

LUCERNA

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL

LUCERNA

UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL

VOLUME 11

A PUBLICATION BY THE UNIVERSITY OF
MISSOURI-KANSAS CITY HONORS COLLEGE

2015 - 2016
Publication date: January 2017

CONTENTS

Letter from the Editor	6
Editorial Board	8
2015-2016 Officers and Essay Review Board	9

Art History

AIDS and the Artist's Call to Action

Alexander Peuser	10
------------------------	----

Education

The Existence of Racism in High School History Classes

Madison Lackey	23
----------------------	----

History

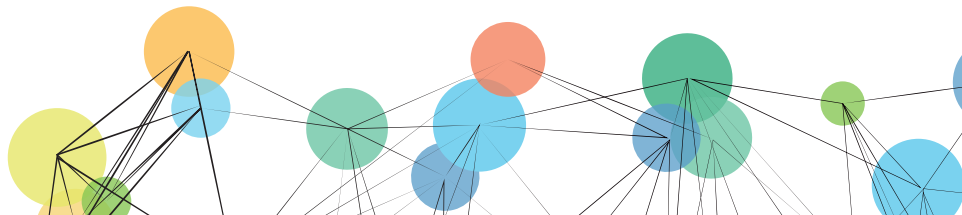
A Family's Trials in Civil War Era Missouri: Unionism, Displacement, and Not-So-Radical Reconstruction

Alexander Tawney	33
------------------------	----

Philosophy

Cinema and the Subjective

Sydney Harvey	44
---------------------	----



Political Science

Geographic Voter Turnout Disparities and Public Health
Nathan Cho 53

Government and NGO Efforts to Suppress Sexual Exploitation
Sarah Smith 79

Science

Shifts of Tonic Arousal Within and Between Tasks that Vary in Cognitive Demand
Olivia Cross 101

Social Sciences

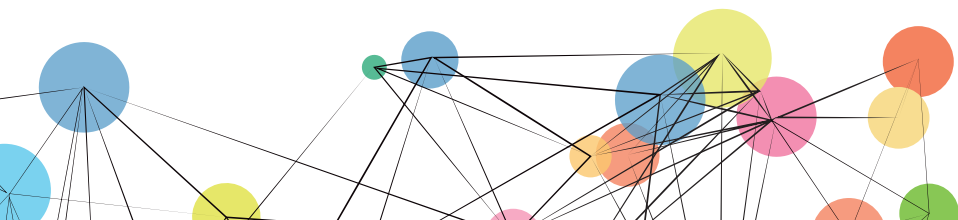
Video Games as Art
Anthony Gilyard 112

Urban Planning/Design

*Race, Language and the Urban Landscape:
On Material Effects of Racialized Identity Formations*
Claire Godfrey 123

What it takes to Age In Place: Services and Social Connections
Yazmin Martinez and Denita Hoard 139

Author Biographies 150



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

The editorial staff and I are very excited to present the eleventh volume of *Lucerna* to you! This volume features the hard work and dedication of eleven undergraduate students. These essays portray students' participation within their field of study, a desire to grow their knowledge through primary and secondary research, and an essence of social justice that resides in several of their topics. The students featured in this volume are hard-working and passionate about their studies. They demand of us to look deeper into their subjects and show us results, implications, and ramifications with which we may be unfamiliar. These students have written interesting and challenging essays that deserve your utmost attention. I hope you enjoy reading the exceptional research presented in this edition.

I would like to thank all of the Honors College faculty who help to guide *Lucerna*, including Dr. Gayle Levy, Dr. Laurie Ellinghausen, and Dr. Stephen Christ. In addition, we would also like to thank Paul Tosh and the Fine Arts students with Egghead Student Design Agency for collaborating with us on the layout and design on yet another volume of *Lucerna*. We also would like to thank Sasha Bingaman, the designer of this year's cover and layout.

I would also like to thank the professors and faculty that have helped each of the authors presented in this volume of *Lucerna*. I would like to recognize their dedication and encouragement to each student writer here at UMKC. For this, I would like to gratefully recognize Nicole Higgins, Dr. Elizabeth Vonnahme, Dr. Joan McDowd, Dr. Diane Mutti-Burke, Dr. Steven Driever, Dr. Theresa Torres, Lance Owen, Dr. Jacob Wagner, Jane Blakeley, Bryan Fox, Dr. Diane Fillion, Dr. Henrietta Rix Wood, Austin Williams, and Dr. Clancy Martin. With your help, the students presented in this volume have been enabled to pursue their passions and inquiries; and your mentorship will be of tremendous value to these students here at UMKC and beyond.

I am incredibly grateful for the faculty and staff in the Honors College and their commitment to the success of this journal. They've provided advice, dedicated their time, and have continuously challenged me in my role as Editor-in-chief. Specifically, I would like to thank Dean Jim McKusick, whose passion for students and engagement in the community has encouraged many students to become more involved, and Nicole Fickel, whose help with the administration aspects of *Lucerna* has been invaluable and incredibly appreciated. I would also like to recognize Breana Boger, Dr. John Herron, Dr. Melissa Rempfer, Dr. Gayle Levy, Dr. Laurie Ellinghausen, Dr. Henrietta Rix Wood, and Dr. Stephen Christ, once more, for their dedication to each individual honors student and their desire to see all of us succeed. Thank you all for being a wonderful support and showing me that anything can be possible by working together.

Finally, authors, congratulations on your work being published in Volume 11 of *Lucerna*! Your work so clearly represents the caliber and creativity of the research that is conducted at UMKC by undergraduates. I know that each one of you will continue to do great things for our community, our country, and perhaps even the world. I hope you continue to pursue what you're passionate about and never stop asking questions.

Sincerely,
Morgan Robertson
2015-2016
Editor-in-Chief

umkclucerna@umkc.edu
<http://honors.umkc.edu/publications/lucerna/>

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief:

Morgan Robertson

Morgan Robertson is a third-year student at UMKC, obtaining a dual degree in foreign languages and literature with an emphasis in French and secondary education with an emphasis in English. Morgan has been involved with *Lucerna* for the three years that she's been at UMKC and she is very grateful for the support and help that she has received while executing the role of Editor-in-chief. Outside of *Lucerna*, Morgan is a student of the UMKC Honors College and volunteers with other honors students at the Ewing Marion Kauffman School. She is also a resident assistant at Oak Street Residence Halls. Outside of UMKC, Morgan enjoys spending time with her husband, exploring new places, and teaching children at her church's Good News Club. She aspires to be an educator of English and French and wishes to get involved in missionary work in the future.

Managing Editor:

Anne Crawford

Anne Crawford is a second-year student at UMKC where she is pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in English and history. She chose to attend UMKC because of its diverse urban community and its dedication to student success. Anne has enjoyed working on *Lucerna* during her two years at UMKC and looks forward to serving as Editor-in-Chief for the next volume of *Lucerna*. After obtaining her Bachelor of Arts from UMKC, Anne hopes to further her studies in graduate school or attend law school. In her free time, Anne loves to travel, go to the theater, and spend time with her two collies.

Spring 2016 Officers:

Morgan Robertson – Editor-in-Chief
Anne Crawford – Managing Editor
Deena Essa – Marketing and Media Coordinator
Tristen Caudle – Treasurer
Lauren Eide – Classroom Announcements Liaison
Leanna Cates – Secretary

Fall 2016 Officers:

Anne Crawford – Editor-in-Chief
Anthony Gilyard – Managing Editor
Deena Essa – Marketing and Media Coordinator
Kamakshi Vaidyanathan – Treasurer
Landon Volkmann – Classroom Announcements Liaison
Ellie Simms – Social Media Chair

Essay Review Board:

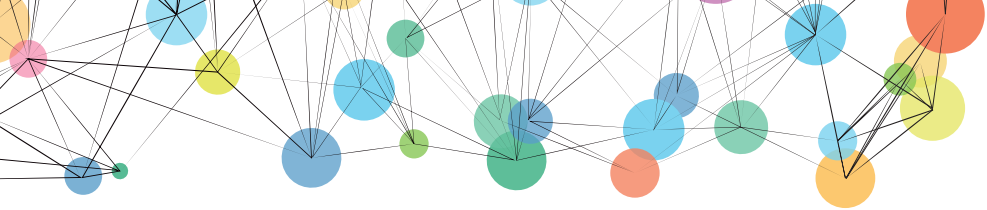
Rebecca Adams
Christia Stein
Tara Simone
Kamakshi Vaidyanathan

Honors College Faculty and Staff:

Dr. James McKusick – Dean of the Honors College
Dr. Gayle Levy – Director/*Lucerna* Advisor
Dr. John Herron – Associate Director
Dr. Henrietta Rix Wood – Associate Teaching Professor
Dr. Stephen Christ – Assistant Teaching Professor/*Lucerna* Advisor
Dr. Laurie Ellinghausen – Faculty Fellow/*Lucerna* Advisor
Dr. Melisa Rempfer – Faculty Fellow
Breana Boger – Academic Advisor
Nicole Fickel – Executive Assistant
Kate Horvat – Office Support Assistant
Beth Hammock – Development Consultant
Anthony Gilyard – Student Assistant
Jacob Smallegan – Graduate Student Intern
Honors Ambassadors: Felix Amparano, Drew Cox, Lauren Eide, Maria Gentry,
Andrea Herron, Ayesha Mahomed, and Namana Rao.

Egghead Student Design Agency:

Prof. Paul Tosh (Faculty Advisor)
Sasha Bingaman (Cover, Layout, and Design)



ALEXANDER PEUSER

AIDS AND THE ARTIST'S CALL TO ACTION

Artists have lent their voices to many activist initiatives, and the AIDS crisis of the 1980s and 1990s was no exception. Largely, the art created during this era was propaganda, though some works were a reflection on living under the iron grip of AIDS. Artists and their work pushed for information and education to be dispersed throughout the community to combat the climate of fear and misinformation surrounding the AIDS crisis. These artists explored what HIV/AIDS is, who lives with AIDS, and who is ready to act up (a common sentiment throughout the musical, *Rent*). Through their work, these activists advocate/ed for a group of people whose voices were largely unheard and chronicle society for the future (Bottinelli).

In 1981, the first reported case of *Pneumocystis carinii* pneumonia (PCP) had been reported in Los Angeles, California. Those affected by PCP were homosexual males, and the etiology of the disease had been associated with sexual contact (“HIV and AIDS United States” 431). PCP is no longer the diagnosis for this disease, which is now called HIV/AIDS. Unfortunately, due to lack of education and funding, much about the disease was left to be discovered. In 1982, “GRID,” or Gay Related Immune Deficiency, ran rampant. By June 1983, “health departments in the United States and Puerto Rico had reported a total of 1,641 cases of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome” (Current Trends, 309). It was not until 1987 that the President at the time, Ronald Reagan, even spoke of AIDS. After thousands of lives had been lost, Reagan publicly addressed the crisis, finally speeding along efforts in education and research. At that point, the change from “GRID” to AIDS was too late and

a stigma had been put into place, thus marginalizing groups of people while decreasing opportunities for support and funding. Aside from the marginalization of those belonging to the gay community, misconceptions surrounding the transmission of HIV/AIDS also ran rampant. This misinformation left the entire community at risk though many believed that HIV/AIDS was confined to the gay community (Nancy Reagan AIDS Crisis). It is because of this lack of education and the silenced voices of those who have lost their battle with AIDS that art has played an integral role in calling for support and memorializing lives lost.

After years of underrepresentation within the media and underfunding by the government, many looked for an outlet for their frustration. After losing numerous friends to AIDS, American lyric baritone William Parker came up with the idea for *The AIDS Quilt Songbook*. The song cycle was a co-organized initiative with *The NAMES AIDS Quilt* which had its start in 1987 (The Names Project). Like the quilt's ongoing additions, the assembly of the song cycle is similar. On July 4th, 1992, *The AIDS Quilt Songbook* premiered at Lincoln Center. This concert was different than any previous AIDS benefit concert, asserts Parker when discussing the songbook with Brian Kellow, columnist for *Opera News*:

The AIDS Quilt Songbook invites people to take risks. Some of the texts are very graphic. They're about taking medication, being sick, throwing up, having to take it over again, the night sweats—the horror of the number of diseases that exist. We're not sugar-coating it and saying, 'Well, we're just having a little difficulty.' We must show some of the rough sides. After all, most songs are about crucial times in our lives—someone has died, someone has left you, you've inherited a lot of money, the boy's gotten the girl. So, why can't we sing about AIDS? (Kellow 42)

The pieces performed (at the concert) were raw and conveyed obstacles faced by those affected by AIDS. Also, many of the composers whose pieces debuted within this cycle were queer. Parker himself was infected with HIV and died less than a year after the premier due to complications from AIDS (Kozinn).

The songbook is a collective response to the disparities faced by many during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Parker's songbook is continually growing with its most recent addition in 2014 (Malafronte). Though the AIDS crisis three decades ago may have ended, there is still work to be done, which is why these additions are crucial. With every addition to the cycle, the issue of AIDS is brought to the forefront through current artists. This allows for the work of the cycle to be continual. While in its infancy, the songbook spoke to local issues while the current edition thinks globally. Today's songbook focuses on HIV/AIDS prevention here in the States as well as places such as Africa where education and resources are scarce. The work being done still sits at the core of what the original songbook intended; now at a larger scale.

Through Parker's work, many were exposed to the hardships that people faced when diagnosed with AIDS. Unfortunately, the original song cycle was not well received by all. Bernard Holland of the *New York Times* attacks the work when he states, "[l]et us say that the quilt and its fashioners created a composite of considerable effect even when individual segments of it were not so successful. Listeners who had hoped to hear important music generated by momentous events were generally disappointed" (Holland). Later in his review, Holland contends that if the listener was looking at the music as a narrative surrounding AIDS, then they were left satisfied. Holland did not see the potential for the cycle or the lasting effect it would have on awareness or the financial support it has provided and continues to provide for HIV/AIDS research (Holland). *The AIDS Quilt Songbook* also provided a medium for discourse surrounding HIV/AIDS. In doing so, conversations that otherwise would not have occurred were started and the impetus for change created (Seesholtz). While at times the audience may have been uncomfortable, it is this discomfort that has allowed for redressive action (Rosen). In times of discomfort, it is important that redressive action occurs. It is the discomfort towards the work that has allowed for such conversations to surround the work and works like it. Comfort or the lack of it allows for the audience to look at the work of others and analyze it through their own lens

to then think about the change they are willing to make. The value of one's work is not determined by the comfort of an audience; however, the impact and reach of one's work can be quantified in these terms.

The cycle as a whole is a memorial to lives lost and lives that will be saved in the future. From a technical perspective, the premier of the cycle was less than perfect, but the imprint that it left on society is lasting. These performers and composers were not asking for acceptance, rather, they demanded acknowledgment by the government as well as the general public. The music by these composers was unapologetic and worked to combat the stigma that surrounds AIDS by presenting a truthful and at times frightening depiction of AIDS through their compositions and performances.

Performance art has been a forum for social change as far back as the tragedies and comedies of Ancient Greece. According to theatrical theorist, Victor Turner, works in the dramatic arts do have the potential to create change. This can be done through a very specific formula that requires the audience to go through "crisis and reintegration" in order to reach redressive and motivated action (Rosen). Turner's formula has provided a framework for later librettists and playwrights, such as Jonathan Larson, to expand upon politicized theater to be an actuator for social change. According to Bertolt Brecht (a German dramatist and director), theatre allows for social change as it forces the audience to relate to a reality that they may not see in their day-to-day lives (Rosen). For example, Brecht may historicize an issue within a play to make it more relatable to an audience.

Jonathan Larson's Pulitzer Prize winning musical *Rent* is one of the most prominent works of theatre focused around the AIDS crisis, second only to Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*. As *Rent* is an easily accessible work, the impact that it had over its record twelve-year run on Broadway is lasting and impactful. *Rent's* popularity has allowed it to promote conversation surrounding HIV/AIDS. Through reproductions and international tours, the musical has developed a large audience. *Rent* connects to a younger generation which has also attributed to its success. Using popular

compositional styles, the score imitates pop music. Based loosely on Puccini's *La Boheme*, *Rent* tells the story of eight struggling individuals living in New York City's Lower East Side. Through captivating and shocking lyrics, Larson lets the audience in on the financial and physical struggle that surrounds AIDS (*Rent*). In a review in the New York Times, *Rent* is praised for its emotional sincerity and raw critique of death and AIDS (Brantley). The genuine quality that is conveyed to the audience is done through Larson's brilliantly set lyrics, dialogue, and the motivation of the actors. Through theatre, Larson and the cast of *Rent* contextualize and give life to the AIDS crisis, an event that many refused to acknowledge. As the characters in *Rent* plead for others to realize, "... actual reality, Act up! [and] Fight AIDS" in the song, "La Vie Boheme," the cast of *Rent* asks the audience to do the same (*Rent*). These tableaux allow for past and present audiences to ponder the AIDS crisis. During its premier, the recency of the AIDS crisis was impetus enough for the audience to spark change.

Now, using Brecht and Turner's theories, *Rent* is seen as a historicized period piece. The distance between the past and present allows for current audiences to criticize current discrepancies and inequalities surrounding HIV/AIDS. This distance is also why *Rent* remains relevant to this day. While preserving a past for the future, Larson created a work that transcends time and maintains an insightful portrayal of the AIDS crisis. Larson's work has allowed for a globalized understanding of HIV/AIDS. Whether it is *The AIDS Quilt Songbook* or the performance of *Rent*, conveying the text to its fullest has allowed for these two contrasting works to have similar impacts and goals surrounding the AIDS crisis. This has also allowed these works to deconstruct the stigma surrounding AIDS. Both works involve music and the portrayal of people living with AIDS. By using music as a medium, both Parker and Larson present a grisly narrative in a nonthreatening manner as music is extremely accessible; however, it is not universal as there is no common or unifying feature of all musical styles. While music is not the universal language, it is universally appreciated throughout time and cultures (Davis et al).

Images can evoke a similar response from the viewer as music does from the listener. At times people are more responsive to images than music due to how pervasive they have become within society (Zugazagoitia). Artists such as the collective of creatives known as Gran Fury used images to call for change and speak up in silence. Of Gran Fury's work, their installation piece *Silence = Death* is one of the most controversial pieces of the era. A pink triangle is centered against a black background with lettering directly below that reads, "SILENCE=DEATH" (Gran Fury). The group reclaimed the pink triangle from the Nazi regime. Then a symbol of isolation and stigmatization, it is now used as a symbol of empowerment and action. This piece has had several different forms. It was once an installation at White Columns Gallery in New York. It was also seen on posters that canvassed New York streets and other major metropolitan areas (Manuscripts). By turning the symbolic nature of the pink triangle in on itself, Gran Fury harnessed the power of images for their own purpose and he fought stigmas that were rooted in the AIDS crisis.

