interruptions are costly. Studies show that managers, male or female, who take leave for such reasons as childbirth, dependent care, or personal illness experience less career success and fewer rewards, including promotions and merit salary increases, than those who do not experience comparable disruptions (Judiesch and Lyness as cited in Barnett, 2005).

One would expect that employees who take many leaves will receive fewer rewards than those who take only one leave, but it is surprising that only one leave can negatively affect the number of promotions and the pay increases that an employee will receive over the course of a career. Most disturbing, neither the length of the leave nor the reason for it has any effect on the negative career outcome. Predictably, women experience these penalties more than men simply because women are much more likely than men to take leaves in the first place. In fact, of the 12,000 managers that Judiesch and Lyness studied, 89% of those who took leave were women (Barnett, 2005).

In looking at academia in particular, the metaphor of “the pipeline” is used to describe student progress toward professorship. Women drop out of the academy at different stages in their career, which is referred to as the leak, creating an illustration of the problem that “the academic pipeline is blocked and leaking” (Jackson, 2008). Female scholars explain that they encounter barriers that are connected to their attempts to combine career and family. Women indicate that they leave the academic workforce due to poor quality of life, problems with institutional climate, and limited opportunities to advance. Consequently, women are underrepresented in America’s colleges and universities (Jackson, 2008). The source of the problem, then, would seem to be one of perspective. Theorists claim that women experience difficulty in the workplace due to their choices with regard to education and family while women themselves claim that they experience difficulty due to barriers they face as they attempt to advance in their careers and take on the responsibility of family. It is not that women care less about career than family, but that society expects women to dedicate themselves to career while shouldering the primary responsibility for family, including aging parents, thus requiring women to devote themselves to two full time jobs, one of which is unpaid, something men have never been expected to do.

Mason and Goulden (2004) discovered an important connection between gender and children under six years old in the household and between gender and marital status when predicting the likelihood that a person with a Ph.D. will acquire a tenure-track position. Women with young children were the least likely to enter tenure-track positions while married men with young children were the most likely to obtain a tenure-
track position. Further, married women without young children were slightly less likely than men without young children to secure a tenure-track job.

Single women without children younger than six were a little more likely than single men without children younger than six to enter the ladder ranks. Thus, gender-family interactions are associated with the greater likelihood of women leaking out at the Ph.D. receipt to tenure-track entry stage. (p.91)

Yet another model, the model of statistical discrimination, was developed to attempt to understand why discrimination continues despite competitive forces that would make discrimination illogical. In other words, what economic benefit does an employer enjoy as a result of paying a male more than a female? In a rational and neutral employment atmosphere, the employer would reduce costs by hiring women who will work for less money or by simply paying a set amount for a particular job. The statistical model argues that employers do not have enough information about potential employees, so they may rely on stereotypes:

Employers may believe that women are more likely to quit their jobs or to put their families ahead of their work responsibilities than men with similar observed characteristics (education, experience, etc.). As a consequence, they may pay women less, exclude them from jobs requiring substantial firm-specific training, or deny them promotions. (Blau, 2012, 194)

In fact, Blau claims that employers will ultimately discriminate against all women because they cannot tell the difference between more career-oriented and less career-oriented women. It is very important to see that the perception of women as less career-oriented than men stems from the culture’s historical division of labor within the family. As long as employers imagine women as mothers and wives, not employees, women will be negatively affected in the labor market (194). Significantly, as mentioned earlier, Title VII makes it illegal to rely on stereotypes when making employment decisions, yet clearly this is happening. The problem, however, is proving it.

**Workplace Discrimination**

After considering the arguments that women are receiving lower pay as a result of their own choices and establishing substantial reasons to challenge these explanations, the issue of persistent discrimination must be addressed. When women receive lower pay than men or experience job segregation that cannot be justified by productivity differences, then labor market discrimination is taking place. Though discrimination has decreased substantially since the 1970’s, women still experience discrimination; in fact, the problem may have become even worse, in effect, because the residual discrimination today is less obvious, more insidious than it was in the past. “Indeed, there is growing evidence from social psychologists that suggests discriminatory attitudes and stereotyping may even be unconscious on the part of those who perpetrate it” (Blau, 2012, p. 191). While Blau acknowledges that human capital is an important part of the explanation for the gender wage gap, she argues that labor market discrimination is also a very important part of the equation. “It is not an either/or situation, but rather both have played a part” (p.191).

Nobel prize-winning economist Gary Becker received this prestigious award partly due to his theory of discrimination. The Becker model claims discrimination occurs
when employers have a “taste for discrimination” or behave in a prejudiced way toward
particular groups, in this case, women (193). Becker asserts that gender discrimination
has its foundation in “the desire to maintain social distance from the group” (192).
Though his idea was originally created to explain racial discrimination in the labor
market, Blau argues that these ideas are relevant to discussing any group experiencing
discrimination. It is strange to think that males would be prejudiced against females
when they live with them, but the problem can be understood as what is considered
socially appropriate.

A male manager might be delighted to have a female secretary but
object to having to deal with a software engineer who is a woman. The
members of a construction crew might be perfectly happy to have a
woman bring them their food during the lunch break, but not if she
stood next to them doing wiring or plumbing. (192)

Becker argued that hiring and wage discrimination by men could be a result of the
inconvenience of hiring women, but also because male co-workers dislike working with
women in roles that they do not see as gender appropriate, in roles that make the
women peers with them or superior to them.

Sample Case Study

Lee Fox-Cardomone (2010) conducted a case study of a large Midwestern university
which had been the subject of a lawsuit in 1993. A female faculty member filed a
complaint with the United States Department of Labor’s Office of Federal Contract
Compliance Programs, claiming that the institution discriminated against women with
regard to “hiring, firing, salary and promotion” (p.7). The OFCCP conducted meetings
with an established university committee which examined salary and promotion
discrimination exclusively. The committee used information provided by the university
administration, and in March of 1995, the OFCCP reported the results of its
investigation which indicated that the university was discriminating against women with
regard to promotion; as a result of promotion disparities, salary disparities existed as
well. It took five years for the OFCCP to craft and offer a settlement to the university
president, which stated the university was systematically discriminating against female
faculty with regard “ to promotion to Associate Professor, and in three specific
instances, to Full Professor” (as cited in Fox- Cardomone, 2010, p.7-8). Interestingly,
though,

the university has specifically and continuously denied that its
policies or decisions have resulted in any violation whatsoever of the
nondiscrimination or affirmative action provisions of its Federal
contracts of any other federal nondiscrimination provision. This
Agreement is entered into by [the university] for the sole purpose of
avoiding the time and expense of further administrative proceedings.
(as cited in Fox-Cardomone, 2010, p. 8)

Still, the university awarded $219,000 in compensation, “including back pay, interest,
and retirement contributions” (p.8). The results of this law suit would seem to be
encouraging, and one would assume that the university would have made serious
efforts to correct the problem immediately following these findings; however, ten years
later, a follow-up investigation into salary and promotion equity revealed that not too
much has changed:
Overall, the difference between female and male faculty average salaries in 2000-01 was $11,154, where female faculty were earning 83 cents to every dollar earned by male faculty during that time period. While 45 male professors earned more than $90,000, only 2 female professors earned above that mark. (p.8)

Further analysis of inequity was conducted, and the study did take into account the factors usually used to explain salary differentials, seniority, years since receiving the highest degree earned, beginning salary, and the year faculty were hired. With all these things factored in, the report revealed that pay was significantly unequal. Fox-Cardomone then conducted a detailed analysis of salary and promotion information, comparing the 2001-02 year to the 2009-10 academic year, specifically to discover the reasons for salary differences. Researchers expected to see a decrease in the pay gap simply as a result of increased experience on the part of female faculty, but the data did not support this prediction. This is all the more interesting since quite a few male Full Professors had retired, reducing the overall number of Full Professors from 42.9% to 37.1% and because female professors increased their years of experience with “15.7 years since degree in 2010 compared to 13.5 in 2002” (p.11).

Surprisingly enough, even with the female faculty’s increase in experience the wage gap actually increased from 2002 to 2010. When human capital factors were considered, the wage gap did not go down, but became even larger over this time period, increasing from $3,025 to $4,080, a 35% increase in the unexplained wage gap (p. 12). While researchers found no significant difference in overall promotion rates between men and women, men were twice as likely to be promoted to Full Professor as women. Human capital can only explain about half of these results, so when human capital is factored in, males are still more than 40 percent more likely to be promoted to Full Professor (p.13). These numbers provide further evidence that arguments which explain the gender wage gap as a matter of choice are inadequate, with substantial and persistent inequalities in place.

Solutions

While differences in pay can be partially explained by human capital theory and career interruptions, which impact human capital, discrimination still impacts women and their lifelong earning potential. To address these problems, women should be encouraged to maximize the education appropriate for their chosen field and gain the experience that is considered valuable to the university. For example, if a Ph.D or other terminal degree is required for a chosen occupation, then possessing that credential will add to one’s human capital, thus result in higher earnings. If it is true that women are choosing to major in fields that are valued less by society, thus paid less over a lifetime, then girls must be encouraged to pursue more prestigious, more highly valued fields of study (p. 13).

In order to address the conflict women face between family responsibility and the development of human capital, universities should develop family-friendly policies to include paid or unpaid maternity leave, part-time employment and, perhaps most importantly, an end to the idea that female academicians must choose between their continued scholarship and family. Instead, universities could support their female faculty in getting back to work on their research. Many women have reported that they have difficulty finding childcare and problems with their scheduling after having children.
“Mason and Goulden (2004) suggest that stopping the tenure clock for childbirth, developing more generous childbirth leaves, having a period of modified duties available after childbirth, and providing onsite childcare” would help women continue in the workforce and continue to advance in their careers so that no choice would need to be made between the two (14). Other suggested options include allowing people to stay on the tenure track for up to five years and guaranteeing high quality child care slots for these tenure-track faculty. To assist parents as the children get older, universities could develop school break child care and summer camps along with more effective marketing, which would serve as a message that family is not seen as a detriment to the career and that female scholars are valued enough that the institution will invest in their retention and advancement (14).

Interestingly enough, however, such programs have been instituted at the University of California for the past twenty years, but participation has been low. Female faculty members say that they were either uninformed about the programs, confused about eligibility, or, most strikingly, fearful that taking advantage of such programs would have a negative effect on their careers. This striking concern brings home the fact that such programs should be available to both fathers and mothers so that parenthood, not motherhood, is the experience being supported and so that the university sets the standard for a movement away from assigning women sole responsibility for family.

Interestingly, there is little discussion of these issues as they pertain to fathers, as it continues to be assumed that women will shoulder the majority of childcare and household tasks while men channel their full ambition in the workplace. It is not clear that any of the solutions proposed to the problem of career interruptions for family reasons would modify these perceptions. Unless men are also able and willing to avail themselves of family-friendly policies, thus changing the cultural view of women as largely accountable for family life, it will be impossible to develop strategies that allow for a successful combination of work and family life. (p.15)

Another interesting proposal involves changing the university culture so that teaching is as highly valued as scholarship, or the creation of new knowledge. In the Australian university system, teaching is explicitly recognized, and this has actually eliminated the promotion bias, which will function to eliminate the pay disparities. Ernest Boyer (1990) describes “scholarships rather than just scholarship, recommending that universities re-define what academic work means so that we move from an emphasis on creating new knowledge to recognizing the “scholarship of teaching, which relies on application of knowledge to solve real world problems” (p. 15-16). If such a perspective were to develop, then women should, at least theoretically, improve their situation with regard to pay and promotion.

Conclusion
Clearly, then, the society and the academy in particular must face the fact that women are still experiencing a wage gap that can be explained both by forces within and outside themselves; therefore, both women and society need to invest in the solution to this problem. When they are very young, we as parents and teachers must encourage girls to prepare themselves for high paying fields, but if they find when they get there that they are being paid less than their male counterparts, then they should
take action and file suit against employers engaged in wage discrimination. Too often, women fear retribution when in fact equal pay is a right, and not awarding equal pay is a crime. Since much discrimination can be unconscious, institutions within society, and particularly educational institutions, should re-assess policies that de-value women, making advancement particularly difficult. Since the university is the social institution out of which leaders come, family policies should be developed, implemented and celebrated as an investment in America’s families so that fathers and mothers are encouraged to excel in their careers without sacrificing the quality of their children’s lives.

References


Roland Barthes and Comic Books for Kids

A Proposal for a Paper

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Introduction

The most important obstacle to surmount is the tendency of the reader’s eye to wander.

Eisner, p. 41

Will Eisner (2008), the legendary cartoonist, in Comics and Sequential Art, described comics as a medium in which text and images weave the fabric of communication (p. 127). A number of genres employ this synergistic relationship. They run the gamut from comic books, to graphic novels, to manga. The text-image format provides artistic creators with a multitude of story options. There are comics for people of every age, disposition, and predilection (Priest, p. 6).

This proposal develops a framework of analysis based on a collection of essays by Roland Barthes (1977), Image, Music, Text. I used Barthes, in part, because of my own personal experience reading a Tiny Titans comic book to my grandchildren. Each story is a joke and I just didn’t get it. After some consternation, and not a little embarrassment, I discovered that I had skipped over the text in the first frame that set up the joke. Barthes taught me how to read a comic book. I slowed down, savored the text and the image – and finally got the joke.

The subject of analysis for this proposal, Welcome to the Treehouse, contains six issues devoted to the Tiny Titans. Art Baltazar, a graduate of Columbia College, Chicago, father of three children, and winner of two Eisner awards, is the writer and artist of this energetic and playful comic book. Franco Aureliani collaborated with Baltazar to produce a series of comic books designed to appeal to all audiences, but especially to children from kindergarten through second grade.

Comic Books and Kids

Comic books with their words and expletives in balloons are bad for reading.

Fredrick Wertham, p. 10

Two opposing views of comic books emerged over time. Comic books were either horribly bad or incredibly good at teaching children to read. The employees of Eastern Color Printing Company created the first modern comic book for adults in 1933. They collected a number of political cartoons and printed them in book form (Yang, p. 1). DC Comics introduced Superman (1938) and Batman (1939). This marked the advent of the super-hero and ushered in a golden age of comic books. Comic book publishers responded to demand for their product by printing hundreds of issues. Some single-issue comic books sold millions of copies (Throndyke, p. 110).

Children loved comic books, but parents and teachers remained skeptical until Robert L. Throndyke, a pioneer in educational research, analyzed Batman and Superman in his article, “Words and Comics” (p. 112). He determined the grade level for Superman #11 (1940) at 6.6 and Batman #8 at 5.9. He concluded that comic books were of “real value” teaching children to read and co-authored a language arts workbook that featured Superman. An unintended consequence of Throndyke’s work was that people began to associate all comic books with the 10 to 12 age group when, in fact, DC comics, and comic books in general, appealed to a much wider age group.

Those who saw little value in comic books found a formidable advocate in the person of a well-known psychiatrist, Fredric Wertham (1953), author of Seduction of the Innocent. In the course of interviewing delinquent youths, Wertham found that they all liked and read comic books. He concluded this is what caused their dysfunctional
behavior (p. 10). Wertham gained a tremendous amount of publicity when he presented his flawed methodology and erroneous conclusion to a Senate sub-committee hearing on juvenile delinquency.

The debate over comic books continued. Sidonie Gruenberg (1944), a noted child development expert, saw comic books as a force for good, with multiple applications in education (Yang, p. 1). Nebraska principal Lucile Rosencrans disagreed. She called comic books a "stumbling block" to learning (Yang, p. 1).

Emma Swain (1976), a reading diagnostician, in her article "Using Comic Books to Teach Reading and Language Arts," noted "teachers and parents have criticized comic books for years" (p. 1). Swain conducted a survey of 169 students in grades 4 through 12 that found that good students read more comic books than poor students. She pointed out the tremendous popularity of comics. Retailers sold 20 million a month in 1977 (p. 1). She concluded that the demand for comics was an indication of their potential for teaching children reading. She recommended that every classroom have a box of comics for students to read.