Many ask if art that is the progeny of crisis and activism is, in fact, real art. Columnist for *The New York Times* and author of *The 7 Days of Art Columns, 1988–1990*, Peter Schjeldahl addresses this question and resoundingly states that propaganda is in fact art. Schjeldahl comically points out that debates on "... 'real art' are as sensible as fretting about the paint job on a lifeboat when your ship is sinking" (Schjeldahl 38). Work by artists like Gran Fury are often seen as nothing more than propaganda. This is an unfortunate truth that should not discredit an artist's work. Gran Fury's message is clear and, in any case, got their points across, no matter how brazen their methodologies may have been.

Like *The NAMES AIDS Quilt and Songbook*, Gran Fury's work is partially the work of activism. More specifically, Gran Fury's body of work focuses on the lack of education given to the public about AIDS as well as a harsh commentary of the government's response to the AIDS crisis. The manner in which *NAMES* and Gran Fury work is vastly different; however, their dedication to their cause, the fight against AIDS, is unrelenting. Both groups' pieces are now

used as a catalog of the past that has recorded the hardships faced by previous generations. Their work also serves as a reminder that there is still work to be done nationally and globally when it comes to AIDS, its treatment, and cure. As *Gran Fury* is of the visual arts, it can be aligned with Larson's work *Rent*. Both works use brash images, whether they be a pink triangle or the emaciated body of an AIDS patient (Angel, a character in *Rent*) to embolden the viewer to make some sort of change. Recency in time or how culturally salient a work is affects the impact of a work, as does being able to experience the work firsthand. Since there are actors playing the parts of the characters in *Rent*, it is hard to argue when the points being made are overtly placed in front of the audience. It is hard to avoid the conversation once the subject is presented. *Gran Fury*'s work goes even further in this by asserting that one's silence will lead to death. This image is one that is bound to have an impact as humanity has a propensity to fear death.

Death is common with AIDS but definitely not as common as it was three decades ago. Daniel Goldstein's *Icarian* series serves as a reminder of the destruction that was prevalent during the AIDS crisis (Goldstein). These works, which present ghastly silhouettes of men cast on leather, commemorate the lives of the many people who died during the AIDS crisis. Goldstein notes that there is a theme of "presence of absence" within much of his work (Goldstein). In *Medicine Men*, another series by Goldstein, the artist again plays with this sense of absence by using various prescription bottles associated with AIDS and negative space; Goldstein gives the impression of someone who is no longer there. When asked about his work, Goldstein explained that "any art about AIDS, hopefully, if it works, [is] taking an abstraction and turning it into something. For so many people AIDS is an abstraction" (GoldsteinStudio). Goldstein uses his work as a facilitator for conversation surrounding AIDS in hopes that the conversation will not cease or be hushed as it was decades ago.

In order to keep this proverbial conversation moving forward, entities such as Make Art/Stop AIDS, a product of UCLA's Fowler Museum, have been created. As a part of its initiative, this

organization has created a traveling exhibition under the same name that allows for critical examination of the past, present, and future of AIDS (Fowler Museum et al). Works by Gran Fury and Goldstein can be found in this exhibition. Make Art/Stop AIDS is a unique exhibition as it is a rather comprehensive collection featuring contemporary and period pieces. This gallery features works that are situated around questions such as, "What is AIDS? Who lives, who dies? Why are condoms controversial? Are you afraid to touch? When was the last time you cried? Why a red ribbon? Are you ready to act?" (Fowler Museum et al). By focusing the gallery around these questions, the viewer is able to answer some of their questions while grappling with the complications surrounding their answers (Fowler Museum et al). The exhibition is an extension of the activism among artists that was seen during the AIDS crisis. Along the gallery, Make Art/Stop AIDS serves as a coalition that spreads awareness, creates educational tools, and lobbies for research. These were the goals of many during the AIDS crisis; through art and the arts community, Make Art/Stop AIDS has been able to reach those goals.

As the problem of HIV/AIDS is largely a global issue, the focus of the group is slightly broader than those who were fighting for this community in the 1980s and 1990s. That being said, Make Art/Stop AIDS, takes an active role in storytelling and must look towards the past in order to claim a space in a future that is free of HIV/AIDS. Just as Parker and Larson told stories through song, Make Art/Stop AIDS tells stories through visual art. By including works by Gran Fury and Goldstein, Make Art/Stop AIDS maintains an authenticity to their work that could easily be overlooked. By featuring these artists, Make Art/Stop AIDS has also situated two artists among others and allows the work to serve as a history. The work of Gran Fury was considered to be highly controversial, some would have even considered it inflammatory propaganda. Now Gran Fury's work is seen as less provocative and a reminder of the past. This is highlighted even further when seen among Goldstein's newer works. As Goldstein's work highlights current discrepancies surrounding HIV/AIDS, his art is seen as controversial and thought

provoking. The contrast of the two drives the continued work of activists, past and present, into the future. Furthermore, by including works by Gran Fury, the Fowler museum substantiates Schjeldahl's claim that creative works, no matter their origins, are art. This exhibition is a form of activism that many during the AIDS crisis would not have imagined. Through the exhibition's outreach programs, information and education is being disseminated, furthering the goals of those who worked so hard in previous generations. The art of one generation is now a lasting message for the current generation to fight AIDS and take steps that further the initiatives that were started decades ago.

Art by those who had been affected by AIDS directly is abundant. What is missing is the stories of those who matured during the era of AIDS. D. A. Powell is someone who did that, and his work tells a story about growing up with this ailment, as he himself did, during the AIDS crisis. Powell uses poetry to do this. Poetry seems unpopular as aural and visual artists dominate; it is rare that one hears of poetry or literature in the same category as art. The reason for this is highly subjective, however, the cultural salinity of many poet's and author's creations can work against them. That being said, many artists do not receive recognition until after their death. It is my assertion that society engages with literary art differently than art curated in museums and therefore the differentiation between literature and art is drawn. However, they are one and the same if one broadens the scope of their definition. Poetry, similar to music, allows for the artist to imply meaning without directly stating intent. Poetry has allowed the artists of the AIDS crisis to memorialize their existences in their lines, like epitaphs to a generation that has been forgotten.

Powell, the author of three widely successful collections of poetry chronicling the AIDS crisis, is just one of many artists who have taken it upon themselves to set a record of happenings during this period. Powell's work is unapologetic and at times frightening. As a gay man growing up during this era, Powell provides a lens that is slightly different than many others who had not spent their adolescence under the oppression of the AIDS crisis. Powell's

three collections have been referred to as the “AIDS trilogy.” This is likely an annoyance to Powell as in his own forward he wrote, “This is not a book about AIDS... AIDS will inevitably be touted as one of the cries of the book’s occasion. I do not deny this disease its impact. But I deny its dominion” (Powell, xi).

Though the author himself has denounced his work as a symbol of the AIDS crisis, his verse is undoubtedly tinted by AIDS. In one of his most haunting pieces, “[When you touch down upon this earth. little reindeers],” Powell discusses AIDS and its side effects with little-to-no filter, “I left you tollhouse cookies. you gave me bloody briefs / lipodystrophy neurosthesia neutropenia mild psychosis” (Powell 17). After this jolting transition, Powell goes on to list various side effects of AIDS and the medications involved in rambling and tense lines. The only guessing Powell leaves for the reader is why something as innocent as Christmas memories are paired with something as vile as AIDS. It is the clarity that Powell provides here that allows his work to remain accessible to those with little knowledge of the life and times he is portraying.

In his works as a whole, Powell uses categorical organization that is influenced by the pop culture of the time. In doing so, Powell provides a point of reference for his readers. This allows for his works to be contextualized and situated in the AIDS crisis. While he likely wishes for his works’ clout not to be determined by AIDS, his poems do recount life during that time. Powell provides a voice for the many who have lost their lives to AIDS. As a carrier of the virus himself, Powell is also living on borrowed time, and with this acknowledgement comes a deeper understanding of his work. Since Powell is a member of various communities affected by AIDS, he writes with an experience that cannot be matched.

As a member of the AIDS-affected community, Powell uses his work to memorialize those who lost their lives to AIDS. Powell also uses his work to reflect on the societal norms that stigmatized those afflicted with AIDS as well as the gay community. Art, visual or otherwise, is seen as a history of the time in which it was created. Through clearly crafted verse, Powell speaks for his respective community and allows readers to take ownership of the change

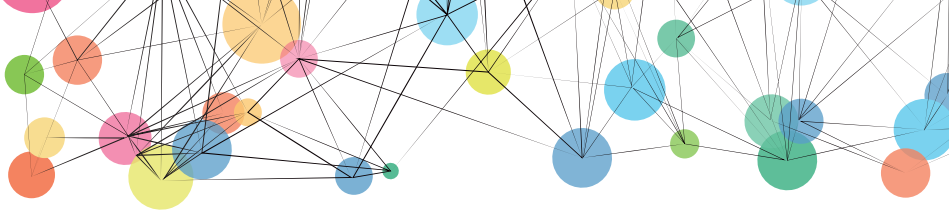
that Powell calls for. His art being slightly different than the typical does not mean that the impact that it carries is any less but rather understanding its impact is slightly different.

Artists throughout history have been keeping record of the societies and communities in which they are members. It is through this record that many artists have called for change and been a voice for those who are marginalized and under-recognized. Art, be it visual, performance, or literary, has the ability to reach across demographics in order to elicit change and educate those who would not otherwise understand certain communities and ideologies. In the case of the AIDS crisis, artists advocated for education and destigmatization of those living with AIDS. Today, their works serve as biographies for those who have died. These works also inform the current generation and are still used in educational programs. It is the longevity of art that has allowed for these pieces, artists, composers, and poets to traverse generations and push for changes in policy and social perceptions. Each artist throughout their own discipline has created a piece that takes part in the collective conversation surrounding HIV/AIDS and has been an actuator for provoking conversation and thought that has sparked changes in ideology and policy.

Works Cited

- Bolcom, William, and William Parker. *The AIDS Quilt Songbook*. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1993.
- Bottinelli, Silvia. "Act Up New York: Activism, Art and the Aids Crisis, 1987–1993: Cambridge, MA." *Art Papers* 34.1 (2010): 44–45. *Art Full Text* (H.W. Wilson).
- Brantley, Ben. "Rock Opera A La 'Boheme' and 'Hair'" Rev. of *RENT*. *The New York Times* Jan. –Feb. 1996.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Current Trends Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) Update United States." *Morbidity & Mortality Weekly Report* 34.24 (1983): 309–11.
- . "HIV and AIDS—United States, 1981–2000." *Morbidity & Mortality Weekly Report* 50.21 (2001): 430–56.
- Gran Fury. *Silence = Death*. 1986. Gran Fury, The New York Public Library, Manuscripts & Archives Division, The New York Public Library Digital Collections. *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*.
- Davis, William B., Kate E. Gfeller, and Michael Thaut. *An Introduction to Music Therapy: Theory and Practice*. 3rd ed. N.p.: American Music Therapy Association, 2008.
- GoldsteinStudio. "'Invisible Man' by Daniel Goldstein." *YouTube* YouTube, 8 July 2010.
- Fowler Museum, et al. "Make Art/Stop AIDS | Fowler Museum at UCLA." *Fowler Museum*
- Kellow, Brian. "Art in the Age of AIDS." *Opera News* 56.17 (1992): 42–43.
- Kozinn, Allan. "William Parker, Baritone, Dies: Specialist in Art Songs Was 49." *The New York Times* 23 Mar. 1993, Obituaries.
- Malafrente, Judith. "Opera News" *An AIDS Quilt Songbook: Sing for Hope* *Opera News*, 1 Apr. 2015.
- Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library. "Silence = Death (Neon sign at White Columns)" *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*.

- The NAMES Project. *The AIDS Memorial Quilt*. 1987. Mixed Media
The National Mall.
- Pollack, Barbara. "Document, Protest, Memorial: AIDS in the Art
World." *ARTnews* 1 May 2014: 60–67.
- Powell, D. A. *Cocktails*. Saint Paul, MN: Graywolf, 2004.
- . Foreword. *Tea*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan UP, 1998. N. xi.
- Public Broadcasting Service. "History of Political Theatre." PBS
Jumpstart Productions, 18 May 2005.
- . "Nancy Reagan and the AIDS Crisis." PBS, 22 Jan. 2010.
- Rent*. By Jonathan Larson. Dir. Michael Greif. Nederlander Theatre,
New York City. 2008.
- Rosen, Eric. "Theatre as Social Change." Anchor 305. 19 Oct. 2015
Miller Nichols Learning Center, University of Missouri
Kansas City, Kansas City.
- Seesholtz, John Clayton. *An Introduction to the AIDS Quilt Songbook
and Its Uncollected Works*. Diss. U of Northern Texas, 2009
Denton: U of Northern Texas, 2009.
- Zugazagoitia, Julián. "Civic and Community Engagement—The
Artist in Society." Anchor 305. 16 Sept. 2015. Miller
Nichols Learning Center, University of Missouri-Kansas
City, Kansas City.



MADISON LACKEY

THE EXISTENCE OF RACISM IN HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY CLASSES

Introduction

In all four years I went to high school, I only had one history class that discussed black history. The textbook talked about the Civil Rights Movement, but did not talk about any other achievements of black people. I did not learn much else about black people for the remainder of my time in high school with the exception of Black History Month. During Black History Month, we usually spent a day or two learning the same basic facts about people, like Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks, who have been taught to us since elementary school. This experience is not uncommon. Many schools use textbooks and curriculum that fail to give students a full representation of black history. Due to the fact that schools and textbooks do not effectively address black history, students will not be fully equipped to address issues of racism once they graduate; furthermore, textbooks contribute to ideas of racial inequalities. High school United States (US) History textbooks perpetuate racial stereotypes, create a black-versus-white mentality, and limit the scope of black history. These problems are caused by America's past issues with racism and need to be fixed by adopting a multicultural approach to the study of history and improving Black History Month.

Perpetuating Stereotypes

Current textbooks use wording that perpetuates negative racial stereotypes. An example of this is the textbook *Nation of Nations*, which is used at a school in Johnson County, Kansas and is published by McGraw Hill, a popular textbook publisher (Davidson). In

the section discussing the sit-in movement, Davidson writes the following sentence: “Angry black students launched massive sit-ins at variety stores in Raleigh” (985–986). This sentence makes it seem as if the black students were trying to be violent and aggressive; however, for the most part the protests were peaceful (Morello). The violence that did occur during the sit-ins was mostly caused by white people who were attacking the black protesters (Morello). At the original sit-in that happened in Greensboro, North Carolina, four students sat quietly at a whites-only counter and refused to move. The police were called but were unable to do anything because no law had been broken (Morello). Even though the sit-ins were intended to be peaceful, *Nation of Nations* does not portray them this way. One stereotype that persists today is that black people are angry and violent. By depicting black students that participated in sit-ins as “angry,” the *Nation of Nations* textbook encourages this stereotype.

Textbooks also sustain the stereotype that black people are not smart. Although most current textbooks do incorporate some black history, they typically only focus on slavery and the Civil Rights Movement. For example, the Kansas Standards for History, Government, and Social Studies only require high school students to learn about reconstruction after the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement; slavery is not even covered. By limiting black history to the Civil Rights Movement, textbooks neglect to discuss many of the contributions that black people have made to science, art, medicine, music, and math. In high school US history classes, Kansas standards only require textbooks to recognize ten black people that did something other than help with the Civil Rights Movement (“Kansas Standards for History”). This makes it seem as if the only significant contributions that black people have made were to advocate for their civil rights.

In addition, these standards teach students that black people are not capable of making other significant contributions to society. Students in Kansas are not required to learn much about other contributions that black people have made (“Kansas Standards for History”). There have been many important black

inventors and politicians that are not discussed in textbooks. Because of the lack of representation of black history in textbooks, black students do not have many black role models to look up to. In history books, students are taught about politicians, inventors, writers, and artists that are white. There are important politicians, inventors, writers, and artists that were black but very few of them are mentioned in high school history textbooks and curriculum. Daniel Hale Williams was a black doctor and one of the first people to successfully perform open heart surgery (Gordon 106). Hiram Revels was the first black man to serve as a senator (Primus 1681). Mae C. Jemison was the first black woman to go to space (Cowens 38). Unfortunately, the standards in Kansas do not require schools to discuss these people. This could give students the impression that black people are not smart enough to accomplish the same things that white people have accomplished.

This stereotype that black people are unintelligent can have negative effects. Because curriculum portrays black students as inferior and unsuccessful, many black students give up on their education early (Zimmerman 48). These students don't try because they believe that they are going to fail no matter what. It also causes black students to struggle with their self-esteem and racial identity. Through studying American history in high school, white students are easily able to understand their racial identity. On the other hand, high school history only focuses on the civil rights aspect of black history. It is difficult for black students to learn about and understand their racial identity from one historical event. As a result, black students feel inferior because school curriculum and textbooks focus on white people (Zimmerman 48).

Black-Versus-White Mentality

Textbooks discuss slavery and the Civil Rights Movement in a way that makes white people and black people seem like enemies. Many textbooks make it seem like the only people that were civil rights leaders were black. Not only does this ignore the civil rights efforts of other groups, but it also over simplifies the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement was not simply a black-versus-white conflict; however, history textbooks portray

it in that way. A study was done by Ashly Woodson in which she interviewed urban high school students about the representation of black history in textbooks (Woodson 57). When asked to name ten civil rights leaders, the students came up with this list: Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, Maya Angelou, Thurgood Marshall, Nelson Mandela, Frederick Douglas, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth (Woodson 60). The researcher then asked what these people have in common and this exchange followed:

Monica: They're all Black

Researcher: They are all Black, you named all Black people.

Jasen: But you said civil rights leaders.

Researcher: Are all civil rights leaders Black?

Xavier: What else would they be? (Woodson 61)

Another student stated that “the textbook is what you supposed to know, so basically, if it’s just us against white people in there, then that’s what history will be to me...” (Woodson 62). It is clear that these students’ textbooks caused them to think that the Civil Rights Movement was simply a conflict between blacks and whites; but, it was more complicated than that. There were white people that helped with the Civil Rights Movement and slavery and this is important to note. Juliette Hampton Morgan was a white woman who lived in Montgomery, Alabama. She wrote several letters opposing segregation. One of her letters, which praised the Montgomery bus boycott, was published in the *Montgomery Advertiser* (Salmond 235). In the state of Kansas, the only white people who are required to be discussed in relation to the Civil Rights Movement are George Wallace and Orval Faubus (“Kansas Standards for History”). George Wallace was the governor of Alabama who was strongly opposed to the Civil Rights Movement and actively tried to stop the efforts of civil rights activists (Bernier). Orval Faubus was the governor of Arkansas who attempted to circumvent the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision by preventing the integration of the first school in Little Rock (Reed 167). This gives the impression that white authorities aim to work against black people who are fighting for equal rights. Such a mindset is

problematic considering that black students will feel like they need to be in conflict with white people and white authorities in order to overcome racism. This is especially troublesome with today's violent conflicts between black people and the police. Textbooks should give the impression that black people and white people should work together in order to end issues of racial injustice.

Restricting and Limiting Black History

One of the main ways schools restrict the teaching of black history is through Black History Month. This limits discussion about the contributions of black people to one month. Black History Month does allow students to get some exposure to black history, but it has unfortunately become a yearly ritual that is often treated as a burden. Furthermore, the Black History Month curriculum, as it is taught today, is largely ineffective. Black History Month was created to promote the celebration of the contributions of black people, but current Black History Month curriculum perpetuates the idea that whites are superior (King & Brown 24). Limiting the study of black history to one month makes it seem unimportant. Students spend most of their time learning about the contributions of white people and a short amount of time learning about black people. In addition, Black History Month has become routine and ritualistic. Many teachers see it as a burden or just another thing that they have to check off their list. Students often hear about the same events and people each year; no new material is presented (King & Brown 25). Black History Month could be an effective tool; however, the way it is currently taught only encourages ideas of racial inferiority.

Another way textbooks limit the teaching of black history is by treating racism like an issue of the past. Textbooks create the impression that racism ended after the Civil Rights Movement. There is so much focus on the achievements that happened during the civil rights era that students do not realize that racial injustice is still an issue. It is important to recognize the progress that has been made, but it is also important to realize that racism still exists today in our society. Textbooks acknowledge that slavery was wrong, but they do not acknowledge the fact that racism still exists

(Hughes 203). If students believe that racism is over, they will have trouble seeing the racism that still exists today. As a result, they will become complacent and neglect to try and fix current racial injustices.

Reasons that Black History is not Adequately Represented in Curriculum

The fact that textbooks do not adequately address black history is directly related to the racism in America's past. Slave owners kept slaves from learning in order to keep them under control. Slaves were not allowed to go to school and most of them were not even allowed to learn how to read. The slave owners knew that if the slaves were educated they would be much more difficult to control and be more likely to form an organized revolt (Hughes 202). Even after the abolition of slavery, education was still used as a form of racial control. Most textbooks at the time contained racial slurs, and either neglected to address slavery or justified it (Zimmerman 56–67). During the Civil Rights Movement, there was a strong push to get rid of the racial issues with textbooks (Hughes 203). There were a few textbooks written right after the Civil Rights Movement that portrayed black history relatively well, however, there has not been much improvement since then (Hughes 203).

Another reason for this issue with the representation of black history comes from the fact that states with a relatively small black population are controlling the way black history is presented in textbooks. Texas and California have a large influence over the material that gets put into textbooks. These states use the same textbook for the entire state, so publishers would lose a big part of their profits if Texas and California stopped buying their textbooks (Watt 11). These two states even paid for some developmental costs in order to change textbook content (Watt 11). Because of this, publishers market their textbooks to these two states, which have a majority of white people. Texas and California have a smaller black population than some other states. The percentage of black people in Texas is 12.5 % and only 6.5% in California as opposed to 26% in Alabama and 31.5% in Georgia (U.S. Census Bureau). California and Texas play a large role in how black history is presented in textbooks

and yet neither of these states has a very large black population. These states with a large amount of control over textbook content and a small black population are likely to omit many achievements that black people have made.

Solutions

There are several solutions to this issue of under-representing black history in textbooks and curriculum. The most effective way to do this would be to integrate black history into textbooks. Some people think that we should use an Afrocentric approach, meaning that schools with a predominantly black population should have textbooks that are mostly about black people (Grant 892). However, this would create a further separation between black and white students. The best solution is a multicultural textbook that talks about many different cultures. This solution will help students see how different groups have interacted and learn the best way accept each other's differences (Grant 894–895). Even though this is the best solution, it will likely be difficult to convince textbook companies to change textbooks in this way. Furthermore, even if textbook companies decided to change their textbooks, it would take a long time for schools to get the new textbooks. Until textbooks are changed there are other things that can be done to improve the way that black history is taught.

A simpler way to improve the representation of black history in schools would be to improve Black History Month. There are some teachers that have successfully used Black History Month as a platform to teach their students (King & Brown). One good way they have done this is by teaching biographies. Students typically learn about the main people that helped end slavery or helped in the Civil Rights Movement, but they don't know much about their lives. Teaching black history by using biographies will give the students a better understanding of what it was like to be black in that time period (Jans-Thomas). By teaching black history through biographies, students will gain a better understanding of the harmful effects of racism and hopefully try to avoid being racist as a result.

Black History Month can also be improved by teaching students about contributions made by black people that were not related to civil rights or slavery. Slavery and the Civil Rights Movement are indeed important; however, it is also important to show that black people have done other important things as well. For black students who are aspiring to be writers, scientists, inventors, or politicians, it is important for them to see that black people have been successful in those fields.

Conclusion

Progress has been made in including black history into textbooks; however, there are still many changes that need to occur. Current high school US history textbooks still use language that perpetuate negative stereotypes about black people. They even create a black-versus-white mentality. Limiting the teaching of black history to the Civil Rights Movement and Black History Month encourages feelings of inferiority among black students. The reason that black history is portrayed this way has to do with America's history with racism and the control that states like California and Texas have over the content of textbooks. The best way to improve the representation of black history in textbooks is to use a multicultural approach. It may not be possible to immediately change textbooks and curriculum, but schools can at least enhance their Black History Month curriculum. Doing so would be one step further towards racial equality.

Works Cited

- "Census.gov" Census.gov. United States Census Bureau, n.d.
- "Kansas Standards for History, Government and Social Studies." *Ksde.org*. Kansas Department of Education, 2013.
- Bernier, Julie. "George Wallace." *Our States: Alabama* (2015): 1. *MasterFILE Premier*.
- Cowens, John. "African American Innovators." *Teaching Pre K-8* 37.5 (2007): 37-38. *Professional Development Collection*.
- Davidson, James West. *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005.
- Gordon, Ralph C. "Daniel Hale Williams: Pioneer Black Surgeon and Educator." *Journal Of Investigative Surgery* 18.3 (2005): 105-106. *Academic Search Complete*.
- Grant, Carl A. "An Essay On Searching For Curriculum And Pedagogy For African American Students: Highlighted Remarks Regarding The Role Of Gender." *American Behavioral Scientist* 51.7 (2008): 885-906. *Academic Search Complete*.
- Hughes, Richard L. "A Hint of Whiteness: History Textbooks and Social Construction of Race in the Wake of the Sixties." *Social Studies* 98.5 (2007): 201-207. *Academic Search Complete*.
- Jans-Thomas, Susie. "Lives and Times: Teaching African American History Through Biography." *Making Connections: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Cultural Diversity* (2011): 65-74. *Academic Search Complete*.
- King, LaGarrett J., and Keffrelyn Brown. "Once a Year to Be Black: Fighting Against Typical Black History Month Pedagogies." *Negro Educational Review* 65.1-4 (2014): 23-43. *Academic Search Complete*.
- Morello, John. "Sit-In Movement." *The American Mosaic: The African American Experience*. ABC-CLIO, 2016.
- Primus, Richard A. "The Riddle of Hiram Revels." *Harvard Law Review* 119.6 (2006): 1681-1734. *Business Source Premier*.

- Reed, Roy. "Orval E. Faubus: Out of Socialism into Realism." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66.2 (2007): 167–180. *America: History and Life with Full Text*.
- Salmond, John. "Journey Toward Justice: Juliette Hampton Morgan and The Montgomery Bus Boycott." *Alabama Review* 60.3 (2007): 235–237. *America: History and Life with Full Text*.
- Watt, Michael G. "Research on the Textbook Publishing Industry in the United States of America." *Online Submission* (2007): ERIC.
- Woodson, Ashley N. "What You Supposed to Know": Urban Black Students' Perspectives on History Textbooks." *Journal of Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research* 11 (2015): 57–65. ERIC.
- Zimmerman, Jonathan. "Brown-Ing the American Textbook: History, Psychology, and the Origins of Modern Multiculturalism." *History of Education Quarterly* 44.1 (2004): 46–69. *Academic Search Complete*.



ALEXANDER TAWNEY

A FAMILY'S TRIALS IN CIVIL WAR ERA MISSOURI: UNIONISM, DISPLACEMENT, AND NOT-SO-RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Much has been written about the vast and violent conflict that was the American Civil War, exploring every social, political, and economic aspect. And this body of literature continues to grow. Scholarship focused on the war in Missouri has appeared more often in recent decades, but much of it concerns the role of Missourians in the Bleeding Kansas conflict prior to the war or on the activities of Confederate-sympathizing guerillas that roamed the state's countryside for much of the Civil War. While civilians enter into some of these more recent narratives as victims, participants, and supporters of guerilla violence, there is something of a historiographical gap in examining the experiences of those who remained loyal to the Union in Missouri. A collection of letters known as the *John A. Mack Collection* offer a valuable and seemingly rare look into the lives of a large, Unionist family in the Ozarks region of Missouri. The letters span from 1861 to 1869 and detail the experiences of various Mack family members in the Union military, as refugees following the early victories of secessionist forces in Missouri and as Radical Republicans in the postwar period. These documents provide valuable resources to analyze how a family of seemingly loyal Unionists became incredibly embittered toward Confederate sympathizers in their home state. The Mack family fought on the Union side during the war and became involved in postwar politics in order to make sure that those who were disloyal to the nation and destructive to their state, were harshly punished. In contrast to their hardline stance on former southern sympathizers, the Macks were not of the same

mind that many Radical Republican politicians were with respect to civil rights, as revealed by the obvious racism toward African-Americans in their letters.

The Mack family's history reads similarly to others who made their way to Missouri in the years between official statehood in 1821 and the beginning of the Civil War 40 years later. According to the 1850 Federal Census, the family patriarch, John A. Mack, was born in Pittsylvania, Virginia in 1807, and his five other siblings were born in Maury County, Tennessee, from 1809–1818 (Tennessee). Records also indicate that John remained in Tennessee until at least 1850. He married in 1829, and five of his sons—Marshall, William, Robert, Rowan, and John Jr.—were born there. However, the family had moved to Greene County, Missouri, sometime between 1850 and 1860, likely settling somewhere near Springfield in the southwest part of the state (Missouri). The majority of the letters in the collection were written after 1860, once the Mack family had settled in some comfort in the Ozarks. According to data from the 1860 US Census, John Sr. listed the value of his real estate and personal property at \$5,000 each, which, if taken at face value, implies the Macks were a family of some wealth, though it appears they did not own any slaves. Two of the Mack brothers—Robert and Osman—attended Christian College in Springfield up until the outbreak of war, which was rare in a time when a college education was only attainable largely by the upper classes (“Macks as Refugees”).

While Missouri decided to remain in the Union following Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860 and the secession of several southern states, the decision was by no means a simple one. A telling example of this can be found in historian Aaron Astor's monograph, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri*. A meeting held in one central Missouri county following the election seemed to decide “with apparent unanimity” that Lincoln's election—in which he won no southern state in the Electoral College—was “a triumph of sectionalism” (Astor 33–34). Despite this, the meeting did not write up a resolution in favor of secession, instead recommending

remaining in the Union and keeping the status quo, which was quite clearly not holding together. A sizable majority of the delegates at the Missouri secession convention would come to the same conclusion, so it was this brand of conservative Unionism that prevailed in the state both during and after the war.

Unfortunately, there is only one letter in the collection written in 1861, and it takes place well before the Macks found themselves displaced from their home later in the year.

In the absence of documentation by the Mack family themselves, the *Community & Conflict* online archive fills in this gap, in part by referencing the letters of a family friend, R.P. Matthews. On August 10, 1861, the Battle of Wilson's Creek was fought near Springfield, Missouri, as the first major engagement west of the Mississippi River during the war. It was a victory for the secessionist forces led by General Sterling Price, forcing Union troops under the command of General Nathaniel Lyon to retreat northeast to the city of Rolla, Missouri. During this retreat, many Unionist civilians feared the coming of the secessionist forces and followed the retreating army, where Matthews happened upon the Mack family and its patriarch, John A. Mack Sr. Despite the anxieties among many of the civilians—including Matthews himself—he wrote of how the eldest Mack intended to move his family from Missouri and return to enlist in the military (“Macks as Refugees”). In an amusing moment, considering the difficult circumstances, Matthews also wrote of how Mack would often say “darn ‘em they haint got men enough in the world to divide this nation, they just aint going to do it” (“Macks as Refugees”). Even in the face of an early Union defeat, John A. Mack expressed doubt about the long-term fortunes of the secessionist and larger Confederate causes, though the worst of the conflict in his home state was yet to come.

Moving forward into 1862, the letters written by the Mack family become more frequent, and a few of the most notable ones were written in the early months of that year. One such letter was written by John A. Mack, dated March 22, 1862. Written from Indianola, Iowa, a town just south of Des Moines, the letter is addressed to one of his sons, Robert B. Mack, and details the hardships faced by the

family during the trip to Iowa. He laments the “rough-ness of the roads which were frozen except one inch upon the surface” and of suffering “much from my side which became very sore and painfull when I cough” (J. Mack). At other points in the letter, John recounts to Robert—who remained in Rolla as a soldier in the Union’s 6th Missouri Cavalry—about various other health issues of the family members present, as well as beseeching Robert and his other sons who have stayed behind to “write often” (J. Mack).

A couple of weeks afterward, Robert received another letter from a brother who had made the trip with their father to Indianola, William L. “Lundy” Mack. Dated April 7, 1862, William wrote of a report that a “rebel Capt some fourteen miles northwest of this place...came into Winterset [Iowa]...accompanied by some twenty armed seamps and hurrahd for Jeff Davis and bid defiance to federal authority” (W. Mack). As a member of the 6th Missouri Cavalry as well, he had received a medical discharge the previous month to aid his family with the move, and hoped to go to Des Moines with a “Mr. Sheppard” to get an order from the “U.S. Marshall for the arrest of these men,” revealing that even when not technically on duty, his desire to prove his loyalty to the Union cause was strong. Similar to his father’s earlier letter, he also tells of the health of some family members, then expresses his desire to return to Missouri, in order to rejoin his battalion and “get some place for the family to live,” presumably referring to his own immediate family. In both of these letters, it is clear that the trip to Iowa made by John, William, and other unnamed extended family members was far from easy, with snow still on the ground and multiple family members facing health issues. Displaced from their Missouri home in the Ozarks, it appears that most of the older men and the women of the family journeyed to Iowa for safety, while at least four of John A. Mack’s sons, John Jr., Robert, Rowan, and Moreau had remained in Missouri with the Union forces. As most family members discussed in the letters concerning the trip to Iowa are not mentioned by name, it is difficult to tell exactly how many of them traveled with John and William. William is also clearly eager to return to Missouri and to hit back at the rebel

forces that displaced his family, as shown by his desire to see the alleged rebels he mentions arrested.

While a significant portion of the larger Mack family fled Missouri due to the advance of a conventional military force, his son William's mention of alleged rebels in Iowa is a reminder of how the fear of guerilla warfare was quite real. Back in Missouri, there had been bands of secessionist guerrillas operating in the state as far back as the Bleeding Kansas conflict. By 1861, the Macks and other families would surely have been aware of their existence. In his monograph, *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*, historian Michael Fellman writes of how in bitterly divided border states like Missouri, "war often assumed a deadly guerilla nature...without formal organization, with almost no division between the civilian and the warrior" (Fellman 23). These guerillas were often indistinguishable among the civilian population, especially in the countryside areas where Union troops held less sway. Utilizing multiple forms of intimidation and violence, including partial hanging, pulling off toenails with pincers, or outright killing people in search of money, food, and other resources, these guerillas wreaked havoc on civilian populations across the state (Fellman 25). Fellman also details how many of the targets of these raids were Unionists. One such example of intimidation came in the form of a note received by twenty perceived Unionists in St. Joseph, Missouri, which threatened that they would be killed if they did not leave within three days. "You voted for Lincoln, and I don't intend any such man to stay in this state," the anonymous note finished. While it was impossible to verify the seriousness of this threat, the reality of guerilla attacks in Missouri provided cause for great anxiety (Fellman 27).

In the remainder of the letters written during wartime in the collection, though, guerilla activity goes nearly unmentioned. The majority of the letters were written to or by family members serving in the Union military in Missouri, often concerning family matters, occasional news about military actions, and updates on life away from home. A letter from the fall of 1863 provides some insight as to the closeness of the Mack family. John wrote to Rowan and his

brothers on October 26, 1863, expressing concern over a recent wound Rowan had incurred in battle. “We received Lundys... and Rowans letters... and were truly glad to hear from you.... Thankfull for Rowans escape from a more dangerous wound or death we will say here that while we like to hear our sons doing Their duty we think that bravery may run into rashness... and while you act with bravery act with prudence” (J. Mack). As a dedicated Unionist, John clearly felt a sense of pride in his sons serving in the military, but this letter reveals a uniquely personal sense of how military families thought realistically about what war was. The stakes were high. With his sons traveling through Missouri and Arkansas—both places with frequent guerilla activity—at various points, the elder Mack was forthright about his desire to see his sons serve honorably, but also to see them return home. Though it seems unlikely that any Macks were involved in any battles or guerilla encounters in early 1862, historian Bruce Nichols does recount one instance involving their unit, the 6th Missouri Cavalry. In *Guerilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862*, Nichols mentions some Confederate cavalry from Texas launching a surprise attack on a part of the 6th Missouri in Barry Country in southwest Missouri, capturing a number of horses and forcing a retreat further south to Cassville, near the border with Arkansas (Nichols 36). This is but one example of what was a long, personal, and bloody conflict, and a reminder of why John A. Mack’s worry for his sons’ safety was far from unfounded, even when they were serving in a state devoid of the large military engagements that defined much of the war farther east. Ultimately, it would not be Rowan or Robert who would lose their lives, but another son, Moreau, a family member mentioned infrequently in the letters of the collection who died of pneumonia in April 1862 (J. Mack).