Positive appraisals of the use of comic books to teach children reading flourished in the 21st century. Author Jennifer Haines (2004) in, "Why Teach with Comics," argued that comic books generally had high reading levels. She insisted that it was a grievous mistake to dismiss reading material that was "challenging to read, thoughtful and insightful, and age appropriate," simply because it was a comic book (p. 1).

The mission of school librarians is to support the curriculum and encourage reading. Librarians were some of the most vociferous opponents of comic books in the past. Modern librarians have a different view. Carol Tilley (2005), a professor of Library Science at the University of Illinois, in her article, "For Improving Early Literacy, Comics Is No Child’s Play," noted the influence that comics have had on children’s literature, especially in the use of frames, speech bubbles, motion lines, and sound effects (p. 1).

Tilley referred readers to a position statement on multi-modal literacies by the National Council of Teachers of English (2005) that stated that students should learn, "skills, approaches, and attitudes toward media literacy, visual and aural rhetorics, and crucial literacy" (p. 2). Comic books are the perfect genre to help students accomplish this goal.

Gene Leung Yang (2008), who won an Eisner award for his graphic novel, American Born Chinese, has two excellent articles on the web. The first, “History of Comic Books in Education,” provided an excellent over-all view of the subject. His second article “Strength of Comics in Education,” offered cogent arguments on why and how comics teach students to read.

Jane Goodall (2013), a librarian, described the benefits of using comics in the classroom to readers of the Guardian (UK) in her article, “Ten Benefits of Reading Comics.” She argued that comic books encourage a love of reading, improve vocabulary, and increase confidence. She believed that comic books prove excellent resources for teaching reluctant and voracious students, as well as, those for whom English is a second language (p. 1).

David Jacobs (2013), professor of English at the University of Windsor (CN), in “Graphic Encounters," reinforced the position statement of the National Council of Teachers of English. He argued that comic books are effective in teaching print literacy, but more important, multi-modal literacy, which he defined as “the ability to relate
something to create meaning with and from texts that operate not only in alphabetic form, but also in some combination of visual, audio, and spatial form as well” (p. 3).

Corey Blake (2014) in his article, “The Benefits and Risks of Comics in Education,” argued that comic books are stronger learning tools than textbooks, able to “combine story and information more effectively than any other medium” (p. 1). As proof he cited two facts: the brain processes pictures 60,000 times faster than text; and humans communicated in pictures before they used words (p. 1).

The first part of this proposal for a paper surveyed the literature on teaching reading with comic books. The next section develops a scheme of analysis and applies it to Baltazar and Franco’s funny, upbeat comic book, Welcome to the Treehouse. The characters in the comic book are delightfully drawn kids, based roughly on DC comic characters. The purpose of this analysis is to prove that they have literary and artistic merit, are free from violent and sexist themes, and are age appropriate.

Tools of Analysis

“There’s a lot more in cartoons than meets the eye!”

McCloud, p. 45

Roland Barthes (1915 – 1980), a French writer and semiotician, urged the viewer to look for three messages in a work of art. Barthes saw a linguistic message in the form of a caption, a denoted message in the image itself, and a connoted message that is the result of the action of the creator and reflection of what society thinks of it (p. 17).

This paper used contributions from several authors to make Barthes levels of analysis more robust. Thorndyke contributed methods of analyzing words and reading levels. Scott McCloud, a cartoonist and comics theorist, in his Understanding Comics (1993) analyzed and charted transitions between comic book frames. Amanda Hendricks, a recent graduate of the University of California, Chico, (2014) graciously sent me her honors thesis, “Sexism, Female Performativity, and Female Presence in Comics.” Her method of charting characters in the foreground and background of frames proved useful.

First Level

Text answers the question, “What does a character say?” It binds the reader to the character. Text introduces, directs, anchors, and builds the story. In the absence of words, readers rely on their own experiences to understand the story as told in the sequence of frames.

Viewers find linguistic messages in the form of text in titles, captions, balloons, and sound boxes (Barthes, p. 38). Authors of the text in comic books favor an all-cap, straightforward lettering style. They use bold type, color, and other artistic devices to provide emphasis. Eisner favored old-school hand lettering because it “will always be the most idiosyncratic and expressive means” of expressing the author’s emotions.

A preliminary analysis of Welcome to the Tree House using the Flesch-Kincaid grade level scale indicated a 2.5 reading level. Capstone publishers list the reading level as grades 1 – 2 and the interest level as grades 1 – 3. One should remember that there are pictures to help beginning readers and adults often read comics of this type to even younger children. This serves as anticipatory preparation to encourage a desire to read on ones own. A sample of 593 words in 75 frames indicated that the average number of words per frame was 7.0. Some of the words reflected everyday speech patterns like “um no” (p. 13), “Yep! (p. 13), and contractions like “that’s awful” (p. 17).
Barthes called the obvious meaning the denoted level (p. 65). The viewer sees polysemous images in the frames on a comic book page. If there is no frame, the artist has a reason, perhaps to indicate unlimited space. The first frame of a story is important. It includes the title and sets the scene. A frame is the literary equivalent of a paragraph; the details within it act like adjectives and adverbs (McCloud, p. 11).

It is easy to enumerate things since the second level is all about what you see. Scott McCloud (1993) discussed how to graph both the types of frames and the transitions between them. Richard Jenkins and Debra Detamore in, *Comics In Your Curriculum*, presented a classroom activity for 4th graders that graphs various types of comic book characters. Amanda Hendrix (2014) employed a similar technique to count the number of males and females in the foreground and background of selected DC and Marvel comics over three decades.

Initial analysis of the characters in *Welcome to the Treehouse* indicated that Balthazar and Franco made little use of backgrounds, except in the opening frame. The number of girl characters and boy characters varies from story to story, but the number of boy characters outnumbers those of girl characters by a slight margin over the entire volume. The number of cute animals and monsters outnumbered portrayals of adults.

The connoted message refers to the implied and deeper levels of meaning in a comic book. What are the patterns of language? What are the themes? *Welcome to the Treehouse* revealed themes appropriate for primary school children: the classroom (including a benevolent monster teacher), pets, friends, and clothes. Baltazar and Franco based this universe of characters on the DC universe. The joke often depends on knowing the back-story. The frame on page 5 depicts an adult figure from his shoulders down, the view as seen by a small child. The name of the character is not revealed. One must know that Green Arrow wears green and carries a bow to identify his character.

We foresee writing two papers based on this proposal. Both papers will profit from continued analysis of all three levels: text, denotation, and connotation in comic books. We intend to present and submit for publication one paper for the Far West Popular Culture Association. As Scott McCloud said, “cartoons have historically held an advantage in breaking into world popular culture” (p. 42). We would like to submit the other paper to the National Social Science Association. It will deal with the use of comics in teaching reading, perhaps with a co-author with experience in that field.

There is much to learn about comics and much we can learn from comics. We would like to attend conventions, listen to speakers, and interview artists and writers. Our research assistants (grandchildren) will keep us grounded as we work on the comics that they love.

We recommend the use of brackets for explanatory information and the
use of the following abbreviations: (a) artist, (w) writer, (e) editor, (i) illustrator.

Information, Appropriation, Value and Questions

Noel Packard

Independent Scholar
This paper briefly overlays Marxian theories about appropriation, value, surplus value, historical dialectical materialism, and comparative historical analysis on three different forms of information appropriation, in three different historical contexts, to help explain the epoch shift from the Machine to the Information Age. The three historical information appropriation contexts compared are: 1) appropriation of information about Germans and Americans in the WWII era from survey and punch card information collected from witting citizens; 2) spy-appropriated information about unwitting and un-consenting citizens in post-WWII and Cold War-era United States; and 3) appropriated electronic memory collected by tele-communications companies in conjunction with government agencies in post-9/11 United States.

During WWII, both Germans and Americans were mandated to complete population surveys. The information from the surveys was processed in state of the art IBM punch card tabulating machines (Black, 2001; Van Den Ende, 1994). Citizens who filled out surveys provided information wittingly (meaning knowingly and with consent). In Germany, this survey data was collected by the Third Reich and helped to identify so-called inferiors. Therefore, German tabulated census data may have been instrumental to plunder and genocide (Kistermann 1997; Lubeke & Milton, 1994). Meanwhile, in the United States, census and survey information was also processed by IBM for the newly formed Social Security Agency (Black, 2001) as part of New Deal legislation, bringing huge government contracts to IBM and helping U.S. citizens transcend the Great Depression.

After WWII and throughout the Cold War era, another kind of information appropriation became a lucrative industry, namely spying. With the growth of the military and Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), there was a growing need to put agents to work hunting for Communists. The industry of collecting information on unwitting targets grew (Bamford, 2009; Gentry, 1991; Rosenfeld, 2012; Shorrock, 2008), as evidenced in numerous studies about J. Edgar Hoover's intelligence gathering. In the 1960s, secret files kept on events and people became national scandals after the events of Watergate and after whistle blowers, for example, Daniel Ellsberg, went public with "The Pentagon Papers." Investigations about government secret operations ensued, producing among other findings- the Final Reports of the 1976 Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, led by Chairman Frank Church, which revealed the extent of abuse and spying on unwitting, un-consenting, and often law-abiding citizens.

One result of the "outing" of these abusive operations was the creation of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) legislation, which allows citizens to request classified documents from government agencies. Researchers have used FOIA documents to uncover and inform the U.S. public about the extent of government spy-appropriated information on citizens. FOIA information has been used to discredit government activities and further lawsuits against the government and its military contractors. In this way, the government’s spy-appropriated intelligence sometimes loses its value when it becomes exposed (Blum, 1972; Landau, 2010; O’Harrow, 2005).

In the Cold War era, spy-appropriated information was taken from unwitting and un-consenting targets; later, some of this information became more of a liability than an
asset. The value of spy-appropriated information from unwitting, un-consenting victims is costly in lawsuits, discovery, liability, and loss of credibility to government agencies.

By the time the Cold War had passed, the Berlin Wall had fallen, and 9/11 happened, the military, the government, IBM, and many contractors, think tanks, universities, and computer and telecommunications companies had together developed the worldwide web, the personal computer (PC), and electronic data storage facilities. The new electronic Information Age infrastructure was developed and funded by the military well before the 1960s, all the way through to the late 1990s, building upon the foundation of the earlier tabulating machine, telephone, and telegraph infrastructure. By the time 9/11 happened, the push toward electronic data processing of almost all social relations and aspects of life (from banking to communications to commercial activity) was well under way (Gleick, 2011). After 9/11, military funding of Internet communication systems development expanded to include government contracts with tele-communications service providers for government monitoring of the new communication networks.

After the events of 9/11, information appropriation methods changed. Post-9/11 legislation brought a cascade of new laws that curbed citizens' privacy rights and gave broad powers to government to monitor electronic communications and meta data under the pretense of searching for terrorists. The Citizens United ruling makes corporations legal citizens who own the telecommunication infrastructure (paid for with public monies), which transmits people's communications and stores their data, for mining or plunder, by others. Now, collecting information from anyone and everyone is legal because the country is in a state of perpetual war, and so national security interests usurp civil liberties and constitutional rights. Before 9/11, human spies gathered information about suspected communists who were unwitting and un-consenting; today, electronic data banks and programmed computers collect all kinds of information about U.S. citizens.

With the advent of whistleblowers like Manning, Snowden, and Greenwald making public or "outing" the National Security Agency's electronic spy programs, U.S. citizens can no longer claim unwitting status to government spy operations, and without resisting the spy operations, people are caught in a double bind of appearing to consent to surveillance abuse. Thus, the government and contractor corporations avoid the liability and oversight of FOIA-related civilian protections while gathering even more information about the population, without using surveys, except perhaps to confirm previously and secretly gathered electronic information, after the fact.

These three different historical contexts for information appropriation demonstrate a global socio-political change from punch card technology, to human-collected, secret, paper file technology, to electronically collected, hidden, compact, expandable, hack-able, and easy to delete, copy, and transfer, electronic memory that can be communicated from one supercomputer to another, to a PC, to a drone and to vast networks of corporate citizens (Bamford, 2012; O'Harrow, 2005; Greenwald, 2014; Boghosian, 2013; Goodman & Gonzalez, 2012; Goodman, 2013a, 2013b; Mitchell & Gosztola, 2013).

Marxian comparative historical analysis and the concept of primitive accumulation of (in this case) electronic memory seems applicable for explaining how a new form of capitalism based in information appropriation, storage, and circulation has
emerged from the Machine Age; however, Marx’s surplus labor theory of value applies both similarly and differently in the Machine and Information Ages. It posits that human labor is the source of wealth and that wage labor that workers work is always in excess of their economic subsistence because the worker does unpaid labor that provides profit for the capitalist (who in turn valorizes the surplus labor). In survey information appropriated in WWII Germany, some surplus value of the collected survey information was realized in the form of plundered property and forced labor, but it didn’t produce a revitalized German economy, as was the case for the New Deal United States.

In the Cold War era, value and surplus value of spy-appropriated or military intelligence was realized in a growing bureaucratic industry of secret intelligence gathering, which saw surplus value in the form of ongoing government funding in return for intelligence profiles of viable military targets. Dialectically, “secret intelligence” lost its value after it was made public by whistleblowers (Greenwald, 2014; Mitchell & Gosztola, 2013). Daniel Ellsberg’s “Pentagon Papers” helped to end the Vietnam War and lucrative military-corporate contracts. Whereas U.S. citizens wanted information about secret operations (paid for with their tax dollars), the government, military, and corporations were already developing an electronic infrastructure that could be used to uncover the details of every citizen’s personal life, via electronic communications and transactions, the Internet, and electronically banked memory.

The backlash to FOIA, civilian oversight, and whistleblowers was the development of an electronic Internet that is fun and user friendly but also has back-door capabilities to gather information about users, thus making the industry of spying an automated, real-time activity with immunity from retroactive lawsuits (Greenwald, 2014; Risen & Lichtblau, 2009), paid for by the people who are being spied on—who pay first in money for the telecommunications services and second with personal information, which is shared with corporate citizens (telecommunication corporations) for mining and storage as the communication is in transit to the intended receiver (who receives the information only after the third-party corporate citizen collects it en route).

The surplus value that comes from appropriated electronic information gathered from a technological apparatus built and designed by and for military purposes isn’t all from wage labor but also from the destabilization of individuals (Packard, 2013) whose electronic memory accounts are ruptured with debts, crisis, unemployment, emergencies, and other liabilities that strip the individual, bit by bit, of wealth and possessions and potentially ownership of his own body if forced labor occurs. Here, Marx’s prediction that the whole capitalist enterprise “emerges from the process of production as something essentially different from the way it entered into it” (1976, 1065) seems plausible, as now profit is to be made off the cannibalization and destruction of the prior epoch’s wealth, the infrastructure of the Machine Age, in order to form the material basis for a newly shaped social process and superstructure.

To elaborate, consider the following: In the Appendix to Capital, Volume I, edited by Ernest Mandel (1976) for the first time in English translation, there appeared Marx’s “Results of the Immediate Process of Production," which, according to Mandel’s introduction, “was originally planned Part Seven of Volume 1 of Capital…first published in 1933" (1976, 943). This unfinished chapter of Capital considers how labor always returns to the production process with only labor power to sell (all the while diminishing itself but also reproducing expanding numbers of workers through increased
Meanwhile, capitalist relations within the production process also reproduce themselves but emerge from the production process as something different from the way they entered into the process. Marx argues that “Capital perfects its domination” of labor, but in doing so the entire contradictory form of capitalism is cast into dissolution, and a new social process and new social formation emerges. Marx writes,

Thus a complete economic revolution is brought about. On the one hand it creates the real conditions for the domination of labor by capital, perfecting the process and providing it with the appropriate framework. On the other hand, by evolving conditions of production and communication and productive forces of labor antagonistic to the workers involved in them, this revolution creates real premises of a new mode of production, one that abolishes the contradictory form of capitalism. It thereby creates the material basis of a newly shaped social process and hence of a new social formation. (1976, 1065)

Marx goes on to explain that other political economists fail to understand that capitalist production relations are changed in the production process; within each capitalist production epoch there are the qualities for its own demise along with the seeds for the next new form of social economic relations, which will emerge from the earlier epoch and transform it into a different kind of social productive relationship.