Moving forward, many letters in the collection were written during the Reconstruction period in Missouri, with one of the most revealing written earlier, by Marshall H. Mack, dated February 25, 1862. In it, he describes his displeasure with the people in Iowa and seems to believe that free blacks in the state are “more thought of than a poor white man by a darned sight” (M. Mack). He goes on

to call the people in Iowa “the most negro worshipping set” along with a larger commentary on the Republican Party, referring to them all as “Abolitionish” (M. Mack). This kind of racial resentment can be found in other letters too and is interesting considering that the Macks would later become involved in politics after the war, which initially were based on efforts to establish basic rights for former slaves. As their harsh opinions on southern sympathizers make clear, the Macks entered the war and the political arena in order to punish those whose loyalties were not with the Union. This would have been in line with the hardline stance many Radical Republicans held, wanting to punish the South and those sympathetic to the Confederate cause. But, as the war became increasingly a war for emancipation, the Macks’ stance on that issue was clearly different, demonstrated early on in Marshall’s 1862 letter. Interestingly, the Macks’ political ambitions were evident as early as the spring of 1864, as indicated by a letter from John on March 21, 1864. Having apparently returned to Missouri by then—the top of the first page indicates Greene County, MO as the place it was sent from—John writes to Rowan about some men who he believed had stolen the family’s horses and mules. They were put on trial for treason, and John writes of serving as “Circuit Attorney” at the time, expressing his outrage at the men being found not guilty because of “Copperheads on the Jury” (J. Mack). It was John’s belief that by letting the alleged thieves off the hook, the object of these Copperheads was to “reinstate them [Copperheads or southern sympathizers] in power..by having a band of horse thieves and house burners and brush whackers if necessary to drive all the Union men out of the country or make them afraid to open their lips” (J. Mack).

Events such as the trial in spring 1864 obviously served only to deepen John and his family’s resentment toward southern sympathizers or even those—like the Copperheads—who were loyal Union men but more conservative and skeptical of the Union war effort on the whole. Following the end of the war in 1865, the Mack family would remain active in politics, carving out a role for themselves in Reconstruction Missouri. Shown by a number of

letters from 1868 and 1869, John remained in politics, serving as a judge and receiving multiple letters from a cousin, Jared E. Smith. They discussed local elections in Greene County, court cases, the influx of Carpet Baggers into the state, and an issue critical to postwar politics, suffrage for black men. A letter from Smith to John, dated September 9, 1868, was mostly about candidates for local elections. At the end, though, Smith makes a request of John, now a judge in Springfield, MO, to “speak to him on the subject for me” concerning his application to be a warden of a prison. He writes that “I think that SW Mo is entitled to some favors,” an acknowledgement of Mack’s political clout in the region and of Smith’s belief that loyal men of the region should be rewarded (Smith). Another letter from January 23, 1869, is an obvious giveaway to the real political sympathies of Smith and, presumably, John Sr. Radical Republicans are referred to as “Radical Cancers” and Smith complains that “it has come to a faulty pass that we in Missouri have got to take Carpet Baggers to fill our offices, and I think that is an insult to the Loyal men of this State” (Smith). In all likelihood, Smith is referring to members of the Democratic Party who he felt had been treated unfairly by the Carpet Baggers, who were a part of the fragile coalition that Republicans tried to assemble to keep power in the former Confederate and border states. While the Mack family and people like Jared E. Smith certainly had no sympathy for former Confederates and secessionists in Missouri, they also had an equal amount of contempt for Radical Republicans who asserted control in the earliest years following the war.

The John A. Mack Collection provides a wide-ranging look at the life of a Unionist family’s variety of experiences during and after the Civil War. Many of the letters between family members and friends make clear their strong loyalties to the Union cause and a desire to punish southern sympathizers after the war. However, other letters also show family members’ outright racism directed at African-Americans and a significant hostility toward Radical Republican governance in Missouri after 1865. As Astor writes in his monograph, “Conservative white Unionists who fought solely to preserve the ‘Union, the Constitution, and the Laws’ found

themselves in a precarious position at the war's end," considering the policies of Radical Republicans were not wholly in line with their own (Astor 5). Conservative, conditional Unionist families like the Macks and others fought hard to "fight the Radical tide that had taken over Missouri in 1865" in numerous ways, though always directly motivated by their shared belief in white supremacy (Astor 5). This may have been depriving African-Americans of the right to vote or any number of basic civil rights protections. Or it may have been assuring the election of Democratic Party members to overthrow Radical Republican control. Either way, the letters in the *John A. Mack Collection* show that, for many in Missouri, support for the Union during the war did not mean support for the radical political agenda that followed its conclusion.

Works Cited

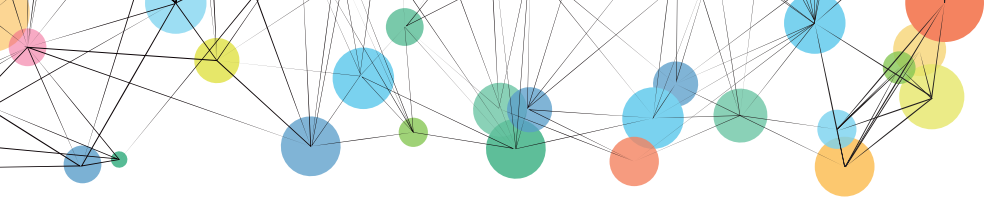
- Astor, Aaron. *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri*. Louisiana State University Press, 2012.
- Curry, Richard O. *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States During Reconstruction*. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969.
- Fellman, Michael. *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War*. Oxford University Press, 1989.
- "Macks as Refugees." *Community and Conflict: The Impact of the Civil War in the Ozarks*. Springfield-Greene County Library District: Springfield, Missouri, 2009.
- Mack, Marshall H. "To Rufus H.C. Mack." 25 Feb. 1862, John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- Mack, John A. "To Robert B. Mack." 22 Mar. 1861. John A. Mack Collection. *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- Mack, John A. "To Robert, Rowan, and Jack Mack." 16 Apr. 1862. John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield-Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- . "To Capt. Rowan E. Mack and brothers." 26 Oct. 1863. John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- . "To Capt. Rowan Mack." 21 Mar. 1864. John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield-Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- Mack, William L. "To Robert B. Mack." 7 Apr. 1862. John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.
- Mack, Marshall H. "To Rufus H.C. Mack." 26 Feb. 1862. John A. Mack Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.

Missouri. Greene County. 1860 US Census, population schedule
Digital images. Ancestry.com.

Nichols, Bruce. *Guerilla Warfare in Civil War Missouri, 1862*
McFarland & Company, 2004.

Smith, Jared E. "To John A. Mack." 23 Jan. 1869. John A. Mack
Collection, *Community & Conflict Archive*, Springfield
Greene County Library District, Springfield, Missouri.

Tennessee. Maury County. 1850 US Census, population schedule.
Digital images. Ancestry.com.



SYDNEY HARVEY

CINEMA AND THE SUBJECTIVE REALITY

Subjectivity is a constant in the human mind; our brains are composed of our memories, which can only be created subjectively. A memory is the re-creation of reality to help our minds understand the world around us and further the progression of our lives. Memory and cinema are identical in form; both are a phenomenon comprised through a series of images. Although they take completely different procedures to exist as memory is cerebral and cinema is the capturing of light to film, memory and cinema are profoundly connected. For example, there is no cinema without memory, because there is no cognitive thought without memory. Moreover, much like memory, the film's sole purpose is to record the past. The indistinguishable similarity between the making of memories and the making of cinema creates a great question. If memories are compiled completely through one person's perception and have a completely subjective outcome, then would film be completely subjective also?

If the world as we know it can only be comprised of what we create from the knowledge of our memories, then it would appear that everything is subjective. Film theorist Andre Bazin would disagree. His sole belief in film was that someday it would "re-create the world in its own image, an image unburdened by the freedom of interpretation of the artist or the irreversibility of time" (Bazin 20). Using Henri Bergson's metaphysics of perception and memories, I will attempt to theorize against the many objective claims that Andre Bazin made about cinema.

Andre Bazin was a great film theorist and critic; he contributed immensely not only to the French new wave movement but also to

cinema as a science. Although he had a knack for reading films, many of his metaphysical claims of cinema were utterly false. Bazin believed that the actual idea of cinema entered the world before there was any empirical evidence of it. He also claimed that objectivity was not only a possibility for cinema, it was the sole goal of film. He believed that film would eventually surpass its ability to merely recreate a similar reality to recreating reality in exact likeness. Whether or not the meaning behind Bazin's theories was literal or metaphorical, he does inspire many interesting metaphysical problems.

My initial encounter with Bazin came about through reading his famous essay *The Myth of Total Cinema*. A short time after that, I was introduced to Bergson's analysis of *The Possible and the Real*. I then recognized that Bazin's claim was quite simply impossible. Bazin states in his essay, "The cinema is an idealistic phenomenon. The concept men had of it existed so to speak fully armed in thief minds, as if in some platonic heaven" (16). Bazin believed that the idea of cinema preceded its existence. Bergson would argue something only becomes possible once it is achieved. Bergson states:

As reality is created as something unforeseeable and new, its image is reflected behind it into the indefinite past; thus it finds that it has from all time been possible, but it is at this precise moment that it begins to have been always possible, and that is why I said that its possibility, which does not precede its reality, will have preceded it once the reality has appeared. (Bergson 279)

The only reason present-day thinkers may claim cinema has been a myth in ancient minds is because we now have the presence of it. This concept makes sense when you consider that 300 years ago the myth of cinema would have been impossible because the concept would be comparing ancient practices to an idea that did not yet exist. We cannot have the myth of cinema without actual cinema itself, which essentially disputes the entire claim. Further, in his essay Bergson gives a great comparison to his idea:

It is as though one were to fancy, in seeing his reflection in the mirror in front of him, that he could have touched it had he stayed behind it. Thus in judging that the possible does not presuppose the real... Pure illusion, one might as well claim that the man in flesh and blood comes from the materialization of his image seen in the mirror. (Bergson 279)

The idea or need for cinema as Bazin claims does not exist before the actual practice of film. It seems that instead of understanding the history of scientific cinema, Bazin is attempting to give reason for the human need to re-create and remember life, which is an entirely different thing altogether.

Bazin believed the science of film will eventually recreate an objective reality, a complete duplicate of the real. The reason we will never have true reality in film has nothing to do with our lack of advancement in science and has everything to do with the actual functioning of the human brain. We cannot recreate objectivity out of a visual outlet that can only be conceived by a mind that processes subjectively. For Bazin, the major flaw in current film is that it is unable to remove the artist's interpretation from its result. On the other hand, Bergson recognizes a flaw in Bazin for wanting to remove the artist at all; he would not see a need or a possible outlet to remove the human mind from the process. Bergson explains the problem with objectivity in *Memory of the Present and False Recognition*:

Our perceptions and our sensations are at once what is clearest in us and most important for us; they note at each moment the changing relation of our body to other bodies; they determine or direct our conduct. Thence our tendency to see in the other psychical facts nothing but perceptions or sensations obscured or diminished. (179)

Thus, Bergson explains that objectivity in the human mind is impossible due to our personal perceptions, which are essential for us to make sense of the physical world. For example, two people in the exact same room looking at the exact same film screen will have a subjective perception of the image shown. This is due to the

basic fact of where they sit in the room since one is closer to the left side of the screen, one is closer to the right, one of the men may be taller than the other, one may be closer to the screen. But if both people were to see the same image objectively, they would need to be in the exact same place with the exact same mind with the exact same perception; doing so would eliminate their personal identity. Even something as simple as our position in space and time can diminish objectivity.

Although Bergson cannot imagine a universal objective reality, he is not completely dismissive of the re-creation of reality; he refers to it as an absolute resurrection of the initial perception through a remembrance perception. Bergson notes, "Those, indeed, among us who resist this tendency, who believe thought to be something other than a play of images, yet have some trouble in persuading themselves that the remembrance of a perception is radically different from the perception itself" (179). Bergson acknowledges that a re-creation of a perception can exist and even refers to it as a play of images, like a roll of film, but he is very clear that the re-creation is not an identical or original creation. The actual film, just like the memory, is a mere re-creation of an actual moment that has passed, it cannot be the actual moment. Bazin believed we actually can create a visual effect where reality can be duplicated in exact likeness.

If Bazin is right, then film, or memory in Bergson's case, must be achieved without sensation or perception, essentially removing the subjective view. This could only be possible if the film or memory rejects the mind entirely and is somehow created simultaneously through the image and stored away. The image, object, or moment would be captured simultaneously even though these elements are conceived as completely different things. Imagine that reality and time are a red string made up of two different strands of thread. As you pull the string apart you get two separate threads, the threads separate equally at the same time and the same length. However, it is clear that there are two separate threads. If we then take this metaphor and reflect it into Bazin's theory of cinema, the string is still present reality in time. As you pull the threads apart, one

thread is the filmed footage and the other is the continued actual moment; they are “being created” at the same time. As they are pulled apart, one thread disappears and the other continues to grow. If we consider the metaphor through Bergson’s analysis of “memory and time,” we see that there is only one actual string and that string is being dragged next to a mirror. The mirror shows the exact same red string but it is only an illusion of the red string, it is merely virtual. There is a string and a mirror image of the string and that is all.

In Bazin’s theory, he makes the mistake of believing that there are two threads separate in time and space but equal in dimensions and value and numerically the same. This is not so; film needs a reality separate from itself to exist. Bergson reflects on this theory in his essay:

The object can be touched as well as seen; acts on us as we on it; is pregnant with the possible actions; it is actual. The image is virtual, and though it resembles the object, it is incapable of doing what the object does. Our actual existence then, whilst it is unrolled in time, duplicates itself all along with a virtual existence, a mirror-image. (181)

But just because it reflects that reality does not make it equal. Bergson further proves his point when he breaks down the most important features of an object and relates it back to its virtual image, demonstrating the apparent differences.

An object and identical image could only be possible if the film or memory reject the mind entirely and is somehow created simultaneously through the object and stored away. In this case, the obtainment must be through an operation on the image or memory and not the mind. However, something must be changing to produce this image because it is not the first image but a new remembered image. The image will be able to re-create reality without altering its meaning or diminishing its value. Bergson then goes through a process of reasoning to determine what exactly this operation could be and how it is actually creating a weaker image. Bergson realizes that the quality between the actual object and the visual image

cannot be altered because the sole purpose of memory or film is to represent the past to us without altering it. The quantity may not change either, for the image consists of a certain number of parts with a certain degree or force. Bergson then reaches the conclusion that the operation in which the remembrance is being affected is the actual intensity of the image, memory, or film. Moreover, because this intensity is not increasing, it must be reducing. Bergson states, "Such is the instinctive, scarcely conscious dialectic by which we are led, from elimination to elimination, to see in the remembrance an enfeeblement of the image." (180). When we see an object in reality it is clear and full of natural existence.

When an image is taken of an object, the image loses intensity just like watering down a drink. The object's image gets diluted the further it is from the actual moment. For example, if I were to look at an apple at 2:40 p.m. on Saturday, November 19, 2015, in my kitchen and at that exact same moment I was filming the same apple, Bergson believed there is a fundamentally different element of intensity between my immediate view of the apple and my viewing the apple later through my camera or my memory. When we consider the element of intensity on the object, we know that the intensity will not grow after the moment has gone because there is no moment to feed off of. Intensity must either grow or diminish, it cannot stay idle, especially when considering a moment in time concerning one object. So, the memory or film may be able to re-create the object through quality and quantity, but it will always fail to meet the exact intensity of that moment. This argument becomes even stronger when considering the subjective view of each human being.

Bazin refers to film as "The preservation of life by a representation of life" (9), but ignores a huge flaw in his argument: personal human perspective. Something as simple as the time of day you witness a film can disturb your point of view of the footage. Even if it is "reality based," it is viewed outside of the time of its actual existence, which changes the way you view the image. Bergson attempts to explain how memories or, in our case film, have no choice but must be affected by subjective view in *Memory*

of the Present and False Recognition. “I have attempted to prove that the various memories are indeed localized in the brain, in the meaning that the brain possesses for each category of memory- images a special contrivance whose purpose is to convert the pure memory into a nascent perception or image” (Bergson 176). This is why film can only be subjective. Every image presented in a film reflects in the mind like a memory. We have a preconceived perception of every single object in the film, unless of course it is something we have never seen anything like in our lives. This is exactly what the film should hope for; we need our memories to guide us through the film.

Bergson goes on, “but if we go even further than this, and suppose every recollection to be localized in the matter of the brain, we are simply translating undoubted psychological facts into very questionable anatomical language, and we end in consequences which are contradicted by observation” (176). We have a preconceived notion of what we are currently observing and those preconceived notions allow us the freedom to recognize our surroundings and then progress. Consider how you would function without any way of forming memory. You could not function since you would be immobile. We need the past in order to comprehend our future, and each memory is subjective, even “facts” are linked with perceptions. Bergson continues:

The formation of memory is never posterior to the formation of perception; it is contemporaneous with it. Step by step as perception is created, the memory of it is projected beside it, as the shadow falls beside the body. But, in the normal condition, there is no consciousness of it, just as we should be unconscious of our shadow were our eyes to throw light on it each time they turn in that direction. (177)

Every memory you have is connected to a perception or a subjective view; there is no getting away from it. For example, when I look at an apple, I don't simply see the apple as an object. I see a nutritious snack because I have been told that the object of an apple can be eaten and will provide me with energy. Bergson believed

that our mind works by fluctuating through the consciousness and the unconsciousness. He states in *Memory of the Present and False Recognition* “the transition from one to the other is so continuous, the limit between the two states so little marked, that we have no right to suppose a radical difference of nature between them” (176). In order for our brains to decipher the next image of a film, the current image must be pushed into the unconscious mind and formed into a memory. This is also where the perception is formed, and then the image will constantly float back between the two levels of consciousness to give a “clue” of what we are watching.

For Henri Bergson, the precise reason why film will never reach strict objectivity is due to the subjective view of the human mind. There is no way to guarantee that the object you reflect on a screen will be conceived by each audience member with the same effect. Furthermore, there is no possible way to express the intensity a person felt at the exact moment when the object appears on the screen. In order to do this, the film would have to take into account the change of historical views and personal growth. The human concept of time is divided into three categories: this exact instant, everything else that we remember in order to progress, and the future. Film has as much of a chance to duplicate the present moment as it does in filming the future; it will never create a perfect exact re-creation of reality because once that reality has formed, it can never truly form again. All we can hope to achieve is a very close mirror image, but the recollection is completely virtual. One can only be removed from subjectivity by removing oneself from the human mind, which would then remove them from existence. Our inability to re-create objective reality is a reminder of how valuable time and our human existence is.

Works Cited

- Bazin, Andre. "The Myth of Total Cinema." *What is Cinema*
Translated by Hugh Gray, vol 1, University of California
Press, 1967.
- Bergson, Henri, Keith Ansell-Pearson, and John Mullarkey. *Henri
Bergson: Key Writings*. Continuum, 2002.



NATHAN CHO

GEOGRAPHIC VOTER TURNOUT DISPARITIES AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Introduction

A black teenager named Michael Brown is shot by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. The inferno of media surrounding the city begins to explain the shooting. At first, they are concerned with specifics of the case, but eventually a consensus is reached that the shooting was a spark that set ablaze a tinderbox of long-simmering racial tension fed by institutional discrimination. One year prior, white Americans were three times more likely to vote than people of color in the 2013 Ferguson municipal election (Schaffner, Erve, & LaRaja, 2014). The result of this voting disparity is that even though Ferguson is 67% black, the mayor and five out of six city council members were white, creating significant underrepresentation of disadvantaged groups (Schaffner, Erve, & LaRaja, 2014). These officials were in charge of creating the leadership of the police force and contributed to a culture that was entirely divorced from their citizenry. The shooting ignited such a controversy because it highlighted racial power inequalities. The people in charge of local power structures did not represent the broader population, an unfortunately normal occurrence.

It is telling that it took the massively high profile shooting of Michael Brown for the issue of local underrepresentation to receive even a modicum of attention. Traditional discussions of voter turnout and voter representation overwhelmingly focus on national politics at the expense of local governance (Hajnal & Trounstone, 2005). The result of this is that academic literature on local politics is surprisingly sparse and that problems with local

government become invisible issues. Most of the time local voter turnout by race is not even tracked, with the last comprehensive database being published in 1986 (Hajnal & Trounstein, 2005). Voter turnout is uniquely declining on the local level, resulting in a significant racial, ageist, and conservative skew. This is due to a common misconception about the importance of local governments, low visibility of local elections, and difficulties voting. Local voter turnout disparities are detrimental because local governments have the biggest influence on daily life and the toxic national political environment. Chronic non-voting also denies major social and health benefits to potential voters. These issues can be solved by promoting electoral concurrency, early or weekend voting, automatic voter registration, and personal contact.

Problem statement

The principal of 'one person, one vote' is fundamental to the proper functioning of democracy, a system where everyone gets to vote, either directly in referendums or initiatives, or indirectly for candidate representation. If government is intended to be a method of group problem-solving, then difficulties participating in government represent a serious issue that has implications on every facet of society. Millions of Americans are unable to vote. Many of these Americans already occupy positions of social disadvantage; they are the ones who need the most change and help, yet cannot mobilize themselves to access the political sphere. This results in the denial of significant social, political, and economic opportunities. Historically, the nonwhite population has trailed significantly behind non-Hispanic whites in voter turnout rates and in measures of political power (Black, 2014). Turnout deficit is a problem that continues to plague communities of color and class. This paper will explore why certain geographies have significant disparities in health and other metrics due to segregation by social advantage.

The lowest life expectant (LLE) zip codes in Kansas City all share a border with at least one other low life expectant zip code, indicating a geographic concentration of inequality. High life expectant (HLE) zip codes tend to be sited near each other, indicating the converse,

a geographic concentration of resources (see Figure 1). There are significant disparities between HLE and LLE zip codes. According to 2012 estimates produced by American Community Survey data, HLE zip codes have a sixth of the nonwhite percentage, triple the per capita income, five times lower poverty rate, and a quarter of the unemployment rate over LLE zip codes. HLE zip codes also have five times the percent with at least a college education, triple the rate of health insurance, a quarter of the vacancy rate, and five times the household percentage of having at least one car over LLE zip codes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) (see Figures 2, 3, and 4).

Figure 1: Life expectancy by zip code

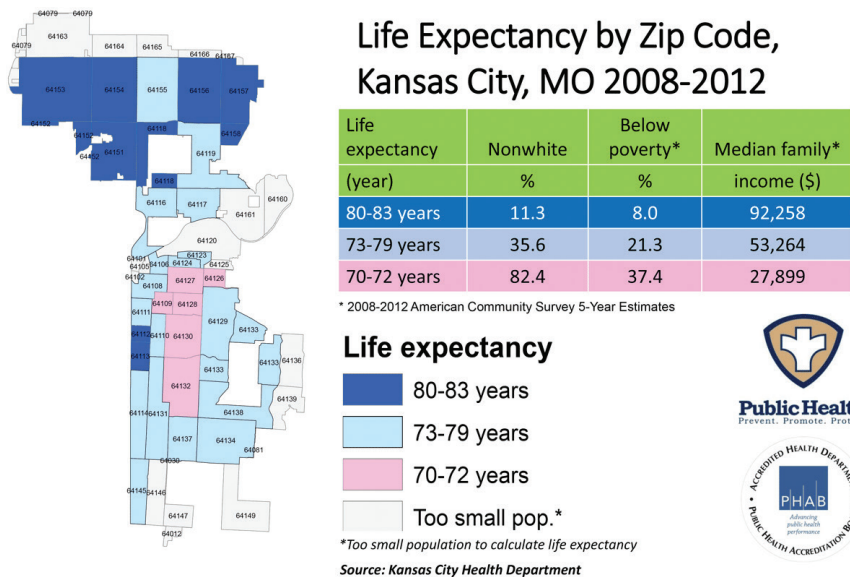


Figure 2: Income by zip code life expectancy

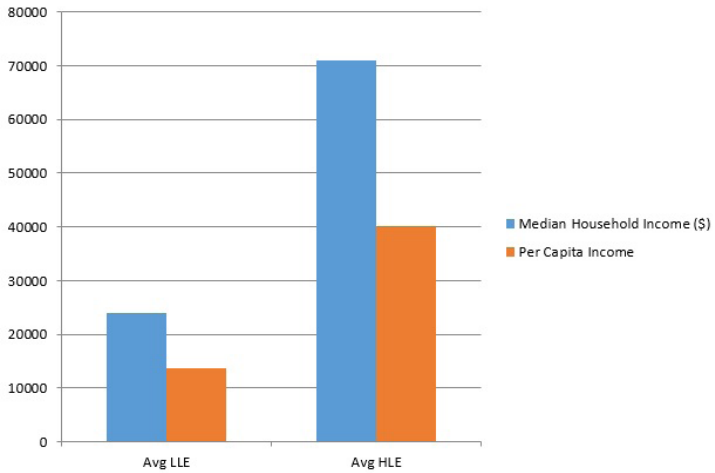


Figure 3: Race by zip code life expectancy

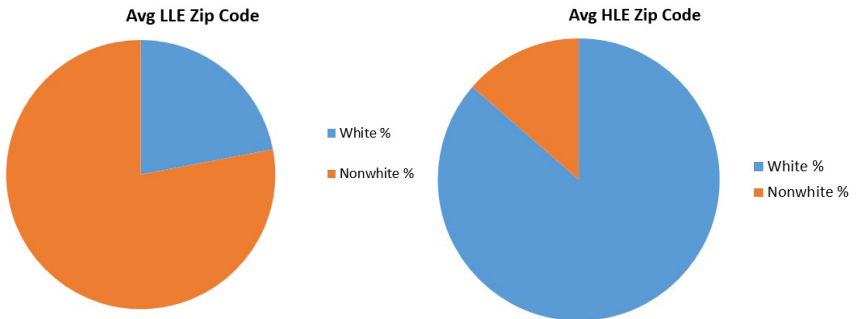
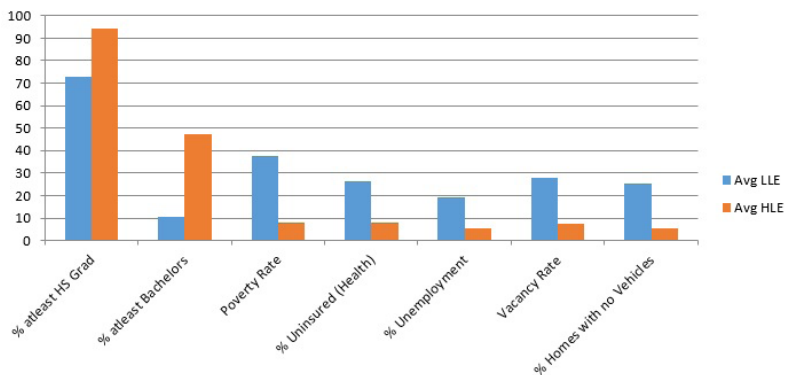


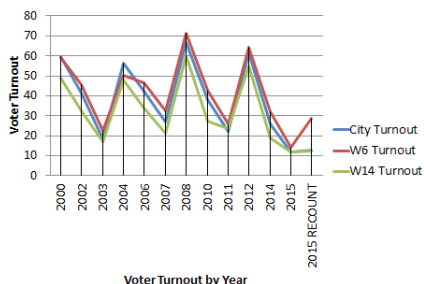
Figure 4: Various metrics by life-expectant zip code



There are significant geographic disparities in voter turnout in the Kansas City area. There was not a single election in the past fifteen years when voter turnout in LLE areas was higher than HLE areas (see Figures 8, 9, 10, and 11).

Figure 8:

Voter Turnout by Year



Turnout calculated by percent of registered voters that voted

Figure 9:

Presidential Turnout Over Time

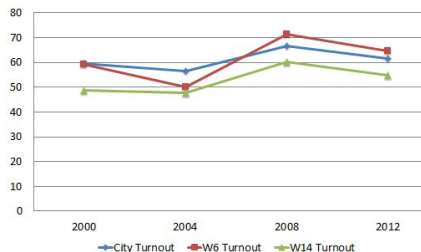


Figure 10:

Midterm Turnout Over Time

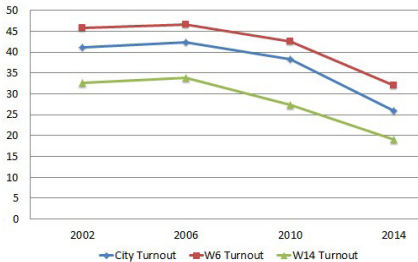
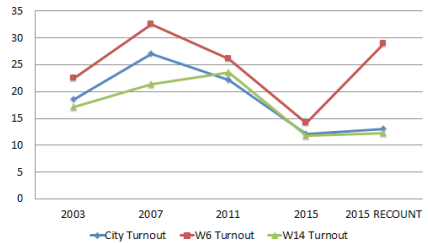


Figure 11:

Municipal Turnout Over Time



There is also a distinction between different types of elections. Presidential elections attracted the highest average turnout of 61% of registered voters; this has remained relatively stable over the past decade on both the city and national level (See Figure 9). However, midterm elections on average receive half the turnout of presidential elections and turnout has declined 12% over the past decade (See Figure 10). Participation in municipal elections is dismally low, on average attracting half the turnout of midterm elections and turnout has declined 5% over the past decade (see Figure 11). Municipal elections also suffer from the greatest increase in turnout deficit between LLE and HLE zip codes over the past decade. In presidential and midterm elections, there was only a one-point difference between decadal average and most recent turnout deficit (“Past Election Results,” 2015). But for municipal elections, turnout deficit between LLE and HLE zip codes was 16% in the most recent election, far exceeding the 7% average over the past twelve years (“Past Election Results,” 2015). This is also reflected in general demographics. In the April 7 municipal elections, sixteen times more people over sixty years old voted than those under thirty years of age (Horsely, 2015). The median age of LLE areas is 28.8 years, which significantly trails the 36.2 years of HLE areas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Using age as a proxy would

indicate that voter turnout in lower life expectant zip codes is significantly lower than in high expectant zip codes, at least for municipal elections. The only studied municipal elections were mayoral campaigns; it's likely that even smaller profile elections, like those for school boards and special issues, suffer even smaller turnout and greater geographic disparity.

Kansas City is not alone in facing a turnout problem. In 2001, 26.6% of the residents of the top 144 US cities cast ballots in elections. In 2011, turnout shrank to 21% (Maciag, 2014). Moreover, it is well established that turnout in local elections is highly skewed to favor white voters. A study of municipal elections examined the makeup of our institutions in a world in which voter turnout rates were equal among all racial groups. The study found that elections would experience an average of a 7% swing in votes. The effect equitable turnout would have on local governments is that one third of cities would have different mayors and one quarter of city council members would be different (Hajnal, 2015). A sea change in elected officials on the local level translates directly into greater citizen representation in important policy decisions. *The New York Times* asked various minorities about their participation in local elections. Nonwhite citizens frequently responded that they were unaware of even the existence of recent local elections (Fausset, 2014). Many said that local elections were hard to keep track of, with one person even saying "It's not broadcast ... It's not like a presidential election" (Fausset, 2014). When further prompted they frequently also stated that they only voted in "important" elections, like the presidential election (Fausset, 2014).

Unfortunately, local governments are often looked down upon as being unimportant and incapable. This is especially problematic given that local governments often have the widest jurisdiction and influence on community life. The legal mandate of local governments is to promote "peace, order and good governance" ("Functions of a Local Government," n.d.). This gives local governments an almost unlimited jurisdiction. Not only do they have broad authority to act on a wide array of issues, but state and local budgets rival the size of federal expenditures, meaning that

this authority is matched with a capacity to act (Littlefield, 2015). As Jim Dean, chair of Democracy for America, says “It’s not about who gets elected president. It’s about who gets elected to school board and city council” (Williams, 2015). Local and state governments also have the capacity to wield massive influence on the federal government, but declining participation in local government harms their ability to lobby Washington (Wogan, 2014).

Low local turnout also tends to magnify the effect of bias in elections. In national races where many people are voting the chance for bias or distortion is comparatively much smaller than in local elections (Hajnal, 2015). This is why our current national Congress is the most diverse in history, with racial compositions roughly reflecting demographics of the nation (“Most Diverse Congress Sworn In,” 2013). Yet, over 130 of our cities underrepresent blacks in city councils (Gordon, 2014). In 2007, 20% of Missouri’s congress people were black, yet just 2% of Missouri municipal officials are nonwhite (“Missouri,” 2007).

Low local turnout even potentially explains rising polarization, dissatisfaction with government, and political partisanship. Low levels of turnout and disparities among who votes in local elections have resulted in local governments being skewed towards conservative voters. This is why the vast majority of state governments are dominated by Republicans and why many local governments are viewed as ‘out of touch’ (Williams, 2015). Because minority and youth turnout is significantly underrepresented in local elections, these Republicans are used to running virtually unopposed and without need to cater to minority groups. These smaller governments serve as incubators for future national political leaders. This explains why major political leaders are unused to compromise or citizen engagement (Williams, 2015). And why states like “Kansas, Texas and Louisiana are famously being used as real-time test labs for ... the most extreme Republican policies. That includes tough new restrictions on access to abortion and distribution of safety-net benefits like food stamps as well as wide-ranging tax cuts for businesses and broad public-school reforms” (Williams, 2015). It is clear that local politics play a focal

role in all political issues and is a primary factor in the direction of our nation.

Regardless, increased geographic political participation is likely to aid in the combatting of nonpolitical inequalities. Turnout disparities on the local level are associated with negative outcomes for minorities, typically represented in uneven spending priorities (Maciag, 2014). There are enormous health, social, and political advantages to voting. Votes are the primary metric of public opinion used by government figures. Voting directly impacts electoral outcomes and many races are closer than believed. Even if an individual ballot doesn't swing an election, that doesn't make the vote useless. Greater margins of victory create stronger political mandates for newly elected candidates. Empirical evidence seems to support the notion that non-voters support different issues than voters, with non-voters being more likely to support expansion of social protection and services ("Who Votes Matters," 2014).

Voting empowers more than the political sphere, it also gives credence to nonprofits that represent traditionally downtrodden demographics ("Who Votes Matters," 2014). Voting has an established positive relationship with the economic and health well-being of voters. In a study by the National Conference on Citizenship, the top eight metrics of economic growth in 2006 predicted 38% of unemployment variation through 2010. Surprisingly, five metrics of civic engagement: volunteering, attending public meetings, working with neighbors to address community problems, registering to vote, and voting predicted 26% of unemployment variation ("Civic Health and Unemployment," 2011). This implies that measures of participating in civil society are almost as important in predicting economics as actual economic indicators. Other studies reaffirm the importance of political engagement relative to economics: "civic culture is a necessary prerequisite for positive institutional performance, of which an indicator is voter turnout. Civic culture is a predictor of institutional success ($r=0.80$), even more than economic development" (Ferrini, 2012).

Community Profile

Communities Creating Opportunity (CCO) upholds a religious and moral obligation towards social justice. As part of their mission to achieve social justice, they highly value diversity and stakeholder involvement. The variety of different backgrounds of people contribute and are fundamental to urban life. CCO also attempts to promote civic engagement, arguing that citizens and local organizations must hold influence in government, enabling accountability of public institutions. CCO develops strong leaders from local communities, specifically congregations, to effect social change and quality of life. These volunteers contact neighbors, discuss issues, research potential solutions, and then work with “key decision-makers” for implementation. The overarching objectives are housing and community development, safe neighborhoods, healthcare, economic empowerment, and youth development. CCO empowers citizens to improve their community’s quality of life.

CCO is structured like an ordinary nonprofit corporation, with a board of directors and executive positions, but they are anything but ordinary. They are staffed with a few leaders and volunteers. Collaborating with over 100 congregations, these communities do not belong to hierarchical leadership structure, they are peers with CCO. CCO empowers citizens in these communities to embrace the responsibilities of leadership and provides resources for independence. Congregational outreach functions as CCO’s primary medium of communication and agency. CCO uses their Organizational Model, a cohesive feedback mechanism, to track their goals and explore new priorities. This model involves constantly working with members of the local community to identify problems, brainstorm solutions, and acquire feedback on progress.