At this point in the book, Mandel inserts the following note: “The text of the manuscript breaks off at this point. What follows now are isolated fragments, which were evidently meant to be revised and incorporated in the present version.” (Marx, 1976, 1065) How unfortunate that the text breaks off at the discussion about how, at the pinnacle of capital’s domination of labor, the social relationships of capitalists change to create a new social relationship.

The question that arises, given the context and topic of appropriated information in a Machine Age and now in an Information Age, is “Are we on the cusp of a new social relationship of capitalist production?” In other words, the electronic age has freed workers from jobs, from homes, from constitutional rights, and from their wealth, but in leaving them with nothing to lose but their freedom of speech in electronic cyberspace, the capitalists have now appropriated those social communications also. Why? Perhaps as a way to regain control over these former and now underutilized workers? Marx’s prediction that social relations are changed in the production process is applicable to the epoch shift from Machine Age to Information Age.

As underemployed people have more time to communicate with one another through the corporate citizens’ monitoring devices in cyberspace, the capitalist owners of that medium try to appropriate the communications to build electronic user profiles of their customers. Hence, the social production relationship has changed to one of information appropriation by capitalists over and against “liberated” workers expressing themselves “freely” into and across electronic monitoring infrastructures owned by capitalist corporate citizens. Has electronic information processing revolutionized social production relationships to the point where labor is liberated from its relations with the Machine Age? And if so, does this pose a threat to the capitalist class because it no longer has the employer relationship to labor that it had in the Machine Age? Or, if enough information about individuals, or commodity memory, were collected from people, could electronic profiles displace live human beings because the electronic
profiles are owned by corporations who are legally persons? In other words, has the Information Age turned social productive relations upside down by developing machines that can produce humans based on electronic memory profiles, rather than humans producing machines?

**Author's Note**

This paper was presented on October 7, 2014 in the History and Government session of the National Social Science Association’s San Francisco Professional Development Conference in San Francisco, California. The author wishes to thank Dr. Blake Johnson of Peralta College District, at Laney College, Oakland, California, who taught the "History of Information" course at University of California, Berkeley, during summer session 2014. The course is modeled after U. C. Berkeley's i-school course of the same name created by Geoffrey Nunberg and Paul Duguid and it inspired ideas for this paper.

**References**


Effects of Socioeconomic Status on Sport participation

Tyler Parnell

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Abstract
This research examines how race and education affect sport participation in the U.S. today. Using data from the “American Time Use Survey” collected by the United States Census Bureau and Bureau for Labor Statistics in 2005, I test whether or not there are significant differences across racial groups in sport participation, and if these differences are explicable through SES (as measured by proxy: education). My hypothesis is that lower average SES among minority groups may deter them from participating in higher-cost sports such as cycling, golfing, or fishing; and would, instead, lead them to pursue lower-cost sports such as basketball. Regression models provide some support for the hypothesis. However, the results also suggest that other variables, such as sex or where one lives (urban versus rural settings), explain some of the variance in sport participation.

Introduction
This project seeks to answer a two-part question: Are sports in the U.S. today unequally divided, racially? And, if so, is SES at the heart of this divide? Research has attempted to answer these questions in the past (e.g. Greendorfer 1978; McGuire, Dottavio & O'Leary 1986), but this literature is in need of updating. A report published by Lapchick, Calderon, Harless & Turner (2010) begins some of this updating, at least when it comes to organized collegiate sports such as basketball and baseball, finds that there are racial disparities.

Although the Lapchick et al (2010) report is a great starting point, it does not include sport participation beyond the collegiate sphere; it also excludes sports beyond organized/team sports. The “American Time Use Survey” provides data that allow one to examine additional non-organized, non-collegiate sports such as biking, walking, weightlifting, skiing, and fishing, among others. I will use data from this survey to help provide a more complete picture of sport participation in the U.S. and how it varies across racial groups today.

In this study, I follow others who have examined the topic in the past (e.g. Bourdieu 1978; Greendorfer 1978; McGuire, Dottavio & O'Leary 1986) and hypothesize that there will be racial disparities in sports today (beyond those found in the collegiate sports examined by Lapchick et al in 2010) and that some of these disparities may emerge, in part, because of differences in SES (as measured by education, which is the only suitable proxy in the American Time Use Survey). I believe that there are higher “entry costs” to becoming involved in certain sports, which may prove prohibitive for groups that tend to have a lower average SES. The findings, which I will describe later, provide partial support for these hypotheses.

Literature Review
One of the earliest examinations of sport participation was forwarded by Bourdieu (1978), who looked at participation rates in sports among people of varying SES. Bourdieu believed there are what he called “distinctive sports” like golf, bike riding, and skiing, which he believed are disproportionately distributed among the dominant class. Similar findings were reported by Greendorfer (1978), who found that upper class adults seemed to prefer golf, hockey and tennis; middle class adults seem to prefer football, basketball, and bowling; and lower class adults prefer boxing and wrestling. Greendorfer also found that lower class individuals tend to participate more in team sports while upper class people individuals to be involved in more individual and duel
sports. These findings show that there were differences across SES groups in sport participation in the late 1970s.

In the 1980s, a large survey conducted by McGuire, Dottavio, & O’Leary (1986) set out to examine in detail different constraints people experienced that they felt held them back from participating in the sports they wanted. The four constraints they identified as being the biggest prohibiting factors to sport participation were time, money, lack of people, and health. They found that both time and money were the most influential during midlife. Lack of people to do the sport with was an inverted U with it being a significant prohibiting factor early and later in life. Finally, health became an increasing factor as people grew older.

The results of the McGuire et al (1986) survey are not very surprising when considering how life can intersect with recreational activity. During midlife, when time and money are high deterrents to sport participation, people begin to have families and settle down. If a person is trying to save time and money for their family it makes sense that one of the places to cut back would be in recreation. More affluent families will have greater amounts of both commodities, which, in turn, would likely result in their kids participating in Bourdieu's (1978) “distinctive sports.” Working class and poor families, on the other hand, who have limited time and money, might be more likely to opt for public sports programs such as after-school basketball, which is not only cheaper but more time efficient. The other two major prohibiting factors that were identified—failing health and lack of people—are arguably simple byproducts of life. As we grow older our health naturally becomes a bigger influence on what we can and cannot do. It is also not entirely surprising that people find other like-minded sport enthusiasts such as themselves when they are in midlife: this is still before a person tends to have to worry about their health and after the turbulent fast-changing years of young adulthood.

One of the most recent examinations of sport participation in the U.S. is a report by Lapchick et al (2005). It examines organized collegiate sports and finds that there are some interesting racial disparities in participation. For instance, according to the report, African Americans make up over 60.4% of collegiate basketball players while at the same time only accounting for 6% of baseball players. Whites, on the other hand, made up only 32.6% of basketball players and over 84.4% of baseball players. Football is the exception in that it is nearly evenly divided between the two races at 46.4% and 53.6%, respectively. The analysis in the Lapchick et al report should be extended to other sports beyond organized collegiate sports. I do this in the present study.

Hypotheses

From the literature above, I develop two hypotheses for this study. For the first hypothesis, I simply predict that the racial disparities that Lapchick et al (2010) found in organized collegiate sports extend to other kinds of sports:

**Hypothesis 1:** There will be statistically significant differences between racial groups in their participation in various sports in the U.S. today.

For the second hypothesis, I contend, much like Bourdieu (1978) and Greendorfer (1978), that SES will also produce differences in sport participation, and that this may help explain the disparities predicted in Hypothesis 1:

**Hypothesis 2:** There will be a statistically significant effect of SES (as measured by education as a proxy) on sport participation.
In the following paragraphs, I describe the data, variables, and methods I use to test the above hypotheses.

**Data, Variables, and Methods**

As noted earlier, I use data from the “American Time Use Survey” (2005) collected by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Census Bureau. The particular dataset I use was stored at the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). The American Time Use Survey was sent to a representative sample of people in the U.S. at least 15 years old who and were neither active military personnel nor in an institution (e.g. prison). The number of respondents topped 13,000.

The dependent variables for this study are the sports that respondents reported that they participate in. Specifically, the sports that I analyze are biking, fishing, golf, walking, running, weight lifting, cardio, basketball, water sports, and winter sports. (Winter sports included skiing, ice-skating, and snowboarding.) From the data, I simply construct dummy variables for each dependent variable, where 1 = participates in sport and 0 = does not participate.

The main independent variable is race, which includes Caucasians, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. (Unfortunately, Hispanic is not a category in the American Time Use Survey.) To create the race independent variable, I recode the data into a set of dummy variables where 1 = member of that racial group and 0 = not a member of that race (excluded comparison group for all analyses: Caucasian).

Another independent variable tested in the models is SES, as measured by education. SES is typically thought of as a combination of education, income, and, in some cases, occupational prestige. Unfortunately, the American Time Use Survey does not have a measure for occupational prestige. Moreover, although the Survey asks respondents about income, the responses are virtually unusable because of a high frequency of either (a) unusual responses (e.g. earning $1million/week) or (b) missing data. As such, education is left as the only proxy for SES, and I include education, an ordinal measure, in the present analyses.

Other “control” variables include sex, urban living, and age. To construct the control variable for sex, I simply recode it into a dummy variable where 1 = male and 0 = female. Urban living is recoded similarly where 1 = urban and 0 = other (e.g. rural). Age is a standard interval-level coding.

After importing the data into SPSS I then ran regression models for each of the dependent variables. Results from these regression tests were then imported into Microsoft Excel and can be found in the Tables below.

**Results**

In terms of African American versus Caucasian differences in sport participation, African Americans are significantly less likely than Caucasians to participate in biking, fishing, golf, running, and water sports. African Americans are, however, significantly more likely than Caucasians to participate in basketball.

In terms of other racial differences, Asian Americans are significantly more likely than Caucasians to participate in walking and weight lifting.

These results seem to offer tentative support for both of my hypotheses. Consistent with the predictions of Hypothesis 1, there are statistically significant differences between racial groups in their participation in various sports. This is not true for every
group or sport, but there are some interesting significant differences that emerge, nonetheless (see Tables).

With regards to Hypothesis 2, the findings suggest at least a potential role of SES. For instance, when looking at African Americans versus Caucasians, sports such as biking, fishing, golf, running, and water sports—those in which African Americans are significantly less likely to participate in—are all sports that have a fairly high expense associated with them. On the other hand, basketball—a sport in which African Americans are significantly more likely to engage in—is much cheaper by comparison. Because African Americans tend to hold a lower SES this is exactly what I would predict.

The significant findings for Asian Americans may also lend some support for Hypothesis 2 as well. With Asian Americans having a relatively high average SES and being more likely to participate in walking and weightlifting, this fits with the arguments of Bourdieu and Nice (1987) who argue that upper-class people tend to focus more on their health than lower-class individuals. On the other hand, though, Schor (1991) suggest that these sports are more prevalent among the lower classes. So, the implications of the Asian American findings are mixed.

The findings concerning education may lend further evidence supporting Hypothesis 2. As noted earlier, education is effectively being used as a proxy for SES in this study. The findings support the notion that higher SES (education) is associated with particular tastes in sport. People with higher education are significantly more likely to participate in biking, fishing, golf, walking, running, and doing cardio than people with less education. With the exception of walking (and perhaps running), all these sports have a relatively high cost associated with them. For instance, using cardio equipment usually requires either a gym membership or the purchase of the machine, neither of which is cheap. The same goes for golf and its membership costs and equipment costs. These findings are consistent with the arguments of Bourdieu (1978), who felt that there were “distinctive sports” such golf, bike riding, and skiing that were disproportionately distributed amongst the dominant class. These findings are also consistent with Greendorfer’s (1978) arguments.

In terms of “control" variables," males are significantly more likely than females to participate in every sport with the exception of winter sports, walking, and cardio. This is consistent with the literature, which states that men are more likely to participate in sports than women, (Scheerder, Canreusel & Marijke 2005). Part of the reason for unequal participation between the sexes is that women historically have been barred from many sports. However as Scheerder et al (2005) note, they have closed the participation gap considerably since the 1970s.

Age is very consistent in its effects on sport participation. As people grow older they are significantly less likely to participate in every sport compared to young people, with the lone exceptions of water sports, which is not statistically significant, and walking, which is statistically significant in a positive direction (older individuals are significantly more likely to participate). This is not surprising because as people get older health becomes a increasing concern. This is also in line with what McGuire et al (1986) found in their research looking at constraints to sport participation. Lastly, those living in an urban environment are significantly more likely than those who live in rural areas to participate in walking, water sports, cardio, and weight lifting. This
makes sense because those people who live in an urban area have better access to
gyms and public facilities that are less likely to exist in rural areas.

**Discussion/Conclusion**

In this research I sought to determine (a) whether or not there is unequal
participation in sports across racial groups, and (b) if so, whether or not this has any
relationship to SES (as measured by education). My underlying argument throughout
has been that a person’s SES will likely dictate which sports a person has access to,
and, as such, minority groups who tend to hold a lower SES would be more likely to
participate in sports that have a lower cost associated with them. Their wealthy
counterparts, by contrast, would be more likely to participate in more costly sports.

My findings show that, indeed, there are significant differences across racial groups
in their participation in sports. Controlling for variables such as sex, age, and urban
living, statistically significant race differences emerged for many sports. For example
African Americans were less likely than whites to participate in biking, fishing, and
golfing, and were significantly more likely than whites to participate in basketball. My
findings also show that SES—measured by proxy with education—affects sport
participation. Those with higher levels of education are significantly more likely to
participate in “costlier” sports such as biking, cardio, fishing, and golf. This is consistent
with the literature in the area.

It is important to note, though, that the findings do not speak to only racial or SES
differences in sport participation—there is more to the story. For instance, the findings
show significant sex differences in sport participation. The findings also show that age
significantly impacts sport participation, as does urban living (with a few sports). This
shows that there are other factors besides race and SES that determine sport
participation.

There were several limitations that I faced in this project. Perhaps the biggest was a
not having all of the elements of SES—particularly income. While education did work
as a proxy for SES, it lacks the detail and validity that would come from also having
occupational prestige and, especially, income. Another limitation is not having Hispanic
as a racial/ethnic group. Having as an additional racial group would have given much
more detail then what was obtained with the four I did have.

Future study in this area should further elucidate the interplay between SES (or
education, specifically) and race when it comes to sport participation. It would be
interested to see, for instance, how educated African Americans’ sport participation
compares with less educated African Americans. Looking at such interactions would be
quite illuminating. Additionally, it would be interesting to examine the interactions
between race, education, and other factors (e.g. urban versus rural). The goal of
running these additional tests would be to show how these variables intersect to effect
sport participation and provide a better understanding about how much of the variation
in sport participation is explicable through these variables alone versus through
interaction effects.
References
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significants =
* = P<.05
** = P<.01
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In Today’s World,
War for the U.S.
is NOT
a Viable Nor Sensible Nor Humane Nor Responsible Option!

Lem Londos Railsback,
Independent Scholar
Are there any World War II veterans in the audience? World War I? Spanish American War? Civil War? Colonial War? Well, then, insofar as your all’s personal experiences and memories are concerned, you have only secondary knowledge about the American wars that I have just mentioned. So, to make a long, long story short, you are just going to be stuck with my own journey through conversations with my “war friends,” through the internet, through selected books and magazines, and through selected media; and you will just be stuck with my own personal interpretation of information that I gleamed from those journeys. Please listen and consider seriously exactly what I offer you here.

After living a useful life, properly marrying and properly rearing children, properly paying taxes, and properly dying, war may the most serious activity of a citizen. To properly pursue and to properly perform war well, the citizen should be absolutely convinced that a war is necessary. Else, human tragedy multiplies.