Founded in 1977, Communities Creating Opportunity has worked for decades to improve the quality of life in the Kansas City area. Past programs include the provision of basic city services, heating, drug policy, youth programs, livable neighborhoods, economic empowerment, fair lending, youth campaign, and

healthy communities. These policies are focused on serving societies most vulnerable and marginalized populations. Poor and minority communities often have poor access to goods and services and are often overlooked by state assistance programs. CCO has identified several current issues they seek to make progress on. As part of achieving economic dignity, CCO advocates a cap on payday loan annual rates to mitigate predatory lending policies. They also strongly push for an increase in the minimum wage to allow the destitute to provide for themselves. To improve health conditions, CCO advocates universal insurance coverage and expansion of Medicaid. They accomplish this by going door-to-door or congregation-to-congregation to generate awareness about healthcare exchange enrollments and Medicaid policies. To improve neighborhoods, CCO advocates creating healthier low-income neighborhoods through sanitation enforcement and park revitalization. More specifically, they have worked to create multiple soccer fields around Kansas City and have founded a soccer league that receives over \$35,000 from the mayor's office. On the issue of immigration, CCO works to share narratives and experiences of immigrants to humanize them to the broader public. More broadly, CCO advocates strong protections for immigrants. For education, CCO advocates strengthening parental and community involvement in public schools. CCO's effective work and unyielding commitment to social justice has positioned them to participate and lead in the Regional Equity Network. In a personal conversation with Seft Hunter, the Chief Operating Officer of CCO, he said that CCO is seeking to incorporate more community-level data to target their outreach initiatives more effectively. All five of CCO's core values are central to this research: social justice, the enrichment of diversity, community self-determination, individual empowerment, and citizen participation in government. CCO has and continues to play a large role in improving the social conditions in the Kansas City region.

Program description

One of Communities Creating Opportunity's current campaigns is the expansion of civic and voter engagement. This involves

the training of grassroots civic leaders and campaign teams. It also involves organizing community interests to accomplish change or to lobby others. More specifically, CCO operates the Dignity Votes Action Center which states, “The more of us who vote, the more they will listen.” CCO has also been involved in efforts to combat voter intimidation and has worked to inform local citizens about the exact processes of voting. Increasing voter participation is extremely relevant to the empowerment of the diverse marginalized cultures of Kansas City. These cultures are the ones exposed to significant disparities, disparities that should be solved by government. The scope of recommended actions primarily concerns the lives of thousands of residents in the six LLE zip codes in Kansas City, four of which belong to the Ivanhoe neighborhood.

Opportunity Identification

What CCO wants to do is to identify the areas with the greatest need. Programs targeted in these areas are likely to pay the highest dividends. Geographies with lower voter turnout present an opportunity for greater community organization and involvement with CCO. The core question we sought to answer was how can we create greater political participation among marginalized groups? An examination of the literature on turnout campaigns reveals a deficit that can be filled by CCO.

Current outreach programs are primarily organized by political parties. A consequence of this approach is that parties seek to increase turnout among their supporters and those likely to vote. Current voter outreach campaigns are flawed in that they target likely voters, yet ignore people who haven't voted in prior elections (Kousser, 2014). This creates a cycle, where most turnout initiatives are aimed at people that are already projected to vote. The source also cites studies that conclude that unlikely voters targeted by these campaigns subsequently become likely habitual voters. This means that a change in focus can pay significant dividends in turnout promotion among historically low turnout communities. The reason so many youth, minority, and low income people don't vote is that they either face difficulties voting or are simply not asked to vote. Conversely, the reason they are not asked to vote is

because they are viewed as unlikely to vote and so ‘efficient’ turnout campaigns will ignore them. This leads to a catch-22 situation. The spike in minority turnout in 2008 was due to Obama’s message of hope for America’s downtrodden (Fulwood, 2014). Voting is an expression of hope and confidence in the system. People will only vote if they believe that they have impact. This also means that low turnout rates reflect a lack of confidence in the American experiment.

Aside from politics, the social act of voting spills over into other forms of civic participation and prosocial activity, “when you feel part of a group, you’re more likely to contribute to it” (Uggen & Manza, 2002). Voting creates a sense of investment in the future of a community and, regardless of electoral outcome, promotes a stewardship over surroundings. This is possibly why voting former felons have a significantly reduced rate of criminal recidivism, with voting felons one-third as likely as disenfranchised felons to recommit crime (Greenbaum, 2014). In the same way that voting creates a sense of investment in shared futures, being granted the right to vote creates a sense of society investing in you. Voting is the most treasured part of American life, being foundational to our national origin and identity. If people are denied their voice, that implies that they have nothing worthwhile to say.

Voting strengthens our social connections and communities, resulting in improvements in life quality and longevity. Registered voters are more likely to discuss issues with families and do favors for neighbors (Henderson, 2011). Voting also increases our perception of agency, resulting in psychological empowerment that pays significant dividends in reduced stress and mental health (Kasser, 2010). This especially applies to the historically disadvantaged, “people who are on the wrong sides of the disadvantage divide, measured according to anything—health, income, quality of community, or job status—... stand to benefit most” (Kasser, 2010). These reasons could contribute to voters reporting better health outcomes. Residents of low turnout communities are 62% more likely to self-report lower health (Rich, 2013).

These relationships don't have established lines of causality, there is a strong possibility that being healthy increases the likelihood of voting instead of vice versa. Several studies have made attempts to establish causal relationships, "The positive effect of political activity on health was found significant in several models, mostly those performed in the subset analysis of the OECD countries. In general, social participation was the main significant factor determining [self-reported health] in the analysis of the 44 countries, and unconventional political participation was the main significant factor in the analysis of the OECD countries" (Kim, Kim, & You, 2015) and "Socioeconomic inequality in political participation (as measured by voter turnout) is associated with poor self-rated health, independently of both income inequality and state median household income" (Blakely, Kennedy, & Kawachi, 2001).

Policy Response

The solution to this issue is personal contact. Personal contacts are calls or home visits involving interpersonal communication about voting. Personal contacts create a feeling of investment in normally apathetic / forgotten citizens (Michelson, 2014). People deep down want to vote but are socially disengaged. Personal contacts offer the potential to socially re-engage non-voters. CCO can conduct direct outreach campaigns and encourage congregations to disseminate political information (election dates, issues, etc). While home visits are more effective, they are labor and time intensive. An easier alternative would be to work with congregations to utilize telephone trees and other established neighborhood media to communicate political information and enable civic discussion. Randomized field tests indicate that the most effective way to get someone to vote is for a peer to visit them at their home, the second most effective way is for a peer to call them ("Young Voter," 2006). Furthering the hypothesis of social engagement is that those same field tests indicate that the content of the messaging had little measurable effect on turnout—all that mattered was that a conversation was happening ("Young Voter," 2006).

Community-based voter turnout campaigns offer a change to create strong and persistent civic culture. There is a substantial amount of literature that supports the notion that once people vote, they become habitual voters. Half of the turnout gains from a 1998 New Haven turnout program spilled over into 1999: “voting in one election substantially increases the likelihood of voting in the future. Indeed, the influence of past voting exceeds the effects of age and education reported in previous studies” (Gerber, Green, & Shacar, 2003). Another study indicates that getting an individual to vote in an election makes them 29% more likely to vote in a subsequent election (“Young Voter,” 2006). What this means is that turnout campaigns are likely to truly foster an ethic of voting. Outreach is a self-sustaining venture, where programs reinforce future campaigns.

In terms of targeting specific communities for these programs, the Ivanhoe neighborhood is comprised of four of six LLE zip codes. This makes Ivanhoe a prime opportunity for improvement. In line with CCO’s organizational model, working with established neighborhood organizations in Ivanhoe to identify common concerns and brainstorm potential solutions is critically important. Imposing a policy prescription upon this neighborhood would likely fail, regardless of its merit. Just as individuals must be socially engaged, existing local organizations must be present in the process of collaboration. In terms of resolving voter disparity, a top-down approach would only replicate the problems facing these communities. A primary local institution to approach would be the Ivanhoe Neighborhood Council, which has been recognized by the Kansas City Council as “the only official ‘agent’ ... for the residents” (“Ivanhoe Neighborhood Plan,” 2005). Exploring voter turnout campaigns with local community partners offers a significant opportunity for nonprofits to bootstrap political engagement.

There are several simple policies that governments can pursue to improve turnout. One of the easiest reforms is to synchronize the dates of local elections with state and national elections. Because this would close the gap between local and national turnout, it would boost voter turnout in local elections by as much as 30% (Hajnal, 2015). This would just require the approval of the

local city council or election authority, making it relatively easy to implement (Hajnal, 2015). Many states even allow school boards to schedule their own elections (Hajnal & Trounstein, 2005). In fact, election concurrency is already becoming a salient issue among US cities, primarily because it would save municipalities millions of dollars, since the same election infrastructure could be used for multiple elections (Hajnal & Lewis, 2003). 40% of California cities have recently moved to schedule their local elections to coincide with statewide races (Hajnal & Lewis, 2003).

Another solution related to the timing of elections would be to make weekend voting easier. This could be accomplished by either moving Election Day to the weekend or expanding absentee ballot measures. Many people feel too busy on Election Day to vote, a problem compounded by long lines (Black, 2014). The burden of time constraints is disproportionately borne by young, poor, and minority citizens (Black, 2014). Moving the day people vote to when people have more free time would nullify this concern.

A large-scale solution on the state level that can be sought is automating the process of voter registration. In doing so, we make voting a two-step process; registering to vote and voting. The process of voter registration is excessively complex and is used to disenfranchise voters. In 2008, nearly one-third of voter registration requests were denied (Black, 2014). Depending on where someone lives, there are 14,000 different procedures for American election administration (Kim, 2012). Increased complexity of electoral law expands the risk of bureaucratic error and subjective interpretation, making voting a hassle and enabling abuse of power. In the 2008 election it was reported that approximately five million people attempted to register to vote, but failed to do so due to complex administrative procedure. An additional four million already registered voters did not vote due to administrative problems (Ansolabehere, 2009). Automatically registering eligible citizens shifts this burden onto the state and reaffirms voting as a right, not a privilege. Automatic voter registration would alleviate most concerns related to voter ID laws and would greatly reduce the risk for further disenfranchisement. Automatic voter registration

was implemented in Oregon and California this year and similar bills are being presented in front of eighteen different state legislatures. Results from Oregon and California are likely to be highly influential in future developments on this issue.

There are many programs to improve voter turnout rates that can be advocated by individuals, nonprofits, and governments. If turnout deficit is a serious issue that threatens various metrics of public good, then these programs must be a public policy priority. Boosting turnout on the community level can motivate a very influential sphere of agency, local government, to assist everyday people with everyday problems. This would be a major sea change towards equitable development.

Conclusion

These solutions are necessary to address the decay of local voter turnout and demographic disparities in both turnout and political representation. They would raise the visibility of our local elections and resolve difficulties getting to the polls. This change is very possible. Concerted effort and energy in the wake of the Michael Brown shooting resulted in two more black city council members being elected (Steward & Reilly, 2015). This should be celebrated, but this work should also be replicated nationwide to affect real substantive change. Local governments are in charge of much of the decisions that affect our daily lives and society. These decisions range from the curricula in our schools to the training that police officers receive. The importance of local governance must be contrasted with the demographic makeup of local governments. If our elected officials don't know what it's like to grow up in a world hostile to them, then our resources and attention will continue to be misappropriated. Our cynical apathetic view of politics and government will continue to be perpetuated. Our Michael Browns, Eric Garners, and Tamir Rices will continue to face violence and silence. We must articulate a new normal. City hall should not be a stuffy chamber of white men, but rather it should be a vibrant part of the community.

Figure 5: Ward Boundaries vs Zip Code Boundaries

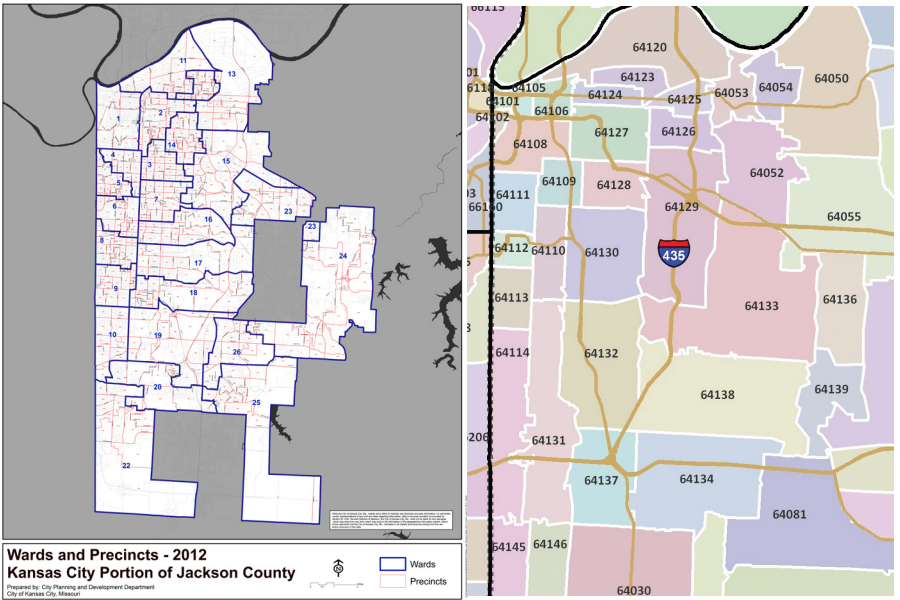


Figure 6: Ward 6 Boundaries* vs Zip Code Boundaries

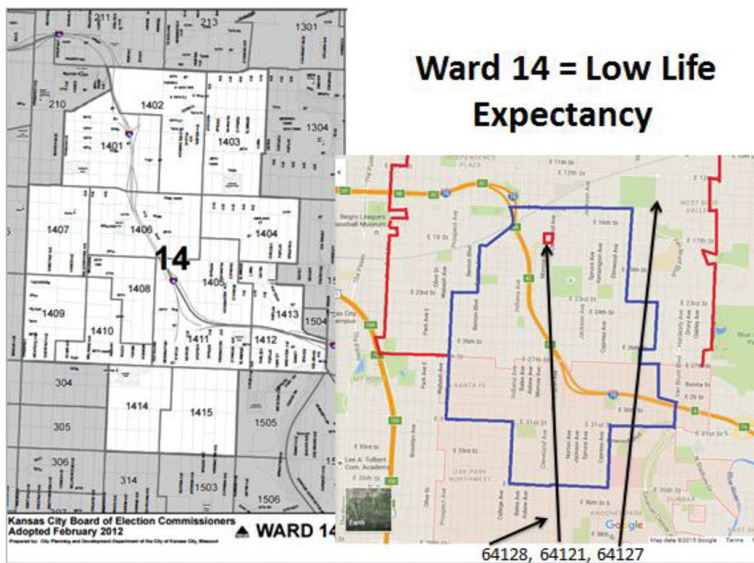
*Ward 6 is actually likely more representative of average life-expectant zip codes, considering most of it is composed of 64111 and 64110, which are average zip codes. 64112 is the high life-expectant zip code and only makes up a small geographic part of Ward 6 and only one-third of Ward 6's precincts. This mistake was only discovered after data was collected and analyzed.



Ward 6 = High Life Expectancy



Figure 7: Ward 14 Boundaries vs Zip Code Boundaries



References

- Ansolabehere, S. (2009). Testimony before the Senate Rules Committee. Retrieved from http://vote.caltech.edu/sites/default/files/03112009Ansolabehere_Testimony.pdf
- Black, E. (2014). Why is turnout so low in U.S. elections? We make it more difficult to vote than other democracies. Retrieved from <https://www.minnpost.com/eric-black-ink/2014/10/why-turnout-so-low-us-elections-we-make-it-more-difficult-vote-other-democrac>
- Blakely, T., Kennedy, B., Kawachi, I. (2001). Socioeconomic inequality in voting participation and self-rated health. *American Journal of Public Health*. 91(1). Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1446487/>
- Civic health and unemployment: Can engagement strengthen the economy? (2011). *National Conference on Citizenship* Retrieved from <http://www.ncoc.net/States-with-More-Civic-Engagement-Have-Experienced-Less-Unemployment>
- Fausset, R. 2014. Mostly black cities, mostly white city halls Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/29/us-mostly-black-cities-mostly-white-city-halls.html>
- Ferrini, L. (2012). Why is turnout at elections declining across the democratic world? Retrieved from <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/09/27/why-is-turnout-at-elections-declining-across-the-democratic-world/>
- File, T. (2013). The Diversifying Electorate—Voting rates by race and hispanic origin in 2012 (and other recent elections Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-568.pdf>
- Fulwood, S. (2014). Race and beyond: Why young, minority, and low-income citizens don't vote. Retrieved from <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/news/2014/11/06/100627/why-young-minority-and-low-income-citizens-dont-vote/>
- Functions of local government. n.d. *Good Governance Guide* Retrieved from <http://www.goodgovernance.org.au/about-good-governance/role-of-local-government/>

- Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green & Ron Shachar. (2003). Voting may be habit forming: Evidence from a randomized field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*. 47(3): 540-550. DOI: 10.1111/15405907.00038
- Gordon, T. (2014). Black officials remain scarce in America's city halls. Retrieved from <http://atlantablackstar.com/2014/09/29/uninvolved-underrepresented-black-officials-remain-scarce-city-hall/>
- Greenbaum, S. (2014). Restore voting rights to ex-felons. Retrieved from <http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/2/voting-rights-felondisenfranchisementricholdercriminallyjustice.html>
- Green, D., Gerber, A., Nickerson, D. (2003). Getting out the vote in local elections: Results from six door-to-door canvassing experiments. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Donald_Green4/publication/209410249_Getting_out_the_Vote_in_Local_Elections_Results_from_Six_Door-to-Door_Canvassing_Experiments/links/0046351eaab4553603000000.pdf
- Hajnal, Z. (2015). Where does America's low voter turnout matter the most? In local elections. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/24/where-does-americas-low-voter-turnout-matter-the-most-in-local-elections/>
- Hajnal, Z., Lewis, P. (2003). Municipal institutions and voter turnout in local elections. Retrieved from <http://www.sarasotagov.com/InsideCityGovernment/Content/CAC/PDF/UofCalifornia.pdf>
- Hajnal, Z., Trounstein, J. (2005). Where turnout matters: The consequences of uneven turnout in city politics. Retrieved from http://pages.ucsd.edu/~zhajnal/page1/page2/files/page2_2.pdf
- Henderson, W. (2011). Civic engagement among registered citizens and non-registered eligible citizens. Retrieved from <http://www.civicyouth.org/civic-engagement-among-registered-voters-and-non-registered-eligible-citizens/>