This commentary has not been designed nor intended to decry, deny, disallow, or disclaim the need to go to war for a reliable, valid, absolutely necessary reason—for example, our national survival. When tyrants, hooligans, and cadres attack the United States in order to subdue, malign, and/or abolish the liberties and rights that our ancestors and brethren have fought for and died, we must fight to defend ourselves and to pass on the blessings of our democratic republic and our way of life to our descendants. When sadists provide video-recorded records of their infamous cruelty in the beheading of innocent journalists, such acts and recordings of such acts provide plenty of rational judgment for us to seek revenge upon and removal from our earth of such barbaric entities. However, to properly seek that sought revenge and that intended removal of those barbaric entities from our earth, we need to be absolutely sure BEFORE WE PROCEED that we possess the necessary resources, the necessary strategies and tactics, and the necessary will of our American citizens and of our cadre of allies to plan and then to proceed. In other words, I am not asserting that we should never go to war, Instead, I am simply asserting that:

1. in today’s complex world, the complexities complex each other;
2. because of all of the complexities and interactions among all of those complexities, we need to do our very best thinking about the general situation and its conditions and about each specific situation and its conditions;
3. In thinking about all those complexities and conditions, we need to be absolutely sure BEFORE WE ACT that we really do understand the total situation and all of the complex conditions, that we really do possess all of the resources—e.g., weapons, equipment, supplies, rations, and other necessities—required to do the job completely and with least cost; and
4. once we are sure of our analysis, ready supply of resources, tactics and strategies, and the committed will of the American people and of our international allies to get the job done, we go forward to get the job done.

In other words, I am cautioning us against the war drums that Senator McCain and his elk, certain other select members of our exalted congress, and certain select members of our mass/mess media have already been beating for about a year now. I
greatly appreciate President Obama’s steadfast pace in “getting all the ducks in a row,” as they say, before pushing forward. The current situation reminds me of President Kennedy’s steadfast resistance to his Joint Chiefs of Staff. Reportedly, they were pushing for a preemptive nuclear attack on the U.S.S.R. because at that time, according to the Chiefs’ rationales, the U.S. possessed a significant advantage over the U.S.S.R. in our nuclear arsenal. Because of the strong belief by the Joint Chiefs that a preemptive nuclear strike by the U.S. on the U.S.S.R. was absolutely necessary, President Kennedy had to spend precious time, energy, and political capital in order to keep the Chiefs in check. (Aren’t we glad today that he did?)

In order to clarify and contextualize my position, the following insights, historical events, and data are offered.

Congressional Research Service report for Congress, No. 7-5700\(^1\) provided estimated costs “of major U.S. wars from the American Revolution through current conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere.” The report presented “figures both in ‘current year dollars’ that is, in prices in effect at the time of each war, and in inflation-adjusted ‘constant dollars’ updated to the most recently available estimates of FY2011.” Additional data—e.g., the percentage of the relevant gross national product that each cost represented, et al.—was provided, followed by a host of qualifiers—e.g., estimates represented only money spent on military operations and did not include “costs of veterans’ benefits, interest paid for borrowing money to finance wars, or assistance to allies.” And, quietly wisely, the report emphasized the many, many problems inherent in collecting, organizing, and reporting such data. In a word, “a grain of salt” had to be taken in reading this report. Therefore, for purposes of this commentary, only the two amounts per war—the dollars in effect at the time of the war and the inflated dollars in terms of 2011 dollars—were extracted. They were extracted for the sole purpose of stimulating the reader’s shock at the reported costs of war.

<table>
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<th>The Costs of War: Military Costs of Major U.S. Wars, 1775-2010</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Original $’s</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>American Revolution 1775&quot;</td>
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<td>Mexican War 1846:</td>
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<td>Civil War: Union 1861:</td>
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<td>Iraq 2003:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Afghanistan/Other 2001:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-9/11—Iraq, Afghanistan/Other: 2001-2010:</td>
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As explained by the report itself, there were all sort of differences in the way that the different costs were tabulated. So this kind of data had to be “analyzed” through many different contextualized lenses. The figures shown above represented the FISCAL COSTS ONLY! They do not include the numbers of lives lost on all sides, numbers of amputations on all sides, numbers of post-traumatic-stressed victims on all sides, and/or numbers of shattered families on all sides. They merely represented the loosely knitted dollar cost of the different wars.

Several recent statements on the cost of the recent Iraq war illustrated the different approaches that were taken in calculating the fiscal cost of that particular war. Joshua Hersh and Chris Spurlock estimated that “as of 2011” that war operations cost “$ 806 billion.”² Then, Daniel Trotta reported the findings of a Watson Institute study that calculated the same war operations cost “more than $ 2 trillion.” However, with the additional “medical and disability claims of U.S. war veterans” and interests paid out over 40 years for money borrowed for the war, the total could soar to $ 6 trillion. The same study set the “estimated death toll from the three wars” [Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan] at “329,000,” excluding “indirect deaths callused by the mass exodus of doctors and a devastated infrastructure. The war invigorated radical Islamist militants in the region, set back women’s rights, and weakened an already precarious healthcare system.”³ Ernesto Londono cited a Harvard study that bolstered the $ 6 billion cost.⁴ In his “True Cost of War,”⁵ Representative Bruce Braley called attention to “the invisible wounds of war, in the form of Traumatic Brain Injury or Post Traumatic Stress Disorder…and to the] “over 4,400 American service members” who died. Ruth Brown set the number of deaths in the Iraq War at “451K Lives.”⁶ Obviously, then, the difficulties in determining both fiscal and human costs continued to vary among experts. One of them, Paul Gipe even asserted that “For the Price of the Iraq War, The U.S. Could Have a 100% Renewable Power System.”⁷

Of course, certain costs of the Iraq War cannot even be estimated—for example, the still-births, congenital birth defects, and the enormous rise in cancer in the neighborhoods where U.S. forces used depleted uranium bullets. As Leila Jabar testified, “The war isn’t over. Yes, the Americans are gone, but we are still suffering from the consequences.”⁸

The Bloodsuckers and Leeches of War

Amidst all of the dying and bloodletting and wounding and suffering during a war, there appeared to be a breed of corporate profiteers filled with greed in every American war in history.

“Profiteering is…making a profit by methods considered unethical…[raising of ] prices during an emergency (especially a war)...[playing] on political corruption to obtain government contracts...price fixing syndicates...[overly] aggressive marketing of products in the Third World.”⁹

President George Washington in 1778 cursed the profiteers with “There is such a thirst for gain [among military suppliers]...that is enough to make one curse their own species, for possessing so little virtue and patriotism.”¹⁰ Similarly, Alexander Hamilton solidly condemned such practices in his 1778 denouncement on “War Profiteering.”¹¹ Simon Cameron, Lincoln’s Secretary of War, had to resign because of his profiteering from the Civil War. Then, he use his begotten gains to win a seat in the federal
President Theodore Roosevelt was upset over the profiteering on the Spanish-American War; perhaps, the revelation of the profiteering triggered Roosevelt’s famous “trust-busting.” In its Tuesday, June 01, 2010, issue, Resistance is NOT Futile! reported that from War World I, corporations such as DuPont Bethlehem Steel, United States Steel, Anaconda, Utah Cooper, Central Leather Company, International Nickel Company, American Sugar Refining Company, and others gathered startling profits. The same source quoted U.S. Marine Major General Smedley Darlington Butler as asserting that “21,000 millionaires were made in the USA during WWI. $16,000,000,000 (Yep BILLIONS) of Profits were made off WWI in America—off the BLOOD of its citizens.”

Profiteering of WWII reached new heights. As J. Thorne attested as early as June, 1946, WWII “practically doubled the ‘take’: enriching the monopolists by $ 56 billions—so far. Never before in history has any venture proven so profitable.” In 2013, Gareth May cited “10 Big Business Nazi Profiteers” who made money through their direct trade with the NAZI’s. He named Kodak, Chase Bank, Nestle, BMW, Bayer, Allianz, Standard Oil, Coca-Cola, Ford, and IBM. Profiteering/Corruption was so rampant and entrenched that Senator Truman initiated an investigation into the practice. In his publicly-expressed opinion, the practice was TRESON! In Truman’s “police action” for the United Nations in Korea, profiteering continued although President Truman attempted to hold it “at bay.”

Whereas the helicopter was used primarily in Korea to medi-vac wounded soldiers to behind-the-lines field hospitals, in Viet Nam, the helicopter transformed into an assault weapon “dropping” soldiers onto specific points for combat. The several thousand helicopters—over 4,000?—used in/for that war made enormous profits for their manufacturers, While the identities and locations of those several manufacturers of helicopters have surprised previous audiences, they have been matters of public record for quite some time. And, of course, the Brown and Root corporation, who poured all that concrete in Cam Ranh Bay was famous. The latest transformation of the same company—i.e., Haliburton, for whom Cheney served as CEO from1995-2000—remained/s a major contractor.

By the way, can any reader offer the single major American goal/objective for the Korean War? Can any reader offer the single major American goal/objective for the Viet Nam War? Can any reader offer the single major American goal/objective for the continuing development and continuing costs of development of the JP-35 Joint Strike Fighter? Lockheed Martin, with approximately 1,000 lobbyists in Washington, D.C.—That’s “roughly two lobbyists for every member of congress!”—convinced the Defense Department to spend $ 400 billion to develop that weapon. However, as of 2013, the plane was still not fully developed.

Cray asserted that “Halliburton has become synonymous with war profiteering, but there are lots of other greedy fingers in the pie...[He named] 10 of the worst.” Cray names CACI, Titan, Bechtel, Aegis Defense Services, Custer Battles, General Dynamics, Nour USA Ltd., and Chevron/ExxonMobil/Petro-Imperialists. By the way, has any reader ever seen photographs of the three giant oil fields of Viet Nam? Weigley named “10 companies profiting the most from war” as United Technologies, L-3 Communications, Finmeccanica, European Aeronautic Defense and Space
Company, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon, General Dynamics, BAE Systems, Boeing, and Lockheed Martin. 

Sarah Anderson sketched a stark contrast, “While millions are suffering from the human and economic costs of the Iraq war, the violence has been very good for the bottom lines of military contractors and their top executives.” For one example, she cites “George David, CEO of United Technologies...[manufacturer of] Black Hawk helicopters and fighter jet engines, along with civilian aircraft and elevators...Since 9/11, he has been by far the highest paid defense executive, hauling in a total of more than $ 200 million...UTC is suing the Pentagon to block the public release of documents related to alleged quality control problems in its Black Hawk factories”24 For another example, she cites the very lucrative sale of Engineered Support Systems International “to another defense contractor, DRS Technologies...Among the beneficiaries of that sale: President George W. Bush’s uncle, William H.T. Bush, an ESSI director who cleared $ 2.7 million in cash and stock. Known to the president as 'Uncle Bucky,' he claims he had nothing to do with the company’s landing lucrative defense contracts.”25

A Transformation of Warfare: A Decision To Return To Traditional Warfare

During World War II, the U.S. and its allies intended to invade the mainland of Japan. To complete the invasion and initial occupation, the experts calculated that one million America soldiers would be needed. To fully prepare for that invasion, a huge stockpile of weapons, ammunitions, rations, and equipment was built up and stored on the island of Okinawa. Then, the two atomic bombs were dropped: first on Hiroshima and the second on Nagasaki. On board the U.S.S. Missouri, the Japanese authorities signed an unconditional surrender to end the Pacific War. The devastation caused at the two sites was horrific. In time, the leaders of the world’s nations realized that if atomic-later-nuclear weapons were used in future wars, the world itself would be destroyed and, over time, the entire human race could disappear from the earth. A rather wide-spread decision was reached by most of the major nations that future wars would have to be fought with traditional weapons. The realization of the atomic/nuclear threat—a transformed of traditional warfare—eventually persuaded several leading nations to sign the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and, later, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I) and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II).

In November 1943, while WWII was still raging on, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt met with Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, in Cairo, Egypt. Also participating at that meeting was China’s Chiang Kai-shek, his wife Mei-Ling, and her brother T.V./Paul Soong, “then the wealthiest man in the world.”26 Chiang Kai-shek, his wife, and her brother participated actively in the conference with Roosevelt and Churchill. The five major participants, along with Soong’s Chinese delegates, met to plan victory over the Axis powers in Europe and over the Japanese in Asia; but also “laying the groundwork for a follow-on period of warfare in eastern Asia, in Indochina (1945), Korea (1950), and Indochina (1958).”27

As Prouty has recorded,

During October 1943, I had been directed to fly a ‘Geological Survey Team, under the leadership of Gen. C. R. Smith, founder and president of American Airlines and an 'oil wise' Texan, to Saudi Arabia. Roosevelt had sent that select team into Saudi Arabia to meet with representatives of the
California Standard Oil Company at their remote quarters on Ras Tanura [a city in Saudi Arabia situated on a peninsula in the eastern part of the country]. Following that visit they had been directed to join the President in Cairo. Their glowing report of the 'limitless' quantity of petroleum under the sands of Arabia caused Roosevelt to order the expedited construction of a 50,000-barrel-per-day refinery on that site. It was in operation before the end of 1945. Thus began the modern petroleum era in the midst of war.28

From Cairo, Franklin, Winston, and a Chinese delegation29 flew to the Tehran Conference to meet with Joseph Stalin, Premier of the Soviet Union to “consolidate” their plans for Southeast Asia after WWII. As Prouty related,

The fact that immediately following the Cairo Conference the Chinese delegation was in Teheran for that meeting with Josef Stalin has not been recorded in the history books of this era. This is a most important omission. I was pilot of the plane that flew them there from Cairo. During the sometimes heated exchanges between Roosevelt and Churchill on the subject of “the end of colonialism in Southeast Asia,” plans were made by all four conferees for a period of continuing warfare in Indochina, Korea, and Indochna under the guise of that Cold War “cover story.”30

On May 8, 1945 (V-E Day), Germany agreed to an unconditional surrender. President Harry S. Truman—who had taken over after Roosevelt’s demise, Winston Churchill and, later, Clement Attlee—who had become Prime Minister after his Labour Party had defeated the Conservatives at the polls, and Communist Party General Secretary Joseph Stalin met in Potsdam “to decide how to administer punishments to the defeated Nazi Germany...[establish] post-war order, peace treaty issues, and [how to counter] the effects of the war.”31

Dispersion of ½ of the Okinawa Stockpile

On September 2, 1945, the day of the Japanese surrender, a Vietnamese warrior, flanked on one side by an American O.S.S.32 member and on the other side by an American general, declared Indochina to be independent. In his statements, he asserted that “We hold these truths to be self-evident: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” About one-half of the Okinawa stockpile was forwarded. The attempt over three decades to throw out the French and others from Indochina began.

Another interesting event occurred during this era. As Prouty related,

We flew to Syria, met the freight train from Bucharest, loaded the POWs onto our aircraft, and began the flight back to Cairo. Among the 750 American POWs there were perhaps a hundred Nazi intelligence agents, along with scores of Nazi sympathetic Balkan agents. They had been hidden in this shipment by the OSS to get them out of the way of the Soviet army that had marched into Romania on September 1.

This September 1944 operation was the first major pro-German, anti-Soviet activity of its kind in the Gold War. With OSS assistance, many followed in quick succession, including the escape and carefully planned flight of General Reinhart Gehlen, the German army’s chief intelligence officer, to Washington on September 20, 1945.33

The Other ½ of the Stockpile

Since 1910, the land of Korea had been ruled by the Japanese. In August 1945, as per the Cairo and Tehran agreements, the U.S.S.R. declared war on Japan so that the
U.S.S.R. could join in for the “spoils” of the WWII victory. The other ½ of that enormous stockpile in Okinawa was forwarded to Korea. In accordance with the Cairo and Tehran agreements, Korea was “split” into two sections at the 38th parallel: the U.S.S.R. essentially occupied the north while the U.S. essentially eventually occupied the south. In 1950, the North Koreans crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea. As a proxy war for the Cold War antagonists, the Korean War ensued until its end in 1953.

Another Eruption in Indochina

In about two more years, another proxy war for the Cold War antagonists broke out in Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. And, to keep all of Southeast Asia from “going communists,” the U.S. entered the conflict. Officially, that war dates from 1955 through 1975, although the attempt to throw the French out had begun in 1945. The O.S.S.-stained leader (mentioned above) was born on May 19, 1890, and named Nguyen Sinh Cung. He attended the Communist University of the Toilers of the East and eventually achieved the posts of prime minister and president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He led his people in throwing not only the French but all foreigners out of his country. He died on September 2, 1969, before he could rejoice for victory at the end of the Viet Nam war in 1975. He was known in the West as “Ho Chi Minh.”

Other Involvements

The U.S. was involved in several international efforts toward peace settlements and ending genocide, notably the Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Rwandan incidents. And, of course, the U.S., along with the international community, has attempted to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian difficulties several times. Desert Shield was the elder Bush’s attempt to keep Saddam Hussein in check.

Where, Oh Where Does Your Tax Dollar Go? Oh Where, Oh Where Can They Go?

The American war machine has grown to enormous proportions, as evidenced in the proposed federal budget for 2014: Military (Department of Defense, War, and Nuclear Weapons Programs) = 57%; Veterans’ Benefits =5.5%; Education = 6%; Government = 6%; Housing and Community = 5.5%; Health = 5%; International Affairs = 3.5%; Energy and Environment = 3%; Science = 2.5%; Labor = 2.5%’ Transportation = 2.5%; Food and Agriculture = 1%. 34

Terrorists All Around

Secret meetings of top executives from several oil companies met with different members of Vice-President Cheney’s energy task force on February 14, March 21, March 22, April 12, April 17, and, possibly, at other times. Cheney himself participated in at least one of the meetings. The media and environmentalists were barred from the meeting. As of the end of 2009, the deliberations and decisions reached in those meetings were never revealed publicly by Bush’s White House. 35

And thereby, Bush begat the Iraq War. Vice-President Cheney and the oil clack enthusiastically supported it. Conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan followed. The international “ecosystem of corruption” (Assange’s phrase) and the transforming of America into the domestic/international-security-and-spying state as revealed by Julian Assange, Bradley Manning, Edward Snowden and others was revealed. The privatization of war via Blackwater and other contractors prepared the ground work for Abu Ghrabi, legalized-by-the-White-House torture, and other un-American activities.

Bush appointed Lewis Paul Brenner III, as the authority for “re-building” Iraq. Among many decisions, Brenner, dismissed the governmental authorities and the members of the Iraq army who were predominately Sunni Moslems, the group who had maintained Iraq’s stability for decades. In the positions previously held by the Sunni, Brenner placed Shia Moslems. He, thereby, possibly, set the stage for the later/current Shia-Sunni civil war in northern Iraq and Syria of 2014. Characterizing this decision and others by Brenner, Trudy Rubin asserted that “This slapdash decision-making on critical issues reflects the way the whole war was handled. Bush didn’t ask, Rumsfeld wasn’t interested, U.S. military commanders were ignored, and those with knowledge of Iraq were left out of the loop. Here we have the whole story of the war.”

As A Result/Consequently/Therefore/Henceforth

In light of the debacle of Bush’s Iraq War, a repeat would be absolutely stupid! To gather the forces to stop/destroy (?) the ISIL or to stop/mangle Russia’s intrusion into the Ukraine, the United States must act intelligently in a timely fashion. After all, in today’s conflicted and very inner-connected world, war for the U.S. is not a viable nor sensible nor humane nor responsible option until we have carefully weighed all of the possible options, surveyed all our resources and strategies and tactics, and committed our total will and those of our United Nations partners to vanish the tarnished enemy. The very hard part of such a preparation for such a mighty task is going to be securing the will of the American people, as legally “represented” by the American congress persons, those individuals who are often “allergic to difficult decisions.” In addition, we will need to muster the forces and resources of our allies in the United Nations. And we will need to recruit the sincere cooperation of Arab nations to provide the “boots on the ground” and the rebuilding of Iraq and, possibly, Syria. Then, once we can clearly enumerate our resources, clearly chart our strategies and tactics, and stand united as Americans—the beacon of justice and democracy to/for the world—and secure the resources of our allies in the United Nations—particularly the Arab nations, then, and only then can we, as our friend Joe Biden says, “FOLLOW THEM TO THE GATES OF HELL!”

On the other hand, however, if we cannot clearly enumerate our resources, if we cannot clearly chart our strategies and tactics, and if we cannot stand united as committed Americans with our seriously committed United Nations allies, then in today’s world, war for the U.S. is NOT a viable nor sensible nor humane nor responsible option. In that case, then, as our American Friends say, most seriously, “WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER!”
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2014 Estimated Discretionary Spending, printed foldout received by private correspondence from the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

“Today Show” on CNN television network on the early morning of September 26, 2014.


13 “American War Profiteers in WWI,” op. cit., p. 1. A quick study of the “Profits BEFORE the war” and the “Profits By the End of the War,” as depicted in a chart on p. 1 of this sources can certify for the reader the remarkable profits scored by these companies and other from that war.


19 One of my Viet Nam War buddies explained to me while I sat in disbelief what he had learned while he had been assigned to “protect” a helicopter base. According to him, there was a mercenary unit that constantly monitored by radio the missions of the helicopters. Whenever a helicopter was shot down or just failed to operate and fell to the ground, the mercenary group would get into their private helicopter to go to that war site. As they landed, they "killed anyone who interfered"—“friend” or foe—with their mission. That mission was to retrieve the rotor, the revolving “heart” with the extended blades that whip through the air. Once the rotor had been chopped off of the downed helicopter, the group returned to their base to forward the rotor back to the helicopter company in the U.S. The retrieved rotor could then be re-fashioned into a new helicopter. After all, those old rotors, my friend estimated, was worth over $25,000 each at the time. In 2014 dollars, that amounts to $188,550.97 for each rotor.


21 Member Correspondence from Mary Zerkel, American Friends Service Committee, afsc.org/noF35, pp. 1-4.


23 Samuel Weigley, “10 companies profiting the most from war,” 24/7 Wall St.com, http://www.24/7wallst.com, pp. 1-2.


25 Ibid.

26 Reportedly, the biggest part of his wealth came from “the China trade.” Reportedly, a large part of the Roosevelt wealth had been taken by Roosevelt’s ancestor/s from “the China trade.” Interestingly, while photographs of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at the Tehran Conference were distributed widely, no photographs of the Chinese participants were ever distributed publicly. And the journalists’ records of the meetings—Cairo and Tehran—never mentioned the significant Chinese participation.


28 Ibid.
Amidst all of the internet articles regarding the Cairo Conference and the Tehran Conference, no mention whatsoever was found concerning the presence and influence of Chiang, Mei-Ling, and T.V. Soong. Neither was the identity of the head of the Chinese delegation at Tehran available.

Prouty, *op. cit.*, xxviii.


2014 *Estimated Discretionary Spending*, printed foldout received by private correspondence from the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.


“Did Congress ever declare war on Iraq and if not is it true that we are not in a war?” *Wiki.Amswers.com*, [http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Did_congress_ever_declare_war_on_Iraq_and_it_not_is_it_true_that_we_are_not_in_a_war](http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Did_congress_ever_declare_war_on_Iraq_and_it_not_is_it_true_that_we_are_not_in_a_war), p. 1.


“Paul Bremer.” *Wikipedia*, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Bremer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Bremer), pp. 1-18. Neither Bremer nor any of his staff members has offered an explanation for “the failure to meter the oil shipments [that might have resulted] in some oil smuggling” (p. 9) or for the “official report by Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Stuart Bowen cited by *Time* that $9 billion for the reconstruction of Iraq might have disappeared in fraud, corruption, and other misbehavior.” (p. 10) And, as some may remember, several billions shipped in shrink-wrapped bricks of $100 bills flown over by several giant C-130 Hercules cargo planes were reported as missing during the same time frame.


For this finely fitting title, I am indebted to one of the talking heads on the “Today Show” on CNN television network on the early morning of September 26, 2014.


Message on a bumper sticker sent by private correspondence from the Friends Committee on National Legislation, *op. cit.*
Ethics and Technology:

The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly in the Los Angeles USD iPad Project

Ronald Saltinski
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Abstract

In 2013 the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) committed to providing Apple iPads for 650,000 students at a cost of over $1 billion dollars. In 2014 the program collapsed amid a mired of missteps, unforeseen events, and ethics violations.

The Good

The LAUSD iPad Project had unquestioned good intentions. Early in 2013 LAUSD Superintendent John Deasy said:

“All students should have access to technology. And all students should have access to live digital curriculum. I mean, what we would want for the most privileged students, it’s our obligation to make sure that students who live in circumstances of poverty have exactly that” (National Public Radio interview).

Underlying this closing of the “digital divide” was the instructional concern for preparing students for the impending Common Core Curriculum standards and the California state online testing system (2014-2015).

The LAUSD program to provide over 650,00 students with iPads was formally called the Common Core Technology Project (CCTP). The project would move in several stages until all students, teachers, and administrators possessed iPads for a unified digital learning and management system across the entire school district. Initially, 30,000 students would receive Apple iPads (Phase 1) beginning August 2013. The remaining 530,000 students would receive iPads over a span of 14 months (Phases 2-3). Students could take their iPads home. Each iPad had an $800 price tag that included a protective case and a pre-loaded array of Pearson software based on the Common Core Curriculum adopted by the state of California. A portion of the $30 million included the hiring of 15 facilitators for staff training (about 5000 teachers and aides) and technical support.

The rationale for CCTP was that the depth of such digital technology would “provide an individualized, interactive and information-rich learning environment” for all students (LAUSD Press release). The assumption of such widespread implementation of digital technology was that student test scores reflected in state assessments would increase over time. Hundreds of school districts across the nation shared this assumption integrating iPads and other tablets into their classrooms. The rationale generally was to enhance the learning experiences of students and to potentially raise achievement scores on state assessment tests.

The Bad

Within days of the opening 2013 school year several hundred students (with the aid of Twitter to share the process) at three high school campuses hacked through security walls on their iPads allowing open browsing of the Internet. These actions prompted the administration to halt the “take home” benefit of the iPads. In turn this action halted the use of the instructional software anywhere else but on school grounds. This action thus negated the advantages of digital studies away from school.

It just got worst. Another sudden revelation was that many schools whose students had received iPads were unable to access the Internet because their Wi Fi services were not adequate for the task. For weeks the iPads simply languished in storage racks.
Teachers reported that younger students use of the iPad onscreen keyboard was cumbersome and for older students limiting. Teachers also were reporting that the built-in Pearson instructional software was not functioning as expected. Many students did not have access to the Internet at home and consequently could not access the built-in components of the built-in instructional software. And then iPads began to disappear.

What followed was a “runaway train scenario” (Cuban). By October 2013 the program was placed on hold for a year. In the spring of 2014 LAUSD amidst criticism for using only Apple iPads revised the program to consist of a mix of tablet devices and laptops for 2014-2015. With the exception of “creeping out” the program in certain schools in 2015-2016 the program may not be fully implemented until 2017, if ever.

The Ugly

One immediate concern with the CCTP was academic. Larry Cuban, Stanford University Emeritus Professor said: Given the LAUSD educational rationale for the CCTP was to “provide an individualized, interactive and informative-rich learning environment” for every student, “One would have to assume that such an “environment” would lead to gains in test scores.” But it is an assumption. On what basis, however, will the district determine whether to move to phase 2 of the plan? Again, according to the official press release, the assessment of this first phase “will include feedback … from teachers, students, parents and other key stakeholders.” That’s it. No hard data on how often the devices were used, in what situations, and under what conditions. Nor mention of data on student outcomes” (Cuban).

Professor Cuban’s criticisms of the LAUSD CCTP were in the context of there being no definitive studies of the effect of using digital devices on learning achievement, at least as determined by formal state-wide assessments – anywhere. There were certainly numerous “studies” that did show that digital devices like the iPad did motivate and enhance the learning experiences for students. CCTP provided an unparalleled opportunity for a major quantified research study to determine the impact of digital technology on student learning. In failing to do that LAUSD did not hold to an ethical commitment to provide evidence for all educators to consider the inclusion of digital technology in classrooms.

In September 2014 LAUSD contracted the American Institutes for Research (AIR) to evaluate the past school year for the rollout of CCTP. The survey report showed mixed reactions that reflected more dissatisfaction with planning, especially teacher training and broadband infrastructure, than with the selection of the Apple iPad. Most teacher criticism was directed at Pearson software (Blume). After the purchase of almost 110,000 iPads the report showed that only 30 out of 245 classrooms surveyed actually used the Pearson curriculum. The AIR report not only points out what went wrong with CCTP but makes recommendations for what would constitute a successful CCTP effort undertaken by any school district (AIR). The AIR study was careful to state: “It is important to situate these findings within the research literature on implementation of large-
scale educational technology initiatives. Leveraging technology for transformational change in schools and classrooms requires more than a commitment to purchase and disseminate the equipment” (Penuel, 2006, Valiente, 2010). “Rather, it is a process that unfolds over time through the sustained efforts of district and school leaders and teachers. The evidence suggests successful implementation of technology initiatives requires a cyclical process of systematic planning, implementing and refining processes to foster change in the system” (Center for Technology Implementation, 2013; Fixsen, Naoom, Blase, & Wallace, 2007).

After the initial debacle of the iPad rollout in August 2013 there began a round of criticisms of the LAUSD school board and administration. The focus of concerns was evidence of conflicts of interest and manipulation of the procurement process. In brief the process whereby Apple and Pearson were awarded the billion-dollar contract was less than transparent and deliberately designed such that only those two contractors could qualify. Jaime Aquino, LAUSD deputy superintendent of instruction, a major player in promoting the Common Core Technology Project and championing Apple iPads and Pearson came under ethical scrutiny for his past employment with Pearson. In mid-September 2013 Jaime Aquino resigned from LAUSD.

While Superintendent John Deasy had issues with the LAUSD school board and LAUSD teacher’s union, they were issues not uncommon for any California school district superintendent. John Deasy’s ultimate fate was determined by charges of ethical misconduct related to the LAUSD iPad Project. In the autumn of 2013 it became public that John Deasy owned a substantial number of shares in Apple Corporation and had been compensated for his role in a promotional film for Apple products. On October 16, 2014 John Deasy resigned his position as Los Angeles USD Superintendent.

The administrative repercussions continued when on October 31, 2014, Ron Chandler, Chief of the LAUSD Information Technology Department resigned his position. His resignation came about in addition to the failure of the iPad project, the recent collapse of the school district’s student management system. Student records were maligned and students were enrolled in the wrong classes and in many classes not enrolled in any classes. Applications to colleges and universities for seniors were in jeopardy due to inaccurate student records.

Conclusion

At the heart of the CCTP failure was largely the lack of a professional ethic to insuring that students and teachers could take advantage of digital technology to enhance their learning experiences. There were no grounds for questioning CCTP but there were grounds for questioning the implementation of CCTP. While there were questions about the business end of the CCTP the most pressing questions were how students lost an opportunity to engage digital technology on an even playing field. At fault was a complete failure of astute planning for such a Herculean effort.

Informal surveys of LAUSD classroom teachers reported they had no argument with CCTP but did blame a total failure to prepare for CCTP. Paul Blikstein of Stanford University explained that much of LAUSD’s teacher
negativity is the result of “innovation fatigue.” Blikstein added “Teachers have new ideas thrust upon repeatedly with insufficient support.” “They say: I know what’s going to happen” (Blume).

By November of the 2014 – 2015 school year LAUSD had taken the findings of the American Institutes for Research study and had implemented a far more guarded plan for implementing CCTP. The most important step was to insure the broadband infrastructure was in place, intensify teacher and administrator training, and review the manner in which the Pearson software was provided with digital devices, whether Apple iPads or other tablets.

References


Getting By:
The Educational and Ethical Consequences
of Online University Courses

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Abstract
In this paper we explore the history of distance education programs, examine a
de-facto online program at one university and compare one course in its classroom and
online versions. The purpose of the paper is to understand the rise of distance
education courses and programs, but also to evaluate the nature online courses and the
extent to which new technologies are used to enhance course features like student and
faculty interaction.