- Horsley, L. (2015). Paltry youth voter turnout in KC raises concerns. Retrieved from <http://www.kansascity.com/news/government-politics/article20151270.html>
- Ivanhoe Neighborhood Council. (2005). Ivanhoe neighborhood plan. Retrieved from <https://data.kcmo.org/Area-Plans/Ivanhoe-Neighborhood-Plan/ftfy-kkpq>
- Kasser, T. (2010). Making a difference makes you happy. Retrieved from <http://www.yesmagazine.org/happiness/making-a-difference-makes-you-happy>
- Kim, S., Kim, C., You, M. (2015). Civic participation and self-rated health: A cross-national multi-level analysis using the world value survey. DOI: 10.3961/jpmph.14.031
- Kim, Y. (2012). Democracy in a mobile America. Retrieved from <http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/DemocracyInAMobileAmerica.pdf>
- Kousser, T. (2014). Want to increase voter turnout? Here's how Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-kousser-voter-turnout-20141027-story.html>
- Littlefield, L. (2015). Overview of state and local government expenditures: Census of Governments data. Retrieved from <http://r8ny.com/2015/04/26/overview-of-state-and-local-government-expenditures-census-of-governments-data/>
- Maciag, M. (2014). Voter turnout plummeting in local elections Retrieved from <http://www.governing.com/topics/politics/gov-voter-turnout-municipal-elections.html>
- Michelson, M. (2014). How to increase voter participation in low-turnout communities: Research brief. Retrieved from <http://journalistsresource.org/studies/politics/elections/increasing-voter-turnout-in-communities-where-people-have-not-usually-participated-in-elections>
- Missouri. (2007). The Gender and Multi-Cultural Leadership Project. Retrieved from <http://www.gmcl.org/maps/missouri/state.htm>
- Most diverse Congress sworn in. (2013). DiversityInc. Retrieved from <http://www.diversityinc.com/diversity-and-inclusion/most-diverse-congress-sworn-in/>

- Past election results. (2015). Kansas City Board of Election Commissioners. Retrieved from <https://www.kceb.org/elections/past-results/>
- Rich, J. (2013). Could simply voting for Obama OR Romney impact a community's health? Retrieved from http://www.philly.com/philly/blogs/public_health/Could-simply-voting-for-Obama-OR-Romney--impact-a-communitys-health.html
- Schaffner, B., Erve, W., LaRaja, R. (2014). How Ferguson exposes the racial bias in local elections. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/15/how-ferguson-exposes-the-racial-bias-in-local-elections/>
- Steward, M., Reilly, R. (2015). Ferguson election result changes the face of city council. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/04/07/ferguson-election-results_n_7020472.html
- Uggen, C., Manza, J. (2002). Democratic contraction? Political consequences of felon disenfranchisement in the United States. *American Sociological Review*. 67(6). Retrieved from http://sociology.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/3858/Democratic_Contraction.pdf
- US Census Bureau. (2010). 2010 American Community Survey 5-Year estimates. Retrieved from <http://factfinder2.census.gov>
- Who votes matters. (2014). Non Profit Vote. Retrieved from <http://www.nonprofitvote.org/documents/2014/07/benefits-voting-votes-matters-factsheet-en.pdf>
- Williams, J. (2015). A dim future. Retrieved from <http://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2015/09/11/a-dim-future-for-the-democratic-party>
- Wogan, J. (2014). States and localities are losing their influence in Washington. Retrieved from <http://www.governing.com/topics/politics/gov-states-localities-losing-influence.html>
- Young voter mobilization tactics. (2006). Retrieved from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/Young_Voters_Guide.pdf



SARAH SMITH

GOVERNMENT & NGO EFFORTS TO SUPPRESS SEXUAL EXPLOITATIONS

Introduction

The topic being addressed, continued existence of sexual exploitation and trafficking, is of crucial importance to the researcher due to a significant lack of research about what works and what does not work to reduce the prevalence of these human rights concerns. With the developed world and the United Nations accepting that this practice is wrong and should be stopped, why do developing countries still allow trafficking and exploitation within state borders to happen?

By performing a comparative policy analysis and examining two case studies, this research aims to determine whether a government entity or a nongovernmental organization (NGO) is better equipped to ameliorate the factors that lead to human trafficking. It is the hope of this researcher that by investigating this research question, sustainable improvement will be made in eliminating exploitation in developing countries. The research question for this thesis is, "In developing countries, are governmental efforts to stop sex trafficking and exploitation within the country's borders more successful than the attempts of nongovernmental organizations?"

Human trafficking is a topic of major importance in the field of political science. The existing literature on the subject of trafficking and exploitation within a country is lacking. The topic is of general importance to society because women and girls play an important role in the political and economic development of countries. One step in reaching value for females is to stop human trafficking that

inevitably dehumanizes women. This research aims to understand how a country can fix this issue. Most research on trafficking has an international focus, meaning that there is very little research on how to fix the issue within a country. However, this is still a big gap that needs to be addressed. Lehti and Aromaa (2006) estimate who there are close to 2.2 million women and girls trafficked for exploitation each year that never cross international borders. The researcher contends that it is important to know if specific strategies employed by NGOs are working.

Related literature will first be examined to identify where the research on this topic stands currently and to identify where the gaps exist. Defining the terms of sexual exploitation and trafficking, addressing the prevalence of the issue, investigating why the problem persists, and then looking at international and national efforts to combat it will be the structure of this literature review. Next, an argument for whether NGOs or the government is better suited to address sex trafficking and exploitation will be articulated. After the argument, an explanation for the methodology employed in testing the argument will be presented. Finally, the paper will study two cases to determine the validity of the argument.

Consulting the Literature

Definitions

To fully evaluate the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, it is necessary to define the terms that will be discussed. The literature refers to sexual exploitation and sex trafficking equally, many times using the terms synonymously. Some authors, including Kara (2009), break down the steps of sex trafficking and point to this act as crucial to understanding and halting the sexual exploitation of females. The steps include acquisition, movement, and exploitation. During the acquisition phase, girls are lured in by one of five methods: deceit about employment opportunities or false marriages, sale by family members, abduction, romance or seduction, and recruitment by other victims of sex trafficking. While acquisition and movement are important steps, exploitation is the key point discussed as well as where the analysis turns. In sum, Kara (2009) makes the

distinction between sex trafficking and sexual exploitation by listing the exploitation as a particular phase of trafficking.

The United States Department of State defines human trafficking as an umbrella topic over sex trafficking. According to the U.S. Department of State, sex trafficking occurs when a “commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age.” Additionally, the report states that the person being trafficked does not have to be physically transported to fall under this definition. Guinn (2008) notes that most of this type of sexual exploitation happens within a country and even exists within the definition when a child still lives with parents or relatives.

The United Nations defines sexual exploitation as “any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes.” To alleviate confusion in this paper, a common definition will be established. The United Nations’ standard for defining sexual exploitation and trafficking is utilized by countries across the world and therefore will provide the framework for conceptualizing the problem in this paper.

Prevalence and Accuracy Issues

Given the prevalence of sexual exploitation that occurs within country borders, it is important to fill the void that research has left in this field of study. Lehti and Aromaa (2006) use data from the U.S. Department of State to extrapolate and find the estimated number of women and girls trafficked within a country each year for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The figure given by the authors is between 1.5 and 3.7 million women and girls a year. Kara (2009), when giving an estimate of the number trafficked for sex within state borders, also uses the U.S. Department of State’s figures. The broad range in estimated numbers is due to the issues that are discussed in the following paragraph. From this number and other estimates, the author derives the amount of profits made in the industry. The author states that in 2007, the average weighted purchase price of a sex slave was \$1,895 and the revenue from trafficked sex slaves was \$51.3 billion.

Parrot and Cummings (2008) explain that actual figures of women and girls affected are hard to produce due to four main issues: reporting is often incomplete due to a fear of retaliation, cultural expectations, a lack of resources, and little trust in the justice system. Victims often fear retaliation from the brothel keepers if they find out before action is taken. Even if a victim successfully gets away from the exploiter, there is always a risk that the perpetrator will harm the victim's family. Cultural expectations can include something as simple as women living in a male dominated culture with the inability to speak out. Victims are usually paid very little for their services, so they are unable to save enough money to pay for the resources necessary to get out of the situation. Finally, victims do not have faith in the justice system because they have not seen it work in the past.

Persistence of Problem

Kara (2009) identifies a few reasons, in addition to the definition, that sex trafficking still persists. These include corruption in law enforcement and judicial systems, lack of international work in investigating crimes, not enough protection for those being trafficked, and ineffective laws with an economic impact on the traffickers. Police frequent the same brothels while off duty that they are tasked with patrolling while on duty. Many officers have not received the training necessary to identify problems or solutions to get women out of exploitive situations. Once women are freed from brothels, there is almost never a fine given to those accused of the crime, therefore they are not dissuaded from committing the crime again. Lehti and Aromaa (2006) argue that it is so prevalent because the main way that victims are recruited is through the elusive promise of employment. Often this is accompanied with a threat of violence or with well-planned coercion. The authors explain that where the main victims are minors, as in Cambodia, families often sell the children to known traffickers. While there are many reasons for the occurrence of exploitation, some explanations are discussed in depth. These are a lack of justice, corrupt officials, and armed conflict, and will be discussed in order in each of the following paragraphs.

Mckay (1998) acknowledges what many others state as a large hurdle in stopping the sexual exploitation of children and women; the fact that many rapists and traffickers are not prosecuted. The author cites Brunet and Rousseau (1996) in saying that the lack of justice gives way to psychological harm because without shame and guilt from the community, there is no avenue for rehabilitation or working through the past to gain freedom for the future.

The U.S. Department of State focuses less on the scenarios that get women and girls into the situation of sexual exploitation, and more on the reason why eradicating brothels that make the industry profitable is difficult. The report explains that while specific shelters might be willing to help victims for an indefinite amount of time, governments often have set limits on how long benefits can be administered or to whom their services can be offered. An additional dilemma in sex trafficking is that brothels often employ off-duty police officers to serve as security. The report points to this conflict of protecting the offenders while not serving in an official capacity as a reason that law enforcement officers do not always investigate allegations of abuse. Victims are also turned away from reporting to police officers because of this practice. Overall, when law enforcement officers provide security, it discourages the identification and eradication of brothels.

There is extensive previous research on the notion that war increases the likelihood that women and girls will face sexual exploitation. Parrot and Cummings (2008) show a higher prevalence of sexual exploitation during times of war, political strife, and economic instability. Additionally, McKay (1998) cites the previous studies Brownmiller (1975) and Wilbers (1994) in stating that sexual exploitation of women and children has been considered an unfortunate part of armed conflict. These acts are now considered a legitimate act of war that is meant to weaken and manipulate the enemy while affecting the whole population. McKay (1998) gives the example of the raping and sexual mutilation of the Tutsi in Rwanda as an act of war and not just an unconnected side effect. The United Nations has taken efforts to combat these issues by passing legislation such as Resolution 1325. This resolution called

on member nations to enforce humanitarian law in protecting women and girls throughout and after armed conflicts. Ndulo (2009) explains that while these efforts have been implemented, there needs to be increased attention paid to ensuring compliance with the regulations. An additional concern is that the majority of exploitation by peacekeepers leaves the local population with babies that become outcasts due to the nature of their conception.

McKay (1998) explains that there is a lack of justice and a continuance of armed conflict which leads to the persistence of sexual exploitation and trafficking. The U.S. Department of State (2014) also identifies the corruption of officials as a key problem.

International Efforts

This international effort marks the revival of initiatives on the global scale that began in the early twentieth century. Guinn (2008) notes that renewed international attention has been focused on the sexual exploitation of women and girls recently due to efforts by the United States. Since the end of the 1990s, this attention came through such initiatives as the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000. TVPA, as it is commonly known, declares the issue as important and states that it should be a domestic and international priority. Additionally, the TVPA predicates United States foreign aid on compliance to these norms. Guinn (2008) states that this is often a key factor in compliance. Efforts such as the TVPA and Resolution 1325 follow the precedent set by early conventions and the League of Nations. Resolution 1325 aims to address the role of women in conflict management and sustaining peace through conflict resolution, according to the United States Institute of Peace.

Limoncelli (2010) explores the evolution of international anti-trafficking agreements through a series of conventions and accords throughout the early twentieth century. These nonbinding agreements provided a standard of practice for the countries that signed them. Limoncelli (2010) points to the first international accord, the 1904 Paris Convention, as the starting point where an exchange of information on trafficking was established. In 1910, the prostitution of minors with or without their consent was made punishable. At the same convention, the forced or fraudulent

prostitution of women was also determined a punishable offense. By sponsoring the 1921 convention on this topic, the League of Nations was able to expand protections and require states to devote more resources towards the protection of women and children from sexual exploitation. Limoncelli (2010) finds that these actions were continued after World War II by the United Nations. The 1949 convention hosted by the United Nations made brothel keeping and the procurement of prostitutes illegal, both domestically and internationally.

Patel (2013) discusses the implications of international laws on countries such as India to create and enforce their own laws regarding sexual exploitation of women and children. In 2000, the United Nations adopted the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Trafficking Protocol). Patel explains that this protocol establishes a three-pronged approach to combatting sexual exploitation. The first prong addresses internationally trafficked persons and is not applicable to this research. The other two are applicable. One portion obligates states to enact legislation to criminalize and execute penalties for trafficking. The last prong states that actions must be taken by national governments to prevent trafficking. These actions can include training and information availability for law enforcement officials as well as identifying traffic patterns. Patel (2013) argues that individuals being trafficked should be identified as victims in an attempt to receive government recognition and help. The author also notes that many being trafficked are not given opportunities for education or employment by the government, and that leads to the issue of sexual exploitation. Patel (2013) states that currently the United Nations is working on an effort to combat sexual exploitation, but state response is also critical.

Lehti and Aromaa (2006) argue that by supporting more equal development worldwide, both economically and socially, the prevention of sexual trafficking and exploitation will be promoted. Along with international efforts, the literature suggests many ways to address the issue of sex trafficking in women and girls at the state level.

National Efforts

Mckay (1998) argues that the effects of sexual exploitation are best dealt with in a community setting where treatment encompasses the social and psychological aspects. The author suggests two remedies for the issue of sexual exploitation. The first solution is to keep a mindful watch on gender balance when selecting judicial candidates nationally and internationally. The second remedy is to provide training for those in power on the prevalence and forms of gender-based violence, specifically in armed conflicts. McKay (1998) explains that this training should be offered to professionals in the legal, medical, and political fields to be most effective. The U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report* encourages police officers to refrain from off-duty work in brothels and for governments to provide training and prosecution for those found to be complicit with sexual trafficking violations.

The training and education that many authors suggest as a necessity in combatting the problem often falls through the cracks of government oversight. Tzvetkova (2002) argues that NGOs have a history of filling the gaps that governments leave and that they are prime to do the same with sexual exploitation of women. NGOs have assumed the responsibility of addressing the needs of victims and potential victims, whereas governments pass legislation and host conferences concerning the issue. The NGO response usually includes help in all aspects. These include financial, social, psychological, housing, legal, and vocational services. Tzvetkova (2002) shows that while efforts might be made in good faith, it is often hard to provide for long-term housing due to financial restraints. Additionally, the author states that women have a hard time accessing state benefits if they are minors or are not part of the legal framework of the nation. Tzvetkova (2002) explains that NGOs are only able to assist trafficked women as far as legislation in the country allows. The author writes not only about actions that NGOs take after women have been trafficked, but also about NGO prevention efforts. These actions include vocational training, access to employment, gender education, and information campaigns. Tzvetkova (2002) cites the Middle East as

developing a network to support victims of sexual exploitation. The author notes that this is being done largely without governmental support, but instead through voluntary work. Guinn (2008) finds the NGO and donor communities to be key players in getting the sexual exploitation and trafficking of women and girls on the issue map for the international community.

Argument

Current research focuses on sexual exploitation and trafficking across national boundaries, but as Kara (2009) explains, the number is still large and concerning for those trafficked within borders. Before additional resources are allocated to help solve this issue, it is important to identify what methods are best at stopping the crimes. Little research has been done to determine whether NGO or governmental efforts are most effective. For the purpose of this paper, “successful” will be defined as a decrease in the number of victims over time.

I believe that because NGOs must operate within the framework of governmental regulations, they are only equipped to help when a country’s legal framework allows. This is a hindrance to their effectiveness, as is the limitation of funding that NGOs inherently face. I do not expect to find any evidence of NGOs solving the trafficking and exploitation issues without the government also creating and enforcing related laws. Related laws could include a situation where the government has set up a specific void for NGOs to fill. In this manner, I expect to find government solutions to have the long-term effects that are necessary in attempting to eradicate sexual exploitation and trafficking. I also expect to find that NGOs are best equipped to aid by conducting research, proposing solutions, and creating short-term solutions such as rehabilitation for victims. I expect to find that NGOs are necessary for these tasks, thus creating a condition that requires both NGO and government efforts simultaneously.

I believe that this pattern will hold true in Thailand as the government has not yet been able to provide the enforcement mechanism, limiting NGO effectiveness. I also believe that Italy will serve as a long-term study to show the role played by the government and NGOs.

Research Design

In this thesis, I am exploring the amelioration of sexual exploitation by focusing on whether NGOs or governments are better able to provide resources effectively. The cases that I chose, Thailand and Italy, are most relevant to this focus because they provide a wide spectrum to investigate. Thailand is a country that is in a gray area of combating sexual exploitation, while also remaining at the forefront of the international discussion on sex trafficking. Thailand is listed as a Tier 2 Watch List country on the U.S. Department of State's 2013 Trafficking in Persons Report (See Appendix A for more information on the Tier system). This designation indicates that the government is making efforts to combat the issues but has not fully done so yet. Their challenges and successes provide a good measure of contemporary issues. The final case that I chose, Italy, gives an example of how the issues surrounding exploitation have been eradicated while still allowing legalized prostitution.

In each of these cases, I will begin by exploring the scope of the exploitation issues facing the country before attempts were made. I will then look at the efforts made by governmental agencies and NGOs and evaluate their effectiveness both short- and long-term. To complete the analysis of each country, I will address whether there are any major events inhibiting potential successes. Examples of these events are economic crises and armed conflicts.

To evaluate these cases, I examined government and scholarly sources and avoided media and news sources. I included all sources that had relevant information, only excluding sources that focused on or made their conclusions based on an international focus of sexual exploitation. These were excluded because I am focusing solely on exploitation that happens within a country's boundaries. The data and methods used by all of the authors are complete.