Introduction
From 2002 to 2012 the number of students taking at least one distance education
course (usually an online course) grew from 1.6 million to over 7 million (Allen and
Seaman, 2014). This increase is due, in part, to the increase in the number of
institutions offering selected online courses as well as programs offered entirely online.
The rise in the role of online courses and programs in higher education demands that
we better understand its causes and consequences, as well as the nature of most
online courses. In this paper, we outline the history of distance learning, document the
rise in online education, address universities’ interests in promoting online education
and then examine a de-facto online program at one university in the Southwest,
including assessment of the type of instruction typically involved in the courses.

History of Distance Education
Underlying all forms of distance education are the ideas of independent learning
(Saba, 2011) and the expansion of educational opportunity (Watkins, 1991). Since at
least the 1800s, various models of independent learning have existed (e.g. Chautauqua
movement), but the models closest to what we now consider distance education are
correspondence courses that first appeared in the mid-1800s, although it was not until
the 20th century that correspondence courses became commonplace. The first
degrees offered in the United States were by Illinois Wesleyan University and were
designed to allow students who could not attend a regular college to earn their
undergraduate or graduate degrees (Watkins, 1991).

In correspondence courses, the instructor mailed materials to students. Students
read the materials and completed assignments on their own, with communication limited
to mail. Completed assignments were mailed back to the instructor and a grade,
certificate or course credit assigned. These courses depend on a reliable mail system,
widespread literacy, and a demand for education and training (Sumner, 2000). Interaction in a traditional correspondence course was, at best, intermittent due to the
time required to use the postal service to ask and answer questions.

The first significant change in correspondence courses was the introduction of
multimedia components that supported and enhanced the material delivered to students
(Bramble and Panda, 2008). In effect, all correspondence courses allowed for the
delivery of packaged course materials to students, whether through videotaped lectures
or written materials, with no incorporation of real interaction between instructor and
students (Peters, 1994).

The development of modern distance education courses involved innovations in
course delivery, interaction between instructor and students, and communication among
students (Anderson, 2003). With technological innovations, there is the potential for
modern distance education courses to incorporate interaction among a group of
students via the internet. Arguably, the best contemporary examples of distance
education courses involve synchronous and asynchronous online interaction, a feature
largely missing from earlier distance education courses (Hülsmann, 2008). As Hülsmann (2008) points out, however, interaction via the internet, especially synchronous interaction, is expensive and requires one to give up “the central selling point of distance education, its cost-effectiveness” (pg. 251). Nevertheless, the “best” distance education courses often advertise interaction, between professor and student and among students, as one of the course’s benefits.

**Why the Interest in Online Courses?**

The demand that courses be structured to more easily fit into a student’s life is not new. The first correspondence courses were designed for students who could not attend courses on a traditional brick and mortar campus due to financial or family/personal constraints (Edelson and Pittman, 2008; Watkins, 1991). Similarly, today’s distance education students expect that courses will be compatible with their lives (Tallent-Runnels, Thomas, Lan, Cooper, Ahern, Shaw and Liu, 2006). Students who face time constraints appreciate the fact that distance education courses offer flexibility with respect to when and where they complete their work. Some students also save on travel and, sometimes, housing expenses.

Universities often describe their online offerings as reflecting their responsiveness to students and their efforts to expand educational opportunities (Edelson and Pittman, 2008; Troop, 2014), but the cost effectiveness of online courses often is what makes them attractive to universities and state officials. For example, in 2009, the Governor of Texas asked universities to increase their online offerings as part of his effort to reduce the costs to the state and students of funding higher education (Executive Order RP73, 2009). Later, he requested that there be a route to a Bachelor’s degree for $10,000 (Kolowich, 2011) to ensure that students are not locked out of a college education for financial reasons. He called on universities to “leverage Web-based instruction…to reach [the goal]” (Kolowich, 2011). These “cost” issues are often obscured in the rhetoric of “opportunity,” with more public attention given to reducing costs to students (Kiley, 2012) rather than the motivation to reduce the costs of offering a degree for universities. As Hülsmann (2008) argues, no matter what the rhetoric, the primary motivation to offer online courses is to reduce delivery costs (pgs. 233-34). Efforts to offer high quality distance education courses and to deliver courses inexpensively often conflict, leading to compromises either in quality of courses offered or in cost savings.

**Quality and Cost**

Some of the most interesting research on distance education courses and programs explores how to enhance interaction between faculty and students in online courses, both through synchronous “meetings” and through one-on-one interactions via online chats (Winiecki, 2003). To the extent that a course involves little interaction, many students can be taught through one course platform, thus significantly reducing the costs of course delivery and freeing the course from the constraints posed by the physical plant (room size and availability) (Kouri, 2013). In addition to reducing demands on existing classrooms, online courses also can reduce the demand for new classroom buildings (Murphy, 2013).

There are many examples of high quality distance education courses, taught by full-time faculty members, that combine the best aspects of a traditional face-to-face course with the convenience of online delivery, but much less attention is given to the variety of other courses that may be offered (Gabriel, 2010). For online courses to
reduce the costs of course delivery significantly, they must be more efficiently offered than traditional face-to-face courses.

The demand for online courses, both from students seeking convenience and universities seeking to expand their reach or reduce the costs of course delivery, may lead to academically inferior courses being offered. In a traditional face-to-face course a faculty member typically designs the course based on his or her understanding of the subject matter. Technical issues, like the use of audiovisual aids, are less central to the successful delivery of the course because it is based on face-to-face interaction between the faculty member and the students. Faculty who move a course to a distance education format use the same expertise in designing the content but may lack the requisite skills to create an effective online delivery system. For example, faculty setting up online courses may simply make lecture materials available in a printed form online or record lectures, leaving students to learn the material remotely and then complete some kind of online assessment (e.g. a quiz or test), while other courses may incorporate discussion boards requiring students to interact with others in the course (Laws, Howell and Lindsay, 2003). Using new technologies to deliver content rather than to involve students in discussions may be most likely when the demand for distance education courses is great and there are resource constraints that make good course design difficult to achieve.

The literature on distance education is full of descriptions of well-designed courses, but it is not clear that all, or even many, universities exercise quality control of the course design. Even if universities try to exercise quality control, if only with respect to the technical aspects of the course, many faculty might well object to any intrusion into their design of a course, online or otherwise.

One challenge to quality distance education courses is the desire to keep costs down. As argued earlier, an important motivation for distance education courses is the desire to reduce the costs to universities of offering courses and/or programs (Hülsmann, 2008). One way that recurring course costs can be reduced is by employing low-wage “tutors” or instructors for distance education courses. For example, a full-time faculty member may design a course, often with the help of experts in online course construction, but the course may be “taught” by a contract employee or graduate student, if not immediately, perhaps at some point in the life of the course. Thus, the initial cost is not insignificant, but the ongoing costs may be reduced by using inexpensive labor to actually run the course.

Increased interactivity between faculty and student typically is viewed as enhancing instructional quality, but the benefit of this interaction may vary depending on who is interacting with students. Once a course is fully designed, the person hired to “run” it, who may be called a coach, tutor or instructor, may or may not be well-versed in the subject matter. As a result, over time interactivity between students and instructor may decline in quality, compared to what was intended in the original course design. These quality compromises may reflect the tension between the dual demands of offering high quality courses and controlling costs.

**Methodology**

To assess the reality of distance course offerings, we have gathered course syllabi from distance education courses (80% or more of the course offered online) at a public university of approximately 35,000 students in the Southwest (to be called Southwest University). From these course syllabi we developed a degree plan with the
fewest possible credit hours earned in traditional face-to-face classes. By examining
the syllabi of courses in our degree plan, we assess the extent of online interaction
through discussion boards among students and between the instructor and students,
and any synchronous or asynchronous interaction between faculty and students. We
also assess whether examinations and quizzes are proctored, either online or in person.
Our purpose is to describe the everyday reality of online courses and the extent to
which they include the most highly touted components of quality distance education
courses.

In addition to our assessment of the online offerings themselves, we conduct a
more detailed analysis of one social science course offered both in a face-to-face
classroom setting and as a distance education course. All courses in our study were
designed prior to our study and, as a consequence, have not been influenced by the
prospect of our assessment.

Survey of Online Courses

Using the course offerings from 2012 through 2014, we were able to develop a
degree plan in a composite liberal arts program that allows students to develop three
areas of concentration. Courses in this degree plan add up to 124 credit hours, all but 6
of which can be earned through online courses. This degree plan is not within any of the
“online degree completion” programs, and, as such, is one that any student at the
university can pursue. That is, we include only online courses available to all students
at the university, omitting those available only to students in specific “online-only”
programs. In essence, the degree plan we were able to build reflects the ad hoc
cumulation of courses developed to be offered online. The degree plan (Table 1)
includes all courses needed to graduate from Southwest University.

The degree plan in Table 1 was developed using the university-provided course
search program available to all students. We selected courses that could be used to
build a degree plan that would lead to graduation, choosing online courses over those
taken in a traditional classroom when possible. Students in other fields may fulfill a
portion of their degree with online courses, but the composite liberal arts major we
selected allows for the fewest classroom hours. Our purpose in developing the degree
plan is to assess the availability of an online degree within the regular, non-distance
programs offered at Southwest University, as well as to evaluate the nature of online
courses in general. The most interactive online courses commonly are advertised and
lauded for their success in enhancing student engagement, but we are interested in the
online courses that receive little publicity. For the most part, we are interested in
whether and in what ways online courses include requirements for student-to-student
interaction and interaction between students and instructor, as well as the extent to
which a student is ever required to complete work in the presence of electronic or in-
person proctoring.

Although we did not expect to find many courses with intensive interaction and
comprehensive proctoring of student work, we were surprised by how little of each we
found. Table 2 includes information on discussion boards and their use in online
courses. Across the thirty-six online courses we include in our degree plan, discussion
boards are the most common way that instructors gauge student “participation,”
although it is not clear that this type of discussion is equivalent to classroom-based
discussion (Hülsmann, 2008). Of the 64% of courses with online posting requirements,
most require that a student post his or her thoughts about the subject matter or
assigned readings. Many then require that students respond to other students’ posts several times throughout the semester. The online discussions are most often only among students, with no direct input from the professor. For example, there is no apparent role for the professor to play in directing or correcting posts. In addition, online discussions usually contribute only a small percentage of the grade.

A much smaller percentage of courses (5.5% of online courses in our degree plan) have students engage in discussion with the course instructor. Far more common is the expectation that students will engage in online discussions among themselves, and that the instructor will assess whether a student completes the required number or type of posts. In some cases, the quality of the posts is evaluated by the instructor. Across all courses where discussion posts constitute a course requirement, the average percentage of grade determined by discussion posts is 17%, but the range is from 3.3% (20 points out of 600) to 50%. In the two courses where discussion posts are moderated by the instructor, the discussions contribute 25% of the course grade. In the literature on online courses (Swan, 2002) there is discussion of the new technologies that make interaction among students and between instructor and students easier. For example, online live chats could be integrated into online courses. Of the 36 online courses we include in our degree plan only one includes a “live chat” component. During a live chat, students can see each other as well as the instructor through the use of computer cameras and screens. This type of interaction requires scheduling; in our degree plan the instructor who uses the live chat includes that schedule on the syllabus for the course. Live chat sessions are intended to mimic the interaction possible in a classroom and allow those involved in a course to see each other, but they are not a perfect substitute for discussion. For example, online discussions make concurrent speech impossible. Certainly, limiting interruptions may help a speaker make his or her point, but over-talking is a common characteristic of typical in-person classroom discussions (Hülsmann, 2008). The back and forth element of class discussion cannot be replicated in online chats. This makes replication of classroom discussion impossible.

The other benefit of online discussion is that it allows the instructor to better know students taking the class and, possibly, to assess the likelihood that the person completing the work is, in fact, the person with whom they engage in online chat. Certainly, there is no way to know with certainty who is posting to an online discussion board, since any student may share their login information with someone else. Blog posts do, however, allow an instructor to know more about the person posting and to assess the apparent knowledge of course content in more than one way. For example, a student might post to a discussion board and demonstrate little familiarity with course material but perform well on tests. This type of difference in performance might lead an instructor to further assess a student’s performance, (i.e. ask the student to engage in an online discussion), or require proctoring, if academic dishonesty is suspected.

As we see below, few courses include any proctoring of examinations and none include proctoring of quizzes, so the live chat is the only opportunity to ascertain who is actually doing the work for a course (at least the live chat portion) (see Table 3). Unproctored quizzes contribute an average of 14.2% to the final grade in the courses that use them (41.2%).

The lack of proctoring means that the instructor in the course has no way to know who is submitting the work for any particular student. For example, two friends could
each sign up for two of the same courses. To reduce their workload, they could divide
the work and have one person complete the work for both students for one of the
courses and have the other person complete the work for both students for the second
course. Another possibility is that students could hire someone else to complete their
work for an online course. Less formally, a student can get help from roommates or
friends while completing work. Academic dishonesty is not unique to online courses,
but online courses do offer unique opportunities to engage in academic dishonesty
given the lack of proctoring or interaction evidenced by our data (Walker and Townley,
2012). Lanier (2006) finds that students report higher rates of cheating in online
courses (41.1%) than in classroom-based courses (11%), although other researchers
find little research or no support for the view that academic dishonesty is more common
in distance education courses (Baron and Crooks, 2005). At least some of the
conflicting findings can be explained by the type of measures used. Hoyt (2011) finds
that in his experimental design detecting actual cheating the rate was significantly
higher than estimates based on self-reports.

To illustrate the similarities and differences between online and classroom based
courses, we compare one upper-division undergraduate social science course that has
been offered in the classroom and online by two different instructors, with the second
instructor making course “improvements.” Table 4 depicts the basic assignments for
each of the versions of the course and their contribution to the final grade.

Both the classroom course and the online versions of the course address gender
and the role it plays in organizing the contemporary United States, as well as the impact
gender has on individuals’ lives. Both the classroom and online courses have the same
basic readings. In the classroom version of the course, students take three multiple
choice tests in the classroom, whereas in the online version, the course is divided into
substantive sections and, in place of tests, students complete a quiz for each course
section (8 quizzes in total). The format of the tests and quizzes is the same. Other
components of the course are structured more differently.

In the classroom version of the course students complete two projects on gender. For one project, students examine gender as it plays out in toy store layout, color
schemes and types of toys. The second project is a content analysis of magazine ads
and how gender is displayed. For both projects students present their work to the class
and receive a grade (15% of final grade determined by project average). The assigned
projects require students to engage with how gender affects activities in everyday life
and then to present their conclusions in class. The class presentations prompt
spontaneous discussion of the issues, especially since each student has the same
assignment, but may complete it in different ways (e.g., different toy stores or different
magazines).

In the first online version of the course, students were required to post on a blog
for the class as well as to write an online journal. The course was divided into
substantive sections with blog posts, in response to a prompt, and journal entries
required for each section of the course. Students could complete the work on their own
timetable with all work due at the end of the semester. Quizzes contributed 60% of the
course grade, with blog posts and journal entries making up 15% and 25% respectively.

The second version of the online course is different from the first in several ways.
First, there are intermediate due dates during the semester so students cannot wait until
the end of the course to complete their work as they can in the first version, although
they may do the work early and complete the course before the end of the semester. The textbook for the second version of the online course is the same as all versions of the course, and additional readings (academic articles) are required and are on electronic reserve for students to access in the second online course. In the classroom version of the course, additional readings were also assigned throughout the semester. The second version of the online course retains the quizzes, journal and blog entries but weights them differently. In version two of the course, quizzes, journal entries and blog entries each contribute 1/3 of the grade. The increased value placed on blog posts, including responses to other students’ posts and guidelines for what constitutes an excellent post, encourages students to be more involved in blogging. In the second version there also is some effort to reduce the opportunities to engage in academic dishonesty. Quizzes are timed, the students’ browsers are locked during quizzes and students must read and electronically sign the honor code.

Differences between the first version of the online course and the second version reflect instructor sensibility. The instructor for version two (a part-time adjunct) understands the risk of academic dishonesty in online courses. Specifically, she recognizes that students may "get the scoop" from others who had already completed a quiz. However, she minimizes opportunities to look up answers by requiring the locked browsers for quizzes and by limiting time. In spite of her efforts, she recognizes that students could use the textbook, another computer or their phone, or have another person help them during quizzes. In the current version of the course, no plagiarism detection software is used to assess blog and journal entries, although the instructor is considering it for a future semester.

The instructor for version two of the online course has made innovations designed to encourage interactivity. The course is now more "student-friendly." She says,

[ she] incorporated social media into the course (Twitter) in an effort to create a virtual community/classroom...where we can interact together...they can ask questions of their classmates and of me. ...I hope to create ... a sense of community and support beyond Blackboard. I use it as another way to connect to me and the university (I also follow many of the university Twitter accounts, and retweet their happenings, calendars, [and] 'Tweets' to my students.

This is intended to combat the lack of naturally occurring interaction in online courses, and may be a significant leap forward in terms of relatable modes of communication for an increasingly technologically involved student body. The instructor values interaction for engaging students but also to encourage academic integrity. She reports that she

...know[s] from her own experiences as a student that courses where students feel welcomed, engaged, respected, and encouraged create an environment in which one doesn't want to cheat.

In spite of the instructor’s belief in the power of academic community to prevent academic dishonesty, the link has not been established in the research literature. Kennedy et al. (2000) find that faculty believe students will be less likely to cheat in classes where there is interaction between faculty and students, but no rigorous studies confirm this belief. Nevertheless, increased interactivity through the use of online journals and blogs increases students’ engagement and satisfaction with a course, if
only because they are required to interact with and write about course content more frequently (Bolliger and Martindale, 2004; Swan, 2002).

Our case study of this social science course on gender illustrates the extent to which online courses may incorporate technology to enrich the educational experience or construct a basic course where students simply read and are evaluated. In the case of the gender course described here, incorporation of new technologies reflects the skills and desires of the instructor, as does their lack of use in the first version of the course. Our survey of courses at Southwest University reveals that the first version of the course, with limited interaction, is more common than the latter.

Summary and Conclusions

In spite of ample evidence that increased interactivity, via online discussions or live chats, enhances students’ experiences in distance education courses and increases their engagement with course material, our survey of courses at one university shows that, with a few exceptions, distance education courses lack interaction between instructor and student in any form. In fact, just over half of the online courses incorporate discussion and for the vast majority of those the discussion is among only students, with no formal role for the instructor to play, except in evaluation. Only one course of the thirty-six we use in our degree plan involves a live chat via the internet.

Our case study of the social science course on gender demonstrates that, at least in this case, the level of interactivity is up to the instructor or course designer. Thus, in spite of the attention to the possibility of online interactivity, it remains unclear how often instructors make use of the interaction made possible by technology. Indeed, over 40% of respondents in a survey of public and private university officers said they would increase their online offerings as a response to reduced financial support (Green, Jaschik and Lederman, 2012). As universities strive to use online courses as a revenue source, efforts to increase interactivity may become even less common, especially since interactivity costs money in both course design and staffing (Hülsmann, 2008).

Our efforts to develop a degree plan based on distance education courses available to all students at Southwest University demonstrates that students can easily avoid classroom instruction if they choose to do so. As online offerings increase, we may expect to see more students fulfilling degree requirements through online courses. Moreover, financial constraints may limit the extent to which distance education courses make use of the new technologies that foster interaction and engagement. If Chambliss (2014) is correct that what most makes a difference in the lives of students during college is “face-to-face human contact,” online offerings will further undermine such contact. One might even argue that the personal relationships that Chambliss argues contribute to a successful and enriching college experience are unlikely to be formed through online contact alone. When combined with the issue of the quality of course content, challenges to academic integrity, and limited intellectual engagement, distance education courses may create more problems than they solve.
Works Cited


Texas Executive Order RP 73, Relating to a comprehensive review of higher education cost efficiencies. (September 9, 2009)


Valuable research assistance was provided by Jared Te’o.
Table I: Hypothetical Degree Plan in General Studies (Online unless indicated)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University Core Courses</th>
<th>Social Science Concentration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English I (Composition)</td>
<td>Institutional Corrections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English II (Composition)</td>
<td>Criminal Careers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Intro. to Criminal Justice Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US History I</td>
<td>Marital Lifestyles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US History II</td>
<td>Women in Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>Humanities Concentration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and Local Government</td>
<td>Upper-division English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>History of Civilization I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>History of Civilization II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Biology I</td>
<td>Technical Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology Lab</td>
<td>Community Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available Online: Fine Arts</td>
<td>Race and Criminal Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macroeconomics</td>
<td>Human Behavior and Environment I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Literature</td>
<td>Criminology Research Methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Core Credit Hours</strong></td>
<td>Social Work Research Methods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 (41 online)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Electives</th>
<th>Total Credit Hour: Concentrations 45 (all online)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internet Communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Available Online: Speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing for Mass Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microeconomics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introductory Spanish I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology of Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money and Banking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Terminology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work Practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to French</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Elective Credit Hours</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 (32 online)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Discussion Posts, Interaction and Live Chats in Online Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>With other Students</th>
<th>With Instructor Via Live Chat*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discussion</strong></td>
<td>64% (23)</td>
<td>5.5% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Discussion</strong></td>
<td>36% (13)</td>
<td>94.5% (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100% (26)</td>
<td>100% (36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Live chat included talk among students as well as between students and instructor.
### Table 3: Quiz/Test Proctoring of Online Courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Quiz</th>
<th>Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proctored</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online and unproctored</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>(36)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4: Grading Schemes by Course Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Classroom</th>
<th>Online #1</th>
<th>Online #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Value</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of One</td>
<td>Percent of Final Grade</td>
<td>of One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exams</td>
<td>3 28</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blog Posts</td>
<td>- - - 8</td>
<td>1.875 15</td>
<td>- - - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journals</td>
<td>- - - 9</td>
<td>2.8 25</td>
<td>- - - 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects</td>
<td>2 8 16</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>7.5 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quizzes</td>
<td>- - - 8</td>
<td>7.5 60</td>
<td>- - - 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Faith Based Organizations of Sacramento, CA:
Survey Project

Santos Torres, Jr.
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Abstract
Given the large number of religious institutions, such as churches, temples, synagogues, mosques, etc. as well as religiously affiliated organizations and institutions (i.e., Salvation Army, Catholic Social Services, Lutheran Social Services), and finally, secular organizations whose mission statement espouses religious or spiritual precepts as their guiding vision, an empirical study serves to further advance our understanding of the social service spectrum. It is estimated that in Sacramento there are hundreds of faith-based organizations (FBOs), but in a cursory examination of the literature no studies have systematically collected and analyzed empirical data to make an accurate assessment. The range and variety of FBOs is expansive and in need of better understanding relative to the social services they provide. This study explores the wide array of services provided, the organizational structure, and the funding streams of FBOs in Sacramento, CA.

Project Description & Purpose of the Study
This project is a survey study and analysis of faith-based organizations and the social services they deliver to Sacramento, California residents. Faith-based organizations (FBO) refer to “religiously involved organizations [or groups] that could be a church, a religious charity, or simply an unincorporated group based on religious values” (Fritz, J. “What’s the difference between a church and a religious organization?”, n. d.). A quick search of the online yellow pages yields only nine such organizations in Sacramento. When contacting 211-Sacramento regarding a listing of FBOs they indicate that their database and resources do not include information about FBOs (2-1-1Sacramento, n.d.). Day to day practice experience and knowledge, as a professional social worker and educator, I am aware that there are dozens upon dozens, if not, hundreds of such organizations. A cursory review of the literature suggests that no extant research addressing this topic for our area exists. Further, this study focuses on the interrelatedness of secular organizations and FBOs in servicing the community relative to important social problems such as substance abuse and dependency, housing, poverty, education, and employment.

Historically, Charitable Organization Societies, which grew out of traditional religious institutions, are part of the roots of social work. Quite often social work students fulfill degree requirements such as internships in FBOs. The biological-psychological-social-spiritual assessment model is foundational to the assessment, intervention, and evaluation process taught to all students in accredited social work programs in this country. In light of the fiscal challenges facing our society the pattern of secular and non-secular social service organizations working in tandem will continue. Therefore, gaining a better understanding of the services offered by FBOs can aid not only while teaching students in social work and other related social services fields, but also as university programs partner with them for internships, service learning opportunities, and research.

Chief among the focal points of this exploratory study is the identification of services provided, organizational structure, and funding sources of faith-based organizations in Sacramento. A central deliverable of this research once the data gathering is completed will be the creation of a user-friendly and widely disseminated electronic and printed directory of FBOs, as no such directory currently exists but is sorely needed. Also, this project will lend support in holding a FBO summit at CSU, Sacramento as a
collaborative setting where FBO’s, various disciplines from across the university and the community can collaborate in order to increase the efficiency, effectiveness, and evaluation of the social services offered through FBO’s.

The results of this research will serve to inform research-based understanding of FBOs as part of the social services delivery network in Sacramento and beyond. This study will assist policy makers, program planners, and funding organizations in effectively assessing and evaluating the efforts of FBOs.

The Literature

A preliminary review of the literature helps to establish basic themes useful in organizing and guiding this study. The extant literature frames topic areas such as: how FBOs are defined; the relationship between FBOs and the government; the role and function of FBOs in the delivery of social services; and, to some extent FBO program and service efficacy.

FBOs Defined

Faith-based organizations have a long and rich history in the United States, yet a clear definition for what actually constitutes a faith-based organization still seems to be lacking. In the early 20th century faith-based organizations were a subject of study. At that time congregations and places of worship represented this entity. Over the last century, what constitutes a faith-based organization has been defined and redefined by researchers. When attempting to identify and/or compare faith-based organizations three primary areas would be explored (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013, p. 446 - 447):

1) Organizational control – the organization was examined through the existing funding resources, power exercised, and their decision-making processes.
2) Expression of religion – the organization was examined by how they self-identify, the religiosity of participants, and the organization’s outcome measures.
3) Program implementation – the organizations was examined by its selection of services to provide, the integration of religious elements in service delivery, and the voluntary or mandatory participation in specific religious activities.

Many research studies have found that while selection of services may be influenced by religion the delivery of the services was secularized. Over the years, government funding and market forces have been a prevailing secularizing force. This was particularly true in the 1970s relative to institutions of higher education as well as social service organizations that needed federal monies in order to maintain the services they provided.

This historical context has not changed much when attempting to identify a clear and specific definition for faith-based organizations today. The government maintains a vague definition which some believe may be purposeful so as to not exclude a particular organization from resources, whether that be funding or informational (Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, 2007). One definition that seems to apply to a wide array of faith-based organizations is “an organization that has as a core value, religious motivation that expresses itself in service to humanity” (Erb, 2008).

FBOs and the Government
Not only has the definition of FBOs been in a constant state of flux, recently so too has how the government is “redefining what it means to be a partner with the federal government” (Brown, 2013). The PRWOA legislation signed by President Clinton in 1996 began this most recent thrust to encourage and rely on the resources that faith-based organizations bring to community needs. When President George W. Bush instituted the Faith Based Initiative in 2001, heightened attention was given to FBOs and who are they, what are they receiving from the federal government, and what role they play in social services delivery. President Obama signed an executive order in 2009 establishing a new name for the office formerly in charge of the Bush initiative to the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships. The aim of this office was and is to work with individuals and organizations invested in improving their communities regardless of religious beliefs (The White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, 2012; White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships Under George W. Bush, n.d.). This office serves as a resource for faith-based and secular organizations to serve and impact the communities in which they are already connected.

While competitiveness is implied and some research looks at what that might entail, the federal government has attempted to focus on building bridges and ensuring that resources are available to organizations serving those in need throughout our communities. Faith-based organizations are not given an edge when applying for funding, but White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships ensures they have similar access and awareness of funding resources and program information for collaboration and support of their existing programs (Office of the Press Secretary, White House, 2009; The White House Archives, 2007; The White House, n.d.). Therefore, faith-based organizations and secular organizations do compete for funding but no more so than service organizations overall compete for funding and other resources.

Social Services and FBOs

In some of the research reviewed it is reported that clients receiving services provided through faith-based organizations and secular nonprofits had more similarities than dissimilarities (Kissane, 2007). In a Los Angeles research study by Graddy (2006), important differences between faith-based and secular organizations’ provision of services were discovered. FBOs offered more services per their location than other types of providers yet the focus of their services were on food, housing/shelter, and other human services. On the other hand, secular nonprofit and public service providers offered more comprehensive sets of services (human services support as well as counseling, educational assistance, etc.).

Research and FBOs

While some research has been done regarding FBOs this body of literature is still growing. In particular, many of the studies indicate more needs to be done to assess the quality of services rendered by FBOs as well as to determine how to best evaluate and understand the effectiveness of services provided by and sought from FBOs. Additionally, researchers suggest that larger samples need to be a part of the research efforts as to date the number of FBOs considered in the different studies has been relatively small.
Researchers Bielefeld and Cleveland (2013) reviewed the literature regarding religious aspects of FBOs and the scholarly methods of inquiry that have been used to understand them. These same authors wrote an article, which explored specific services provided by FBOs and how they related to the government. The most contentious issue as reported in this study pertained to hiring staff that either do or do not share a similar spiritual outlook to that of the FBO.

Several dissertations have focused on FBOs. One compared a sampling of FBOs receiving government funds to a sampling of FBOs not receiving government funds. The purpose was to see if there were differences in their serving the poor and adherence to ‘separation of church and state’. Another dissertation analyzed information obtained religious leaders view of obstacles to government funding, yet the sample was not representative and was fraught with limitations (Felix, 2011). Yet another dissertation (Kaiser, 2010) looked at the social capital that exists and/or is created through FBOs and the niche they fulfill in community services.

There has been some exploration into the differences between secular organizations and FBOs, but the samples were small and they did not provide a lot of reliability and depth to the existing research. Smith and Teasley (2009) reviewed trends in evaluation research on faith-based programs. They concluded that past efforts have been insufficient in this area of published research and that more extensive efforts will promote the development of evidence-based practice for FBOs. A recent article by Placido and Cecil (2014) examines a needs assessment that was conducted by social workers with a local congregation. Placido and Cecil indicate that social workers who conduct comprehensive needs assessments which encompass best practices “play a critical role in the success” of FBOs.

Research Approach

The research approach taken in this study of FBOs in Sacramento County could be considered mixed method. A survey is used with both closed and open-ended questions as well as a comparison of information found to the literature and Sacramento listings of possible faith-based organizations. The intent of this method is to gather information directly from FBOs in Sacramento, CA regarding the social services they offer, the staff they use, eligibility requirements for services, etc.

The sample will consist of as many faith based organizations in Sacramento, CA as possible. A list of organizations, that have either been identified or self-identified as a faith based organization, is being generated for use in this study. Networking within the faith-based and non-profit community will assist in the development of a list of FBOs for sending the survey. Additionally, those who elect to participate in the survey will be asked to inform any other organizations or entities that are faith-based about the survey and to encourage their participation. Notification to these organizations that invites them to participate in the survey is currently underway.

A letter explaining why the researcher finds the compilation of a Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) of Sacramento, CA Directory an important and useful tool to our community is sent to each invited organization. Since it is not known exactly how many FBOs exist in Sacramento it is difficult to predict how many people/organizations will take part in the survey. However, it is hoped that 100 or more will indeed participate. A possible “inducement” that will be offered, is that participants will be provided a copy of the FBO of Sacramento, CA Directory for use as a resource and/or referral tool.
Information collected is demographic in nature and does not request subjects to divulge any personal or sensitive information. Participants are invited to participate and answer those questions that are pertinent and that they wish to answer. Given the research method and nature of the study, risk to human subjects does not rise to or above the threshold of risk to participants.

**Development of the Survey Instrument**

Utilizing Survey Monkey for collection of data provided the ability to create free, customizable surveys while also providing an instrument with ease of use for respondents. Informed consent is the first part of the survey that respondents will complete. Once respondents go to the web address for the survey, the first screen will be one of informed consent. Respondents will either check “agree” and continue with the survey questions, or “disagree” and then will be thanked for their time and not be asked any of the survey questions.

The survey questions consist of several different categories that will provide a snapshot of the faith-based organizations in Sacramento, CA and the services they provide. Since this is the first survey of its kind in Sacramento, CA and a directory of FBOs in this community does not exist, the identified categories will give relevant information for identification of services, collaboration opportunities, and assessment for additional information and research to be conducted in this area.

The categories of questions include:

- Organizational biography
- History
- Organizational structure/type
- Type of faith-based organization/religious affiliation
- How do they describe what faith-based means
- Type and range of services (i.e., addiction services, food bank, clothes closet, child care, counseling)
- Paid staff/volunteers (number and deployment pattern)
- Funding & Finance
- Operating budget
- Revenue sources
- Charge for services (fee for service, sliding scale, free, etc.)
- Clients Served
- Client population(s) served
- Number of people served annually
- Plan for increase/decrease in services based on need (could be related to current economic conditions or new program configuration)
- Evaluation/Assessment Approach

**Next Steps**

Finally, the plan for moving forward with the research involves finalizing the list of FBO’s to be used in the study, test running the field questions to be used in the survey, and finalizing the construction of a web-based data collection and analysis tool utilizing Survey Monkey, a cloud-based and highly customizable research platform. When the survey is launched the plan is to make it available to the participating FBO’s for a two-month period. Upon the completion of data collection and analysis the results will be
used in the development of the first *Faith Based Organizations of Sacramento, CA Directory*. Plans and resources have already been established to create an online access point to facilitate the widest distribution of the directory.

Venues such as this NSSA Conference provide important opportunities to more broadly disseminate research regarding FBOs. I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to those attending this session and to the NSSA for this opportunity and I hope you have found this session interesting and useful.

**Bibliography**


Community Engagement Experiences:
Creating Authentic Student Learning Spaces

Angela Zarybnicky
Judith J. Ruskamp
Peru State College
Abstract

Creating authentic, meaningful “learning spaces” for teacher education candidates is critical not only to their development of knowledge and skills associated with effective teaching, but also to the development of a “teaching identity.” This research study delineates an approach to creating an authentic learning space, while at the same time addressing the need for future teachers to engage in educational experiences beyond the four walls of the classroom. In this research study, exploration of “teaching and learning” here in the United States and in the Dominican Republic, as well as engaging with the global “community” through service learning experiences, provides for critical reflection on education here and abroad, further development of a teaching identity, and the larger purpose members of society serve in the global community.

According to Ruskamp (2012), Education programs should strive to create cultures of inquiry that provide for critically reflective opportunities for discovering what counts as knowledge in the teaching and learning experience and to allow for the evolution of a teaching identity. In such a culture, prospective teachers are provided with time and space to negotiate what they know with what they are experiencing in the classroom which results in reflective turns that lead to a teaching identity that is nurtured and sustained. This posit fits “hand in glove” with the goal of service learning opportunities and the importance of engagement with the global community. Both experiences contribute to a teacher candidate’s development of a teaching identity—knowing who one is as a teacher and the purpose a teacher can serve in the larger community. In order to nurture a greater understanding of the leadership role students can play in community, development of authentic opportunities for students to engage with society, as well as applying what they have learned in meaningful ways, significantly contributes to the all-important development of knowing and understanding one’s self.

Creation of that authentic learning space included a study tied to a specialized international field experience focused on understanding community development principles and practices in a specific country or countries. This study required research, as well as comparatives regarding the seven key areas of education and teacher preparation as they pertain to established knowledge associated with education and teacher preparation norms in Nebraska and those of the Dominican Republic.

Every country has its dispositional expectations of and requirements for what can be described as “effective education.” In this study, several components were compared between the educational systems of the Dominican Republic and United States, specific to the state of Nebraska. Seven key areas of education and teacher preparation as they pertain to established knowledge associated with education and teacher preparation norms in Nebraska and those of the Dominican Republic were researched. The seven areas are classroom management, collaboration with parents and community, instructional strategies, planning and preparation, foundational knowledge, assessment, and professionalism. The seven key areas were chosen to see how closely education in Nebraska correlates with education in the Dominican Republic. Research questions included the following:

1. How does teacher preparation in the Dominican Republic differ from teacher preparation in the United States?
2. How does classroom instructional practice in the Dominican Republic compared with instructional practices in the United States?

3. What foundational requirements are expected of teachers in the Dominican Republic in comparison with foundational requirements for teachers in the United States?

There were many assumptions made about the educational system in the Dominican Republic. Research indicated that education did not go far beyond the eighth grade in the Dominican Republic. Therefore, the assumption was made that the process of educating youth in the Dominican Republic was significantly different when compared to the United States. Another assumption was that language would be a significant barrier in communication.

*Teen Life in Latin America and the Caribbean* by Richard Lerner provided anecdotal evidence of how children are educated and how families live in the Dominican Republic. The unemployment rate in the Dominican Republic stood at 28% as of March 2014, as stated by a tour guide on my trip. Because of this high rate, several children and teens have to either work or stay at home to care for younger siblings while their parents work. Children who live in rural areas have less of a chance of getting an education because they are needed to complete agrarian tasks to help feed the family. Children in the city usually work small jobs, such as peddlers, shoe shiners, and so on. At a young age, children are also exposed to a high level of sexuality, leading to a high level of prostitution, especially for females, to help pay bills. In Santa Domingo, the capital of the country, young children and young adults can be found selling trinkets and shining shoes. According to Carrasco (2009), 436,000 children and adolescents are working; sixty percent of them worked in an agriculture related field, and sixty-four percent of the young people working were under the age of 14.

Unemployment rates in the United States and in Nebraska are relatively low at 6.2% and 3.6% respectively for July 2014, according to the Nebraska Department of Labor. There are several laws in the United States that regulate employment, especially for young adults and children. Laws regulate the age of employment, the number of hours employees can work in a day, as well as in a week, and the type of jobs a young adult can have. Minimum wage also regulates how much employees are paid by the hour. The statistics and laws about unemployment rates and child labor laws for the Dominican Republic and the United States show the emphasis each country places on continuing education for children.

A child’s education in the Dominican Republic is based on social status because some children must work instead of attend school. Children typically receive a basic education until the age of 14, which is about 8th grade. School is usually a half day, and passing from one grade to the next usually depends on test scores. Schools are scarce, undersupplied, and overcrowded in rural areas. There are some private schools, but children from wealthier families usually attend these schools. In addition to the eight years of basic education, students must complete four years at a secondary school to be able to attend a college or university. The secondary schools in the Dominican Republic are attended by students from wealthier families. These secondary schools prepare students for their career paths after graduation. Most students do not make it to the college or university level.
Armed with the research that said education in the Dominican Republic was not highly valued and that the education system in the Dominican Republic was vastly different from the education system in the United States, first-hand research was sought out to validate the data. Surveys were created and translated into Spanish before the trip to the Dominican Republic. One teacher was interviewed while on the study abroad trip. The teacher did not speak English, so a translator was utilized for communication purposes. The translator was a Peace Corps volunteer from California. Each teacher answered ten questions based on the seven areas of education and teacher preparation. Online surveys were also completed with both parochial and American schools in the Dominican Republic.

Survey and interview data indicate that the teachers in the Dominican Republic taught in ways that are similar to how teacher candidates are prepared in the U.S. For example, teachers in both countries are expected to know how to successfully adapt to differing learning styles of their students; teachers from both countries also use assessment to check for understanding and to see if material needs to be retaught.

Teachers were surveyed about what professional knowledge they needed to become a teacher. In the Dominican Republic, teachers have similar requirements to become a teacher as teachers in the United States, including continuing education— at least 100 hours of field work, and be a specialist in the field they are teaching in. The teachers must also take pedagogical classes. Teachers must also attend professional training throughout the school year to further their education and keep up on educational topics. According to the research, professional development is also a requirement of teachers; twenty-five percent receive professional development once a month, thirteen receive it once a quarter, and fifty percent receive it each semester. Half of the teachers surveyed had professional development at their school.

Teaching techniques and adjusting for diverse learning styles are also similar between the Dominican Republic and Nebraska. Several techniques, such as class participation, group work, and reflection are utilized. Formal and informal settings, a change of classroom setting, and adapting language to the students are all ways to adapt to different learning styles of students both here and in the Dominican Republic.

The discipline and classroom management are also similar between the Dominican Republic and the United States. Discipline is important to create a positive learning environment. In the Dominican Republic, there are often few rules, but they are strictly enforced to keep order in the classroom. The rules and discipline also depend on the age and level of education the students have; the higher the education level and the older the students are, the rules can be less strict because the students are expected to know how to act. Teaching styles can also affect classroom and behavior management; hands-on activities, such as field trips, make the class more dynamic and fun for the students. In the United States, strict rules are often enforced from Kindergarten until graduation from high school. Teachers often must remind students of the rules to deter misbehavior from happening.
While terminology for types of assessment varied between the United States and the Dominican Republic, the assessments themselves are similar according to the survey data. In the United States, teachers call quizzes, reflections, and participation formative assessments, while the teachers in the Dominican Republic call them informal assessments. Teachers in both countries use this type of assessment to gauge if students are obtaining key ideas from the class discussions and lectures and other instructional strategies and are used to check for understanding throughout the units to prepare students for the summative assessment. Summative, or formal, assessments can be traditional, such as paper and pencil tests, to performance-based assessments, such as projects, speeches, debates, and presentations.

Schools in Nebraska and the United States run differently than in the Dominican Republic. In the United States, laws are made on the state and national level concerning education requirements and funding. Students typically start their education during pre-school at the age of three or four. All children and young adults must attend school from Kindergarten to grade twelve, and students are at school for a full day. High schools focus on general education, while giving the students the resources they will need in the work force, such as communication and people skills. In the United States, students are able to drop out of school without parental consent at age eighteen, though students can drop out at an earlier age with parental consent. In Nebraska, the legal age to drop out with parental consent is sixteen. After graduating from high school, most students attend college, technical school, go straight into the workforce, or join the military to learn skills for their career. In the Dominican Republic, most students join the work force after completing their education, and very few attend college.

The agency in charge of education in the Dominican Republic is the Dominican Ministry of Education. The Ministry requires teachers to report students’ grades. According to the surveys, the ministry also requires some teachers (43%) to report what is taught and when, but this is dependent upon the subject taught. National testing is required in the Dominican Republic; eighty-three percent have high stakes testing at the national level while seventeen percent have high stakes testing at the local level. Seventy-five percent of the surveyed teachers have national standards they must align their lessons to while twenty-five percent do not have standards.

In Nebraska, the Department of Education outlines standards for what teachers need to teach throughout the year. The standardized test in Nebraska is the NeSA test, and it is required every year for third through eighth and eleventh grades. Schools are identified as PLAS Schools, or Persistently Low Achieving Schools, after the third year of failing to meet adequate yearly process (AYP). The Nebraska Department of Education (NDE) steps in to remediate and provide assistance.

Concomitantly, a service learning opportunity provided valuable insight about the school system in the Dominican Republic. About thirty-five hours of service learning were completed at a governmentally funded school. The National School of Environment and Natural Resources (La Escuela Nacional de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales) has two campuses; the school was on one campus, and the other campus was a national park built around a waterfall. Service learning hours were completed at the national park, and the activities included planting trees and building a scenic outlook, as well as other environmental projects.
The main focus of the school was the environment; the students were learning about the environment, about farming, and about other ways to save the environment through conservation that is ethical and respectful to nature. Upon graduation, these students have the opportunity to work for the Ministry of Environment in the Dominican Republic. According to a student at the National School of Environment and Natural Resources school, it is “a place that transforms the individual and teaches life lessons that last forever and are useful for any type of work” and it is “located in a strategic location that best facilitates the formation of environmental technicians who work in the protection and conservation of biodiversity of the Dominican Republic.”

A typical school day for the students in this school started at 8:00 am. Up to three subjects are taught before 12:30 pm. In the afternoons, students work on fieldwork, which is assigned to them. For example, one student surveyed was assigned to the composting area and made organic matter with kitchen scraps and leaves.

The enrollment of the school was one hundred students, and there was a long waiting list to get into the school. There was a wide range of ages in the students at the school; the ages of students ranged from seventeen to twenty-six. The students were learning to speak English, so communication was suppressed at times.

The students have a significant amount of interactions with students from diverse cultural backgrounds. There were four students from the Republic of Haiti who attend the school. Other than some minor language barriers, the students have good relationships with each other despite their differing cultures. The students from the Dominican Republic enjoy sharing with the students from Haiti because of the shared border with the country.

The students at the school also have interactions with groups from the United States. A student noted that even though there is not much time spent together, similarities and differences between the groups of students can be seen, and it is beneficial for all students to attempt to communicate with each other through language barriers and work together to get a job done.

Multicultural education is a big component of teaching, no matter where a person is teaching. Teachers in the Dominican Republic, as well as teachers in Nebraska, deal with diversity and multiculturalism on a daily basis. Allowing students to share about their own cultures and increasing intercultural awareness through cultural activities are common for teachers in both places.

Overcoming language barriers was the largest aspect of the study. Communicating with the students was somewhat easy since they were learning to speak English, but communicating with the teachers and other individuals that could not speak English was more difficult. Charades was a popular form of communication. Body language, such as facial expressions, was also an aspect of being able to successfully communicate with the students and teachers.
Language and communication were a key aspects of this research study. Dealing with a language barrier was one of the more significant factors related to being a minority population during the service learning work. In any classroom today, there may be students who are not fluent in speaking or writing in English. This experience alone nurtures one’s own teaching identity in relation to how to interact with students in a classroom who may not speak English at all or only know a little bit of English. There are a plethora of ways I to engage these students in the classroom. For example, pairing the ELL students with other students to help reinforce what is being taught as a form of peer mentoring would be a very useful instructional strategy. Creating different types of assessment and ways to present information to these students could also be utilized. The experience of having a language barrier can teach that while it may be hard to communicate, there are various ways to overcome this barrier if both parties are willing to find common ground and to work together.

After returning from the Dominican Republic, it was important to take time to critically reflect on both the research gathered on teaching and learning and the service learning experience. The research led to assumptions that education did not go far beyond the eighth grade in the Dominican Republic and that the process of education of the youth in the Dominican Republic was significantly different from that of the United States. A need for first hand research to find out why education did not seem to be a priority was needed. Working with students and teachers proved these assumptions to be incorrect because first-hand experience through surveys and interviews about the reality of the educational system in the Dominican Republic proved that initial assumption to be incorrect. Another assumption was that language would be a significant barrier in communication; this assumption held true because the people encountered in the Dominican Republic, minus the translators, were not fluent in English, and a lack of fluency in Spanish proved to make communication difficult.

With the influx of English Language Learners (ELL) students in the United States, it is imperative that teachers be taught how to knowledgably handle language barriers. This will require significant and on-going professional development for teachers in regard to the language issues.

Not only were many aspects of knowledge and skills needed for a future teacher further developed as a result of both the research and service learning experience, but valuable growth was also gained related to the teaching identity. Dealing with a significant language barrier and the opportunity to nurture a better understanding of how an ELL student may feel has extended understanding of “self” in relation to teaching all students. Working through barriers, including language barriers, to complete a job was imperative. The experience also reinforced the importance of a service learning enterprise. Engagement beyond the four walls of a classroom to explore and experience the global community expands one’s ability to empathize, understand, and navigate the diverse classroom. Lastly, a critical new understanding is that while all people are uniquely different, we are more alike than different. As humans, we all have the same basic needs, but these needs are met in different ways depending on a person’s culture and upbringing. Therefore, barriers can be overcome for the sake of working together and to reach common goals and to educate youth.
Bibliography


Nebraska Department of Education Website