Case Study I: Thailand

The Law

Thailand did not take measures to curb sex trafficking until the late twentieth century. Gallagher (2006) states that Thailand's first law against trafficking was passed in 1992 and then amended in 1997. The 1997 law remains the major legislation dealing with

sex trafficking. It “prohibits the selling, buying, luring, sending, receiving, procuring and detaining of women and children to perform sexual acts.” Kara (2009) notes that there are ten laws in Thailand relating to sex trafficking and exploitation, but the lack of law enforcement and increasing government apathy leave the law on the books instead of in action. Gallagher (2006) explains the main weakness in Thailand’s penal code is the lack of protection for males, although it affirms that sex with a child under 18 is a crime. There are proposals currently to change the law and alleviate these threats, but the author expresses doubt that they will be enacted.

Victims in Thailand

Thai law provides an avenue for victims to receive free legal counsel; however, it becomes the responsibility of NGOs to provide the service, said Gallagher (2006). The author states that often the only avenue given for redress is for victims to help prosecute their traffickers. Moreover, there are many shortcomings of using victims as witnesses, including lack of protection against retaliation on their families. Gallagher (2006) lists ways in which Thailand has created special protections for children that are victims of exploitation and trafficking. These include support services, speedy trial and separation from the accused. The government’s job of protecting children in this scenario is decent at best.

The Police

Kara (2009) states that police often take bribes to let brothels remain open, and some officers have even become traffickers. The author discovered this information by speaking first-hand to women in the brothels of Thailand. Gallagher (2006) states that Thai police are unwilling to provide any form of witness protection services. He agrees that officials are complicit and involved in the trafficking and exploitation of women and girls in Thailand. Additionally, many politicians, police, and military have commercial interests in the brothels. Kara (2009) expands on this opinion by recounting a meeting with a member of the Thailand trafficking police unit. This officer was one of 340 that had been hired as part of this force after 2005 legislation. The author explains that the unit had not been funded, so they were operating without computers or vehicles.

Government Efforts

The 2005 Trafficking in Person Report released annually showed that Thailand ranked highly in prevention measures. Gallagher (2006) notes that this is due in part to public information campaigns and support of NGOs by the government. Arnold and Bertone (2002) describe children's shelters that are made available by the social welfare branch of the Thai government. These shelters are available for victims and at-risk youth. While staying at a shelter, children receive training in skills to help them survive in the real world.

Nongovernmental Organization Efforts

Arnold and Bertone (2002) describe the work of NGOs in Thailand by highlighting specific efforts. Fight Against Child Exploitation (FACE) focuses on monitoring cases of arrested perpetrators, advocacy, and awareness. The authors note that FACE also works closely with many government agencies to propose changes to trafficking and exploitation laws. Gallagher (2006) notes that it is almost exclusively the NGOs that identify victims and report them to the government. Once victims have come forward, the Thai government does not deploy investigative services to help with the prosecution but instead leaves the burden to the victim.

NGO and Government Cooperation

A problem identified by Gallagher (2006) is a lack of coordination between government efforts and NGOs within Thailand even though agreements have been signed. Arnold and Bertone (2002) note that there are organizations that serve as liaisons between NGOs and the government such as the Center for the Protection of Children's Rights Foundation (CPCR). This particular organization performs six tasks: emergency shelter for children and pregnant women, twenty-four-hour counseling service, a place where people can call and report abuse, the first stop for a child if he or she is found exploited, miscellaneous services to victims of trafficking, and a hub of coordination between the government and NGOs. Arnold and Bertone (2002) explain that there are also private shelters for youth victims of trafficking, but

these are often much smaller and have a harder time creating a system of cooperation with the government and other NGOs.

Persistence of the Problem

Thailand faces one major structural hurdle to solving the issue of sexual exploitation and trafficking, and it is described by Arnold and Bertone (2002) and Kara (2009). A major problem for Thailand is centered on their large hill tribe population that is considered a lower class than the rest of the population. The stigma associated with this group of people creates financial hardships and low education levels, often leaving few opportunities other than exploitation. Traffickers will go to these villages and lure girls to work in jobs that are guaranteed to bring in significant money for themselves and their families. Kara (2009) explains that the families often feel like there is no choice but to send their daughters away with the traffickers. Once they have joined the traffickers, there is almost no way out as their families enjoy the income they are receiving.

Findings

In summary, NGOs are behind the majority of the meaningful advancements in curbing the prevalence of sex trafficking and exploitation in Thailand. The government has taken steps to codify the illegality of this issue, but lacks appropriate enforcement of the law. NGOs are on the streets, finding victims, bringing them to services and reporting trafficking to officials. There is very little that the government does in prevention and prosecution that is not aided by NGOs. This finding agrees with my argument in a key way. Because the government is not doing the majority of the work, but instead the NGOs are, Thailand is not successful in combatting sexual exploitation and trafficking.

Case Study 2: Italy

The Law

Italy's interaction with sexual exploitation spans more than two centuries back to when the Italian state was just beginning. While Italy is not a developing country, it has dealt with this issue in the past and thus serves as a baseline for comparison. Limoncelli (2010) states that the Italian law passed in 1860 by Prime Minister

Cavour was modeled after French and Belgian systems but with centralized regulation. The legislation sought to protect the health of the people and provide safety for those involved in prostitution. Gibson (1999) explains that Cavour felt that the young country was threatened by the lack of decency and values that were associated with sexual exploitation at the time. The regulations included medical examinations twice weekly and standardized police surveillance.

In 1913, Italy developed measures to follow the recommendations of the 1904 and 1910 conventions, Gibson (1999) said. Danna (2004) explains that Italy's government passed the Merlin Law in 1958 to outlaw trafficking, exploitation of prostitution, and all aiding and abetting regardless of financial gain. This law was passed with the help of Italy's socialist government and marked the first change in trafficking legislation since the unification of the country in 1861.

In 1998, there were three significant advancements in the penal code. Danna (2004) notes that the Turco-Napolitano Law, also referred to as Article 18, was implemented to raise penalties for traffickers and allow persons trafficked to stay and work or study in the country. NGOs heavily criticized this measure as inadequate due to the slow timeline in which things would be handled. Danna (2004) lists the second major policy change as dealing with Italy's law against child molestation in 1998. The added portion to this law created a stricter prison sentence and fine for exploiting a minor with even more penalties if the exploitation included paying the minor. The most recent action by the Italian government, which also came in 1998, was a formal agreement to continue the enforcement of the Merlin Law.

The Police

Kara (2009) relays that Parsec, an Italian NGO, workers complain that police are customers of the street prostitutes. The workers argue that this is why pimps are often not prosecuted for prostituting minors.

Victims in Italy

Danna (2004) notes that by closing all brothels and making only street prostitution legal, the government liberated over 2,500 women and girls. Kara (2009) suggests that these street

prostitutes are usually the victims of sex trafficking, although the majority of trafficked victims are exploited in illegal “closed-door establishments.” Danna (2004) notes that the change to the child molestation law was not altogether effective because the only person able to make a credible charge is a victim. This occurs due to the Tribunal of Perugia in 2000 that outlawed the practice of using the police force as bait in prostitution crimes.

Government Efforts

Limoncelli (2010) explains that neo-regulationist discourse gained popularity and helped push the government to stop compulsory medical examinations in 1880. These reforms were later overturned in 1891. The author also states that by 1890, women’s groups were forming to push for abolitionist laws. These organizations became the first in Italy to force this issue in front of the government since the action taken in 1860.

Gibson (1999) asserts that the neo-regulationists were not concerned about the religious issues surrounding exploitation and trafficking, but instead were concerned about public order, morality, and health. The Chief of the Division of Public Safety sent Italian delegates to the 1904 and 1910 conventions for this reason. Limoncelli (2010) notes that in the 1920s, the major steps forward in reform publicity and enforcement came from the government rather than associations. However, during the next two decades, many women and children were returned to their homes and eleven brothels were shut down in Rome as an experiment, the author explains. As women received the right to vote in 1946 and elected 44 women to Parliament, the issue came back to the forefront of discussion. Limoncelli (2010) describes this moment as the point in which the formulation of the Merlin Law began.

Danna (2004) lists several political parties in opposition to the law. These included the Christian Democrat Party in 1973, as well as the Democrats of the Left and the Federation of Housewives in 1998. All parties called for the reopening of brothels. The author also lists an effort in 1994 by mayors in several cities to have traffic police target clients. This went so far as to include ticketing clients with aiding and abetting if they walked a prostitute back to her spot.

Nongovernmental Organization Efforts

Limoncelli (2010) notes that the major problem with relying on NGOs during the latter part of the 1920s was that Mussolini abolished all groups not organized by the state. However, by the passage of Article 18, NGOs were playing a major part, says Crowhurst (2006). Danna (2004) points out that Article 18 lists about 200 NGOs as receiving extra funding under this legislation to help create and teach specific job training sessions for victims. Crowhurst (2006) states that by the late 1990s, NGOs were intervening on the streets of Italy as part of their daily activities in a way that the state was not.

Kara (2009) describes an NGO operating in Rome that runs street units in prostitution areas. The NGO that the author followed is Parsec, an organization that offers free condoms, abortions, and promotes health and safety. The author also recounts a first-hand story of a prostitute saved off the street and tested for STDs by an NGO called TAMPEP. These are examples of the street services offered by NGOs.

Crowhurst (2006), however, explains that in many instances there is only one professional on staff and the rest are unpaid volunteers. Additionally, each NGO has its own ideological framework within which it operates. This creates a vastly different experience for women attempting to get out of prostitution. Kara (2009) explains that many of the slaves that visit NGO shelters eventually return to the streets.

NGO and Government Cooperation

Danna (2004) explains that Article 18 created significant traction for women's issues in Italy that opened up communication and collaboration with like-minded politicians, NGOs, and policy organizations. Crowhurst (2006) states that when a victim begins the rehabilitation programs offered by social services, the woman is required to complete all portions of the program, including job training and health checkups. The author states that once these have been completed, NGOs will then work with the woman and law enforcement to phase her back into Italian society. Many NGOs run their own rehabilitation programs but lack the necessary

funds to adequately provide all of the training and phases required by Italian law.

Danna (2004) notes, “many other local governments have provided resources for information and aid projects of NGOs, in the spirit of both harm reduction and of Christian redemption.” Kara (2009) spoke with a girl who escaped the brothel she was being held in to live in an NGO shelter. This was only temporary and the government provided her the next step of training and rehabilitation on the premise that she testify against her abusers.

Persistence of the Problem

Crowhurst (2006) and Kara (2009) both agree that the discrepancies between the law as it is written and enforced remain a large issue in Italian society. Kara (2009) states that although there is some police corruption, the main problem with effective prosecution is limited resources for investigation.

Findings

In the case of Italy, NGOs run secondary to government efforts of ameliorating exploitation and trafficking. The Italian government has consistently created and enforced, at least to an acceptable degree, anti-trafficking laws. The NGOs operating within the country are doing the job that the government leaves for them to do. They have established rehabilitation centers that serve as just a portion of the government’s response. It does not seem that NGOs are leading the way in the fight against sexual exploitation and trafficking in Italy, nor that they alone could solve the issue. The argument of this thesis is supported by these findings. Italy has substantial government effort and little NGO work, and enjoys success in lowering the incidence of sexual exploitation and trafficking.

Conclusion

My argument was upheld through the two case studies as supported by the U.S. Department of State’s “Trafficking in Persons Tier System.” By using the tiers as a way to judge whether the efforts within a country are working, a clear pattern emerges. Thailand, a Tier 2 watch list country, relies mostly on NGO support to ameliorate trafficking and exploitation. Therefore, the government

does very little to solve the problem and thus little progress is seen. The result is a low ranking on the tier system. Italy, a Tier I country, enjoys significant support from the government on this issue. NGOs still have a place in the work to stop sex trafficking, but it is regulated and directed by the government.

It is evident through this research that there is a direct relationship between more government action, which means less NGO action, and a higher ranking on the tier system. This system serves as a measurement of success in combatting sexual exploitation and trafficking. Although these findings serve to move the study of this issue forward, there is still work to be done. The research done in this thesis is broad in the sense that there is no specific ratio of NGO to government effort identified as the ideal option. Work can also be done to identify why governments are better able to provide success in this area compared to NGOs. This thesis allows the international community to see that it is important to invest in a country's government rather than an organization to gain the best results when it comes to exploitation and trafficking. While a government can work largely without the support of NGOs, the opposite is not true.

References

- Arnold, C., & Bertone, A. M. (2002). Addressing the sex trade in Thailand: Some lessons learned from NGOs, Part I. *Gender Issues* 20(1), 26.
- Crowhurst, I. (2006). The provision of protection and settlement services for migrant women trafficked for sexual purposes: The case of Italy. In K. Beeks & D. Amir, *Trafficking and the Global Sex Industry* (217-227). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Danna, D. (2004). Italy: The never-ending debate. In J. Outshoorn (Ed.), *The politics of prostitution: Women's movements, democratic states, and the globalisation of sex commerce* (165-184). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.
- Definitions and Methodology. (n.d.). In U.S. Department of State online. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2013/210543.htm>
- Gallagher, A. (2006). Human rights and human trafficking in Thailand: A shadow TIP report. In K. Beeks & D. Amir, *Trafficking and the global sex industry* (139-161). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Gibson, M. (1999). *Prostitution and the state in Italy, 1860-1915*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP.
- Kara, S. (2009). Italy and Western Europe. In S. Kara, *Sex trafficking: Inside the business of modern slavery* (83-107). New York: Columbia UP.
- Kara, S. (2009). Thailand and the Mekong subregion. In S. Kara, *Sex trafficking: Inside the business of modern slavery* (152-178). New York: Columbia UP.
- Limocelli, S. A. (2010). Introduction. In S. A. Limocelli, *The politics of trafficking: The first international movement to combat the sexual exploitation of women* (1-18). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.
- Limocelli, S. A. (2010). Italy's state-driven movement. In S. A. Limocelli, *The politics of trafficking: The first international movement to combat the sexual exploitation of women* (133-143). Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

- Mckay, S. (1998). The effects of armed conflict on girls and women. *Peace & Conflict*, 4(4), 381.
- Parrot, A., & Cummings, N. (2008). *Sexual enslavement of girls and women worldwide*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse. (n.d.). In *UN News Centre* online. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/news/>
- Trafficking in Persons Report. (2014). *The United States of America*. In U.S. Department of State online. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/210742.pdf>
- Tzvetkova, M. (2002). NGO responses to trafficking in women. *Gender & Development*, 10(1), 60-68.
- What Is U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 and Why Is It so Critical Today? (n.d.). In United States Institute of Peace online. Retrieved from http://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR_1325

Appendix A

A Guide To U.S. State Department's Trafficking in Persons Tier System

Tier 1

Countries whose governments fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking.

Tier 2

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards.

Tier 2 Watch List

Countries where governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards, and whose:

- a) the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;
- b) there is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or
- c) the determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional steps over the next year.

Tier 3

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so. The TVPA lists additional factors to determine whether a country should be on Tier 2 (or Tier 2 Watch List) versus Tier 3. First, the extent to which the country is a country of origin, transit, or destination for severe forms of trafficking. Second, the extent to which the country's government does not comply with the TVPA's

minimum standards and, in particular, the extent to which officials or government employees have been complicit in severe forms of trafficking. And third, reasonable measures required to bring the government into compliance with the minimum standards in light of the government's resources and capabilities to address and eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons. A 2008 amendment to the TVPA provides that any country that has been ranked Tier 2 Watch List for two consecutive years and that would otherwise be ranked Tier 2 Watch List for the next year will instead be ranked Tier 3 in that third year. This automatic downgrade provision came into effect for the first time in last year's report. The Secretary of State is authorized to waive the automatic downgrade based on credible evidence that a waiver is justified because the government has a written plan that, if implemented, would constitute making significant efforts to comply with the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is devoting sufficient resources to implement the plan. The Secretary can only issue this waiver for two consecutive years. After the third year, a country must either go up to Tier 2, or down to Tier 3.



OLIVIA CROSS

SHIFTS OF TONIC AROUSAL WITHIN AND BETWEEN TASKS THAT VARY IN COGNITIVE DEMAND

Introduction

Physiological data, such as respiration and electrodermal activity, can reveal significant details about a person's thought process. These measures can be used in conjunction with a series of questions to evaluate credibility as in a lie detector test (Honts, 1994). Electrical conductance under the skin, referred to as electrodermal activity (EDA), occurs because of sympathetic neuronal activity, and is sensitive to changes in autonomic sympathetic arousal (i.e. – an underlying mechanism of the “fight or flight” response) (Critchley, 2002). Sweat glands contain the “fight or flight” hormone which is called cortisol. This hormone becomes innervated by the sympathetic neuronal activity, and can be a good indicator of a person's automatic response. Since cortisol carries a weak electrical charge, this response is measured by recording micro-fluctuations of cortisol from the skin's surface. Generally, EDA responses, or skin conductance responses (SCRs), measure arousal and have been used to look at the role of information processing, attention, emotion and even abnormal behavior on responding to a single controlled stimulus (Dawson, Schell & Filion, 2000). In other words, besides questions that may or may not be responded to truthfully, responses can be matched with stimuli, like a picture, word, or sound, to analyze correlations in shifting patterns of arousal, like in the case of studying emotional impact. One study looked at SCRs of participants who engaged in an attentional task involving positive, negative, and neutral stimuli, and found that for anxious and avoidant groups of people,

negative pictures elicited larger SCRs (Silva, Ferreira, Soares & Esteves, 2015). The more arousal associated with a stimuli, the more changes in skin conductance.

SCRs can be stunted in nature when stimuli are presented quickly. If the participant does not have time to recover to a baseline, or his/her resting SCR, these responses tend to overlap making it difficult to measure arousal in regards to more rapidly presented stimuli. So, one way to measure an overall arousal response is by looking at tonic baseline shifts, or averaged responses over the duration of the task containing all of the presented stimuli. Basically, rather than looking at individual responses, skin conductance levels (SCLs) look at overall arousal level, and if that level is changing throughout the duration of the presented task. Cook, Hawk and Davis (1991) found during a study of valence, or positive and negative emotion-provoking stimuli, that arousal was linked with how much an image provoked a positive or negative reaction. Higher SCLs, were associated with higher arousal level imagery "joy, fear and anger", and lower SCLs were associated with low arousal level imagery "pleasant, relaxation and sadness" (Cook, Hawk, Davis & Stevenson, 1991, p. 10). By looking at these changing patterns of SCLs, one can analyze arousal for conditions including imagery with rapidly presented startle stimuli.

Skin conductance levels can be used to analyze the overall relationship of arousal with regards to tasks that vary in cognitive demand, or mental demand, and where stimuli seemingly void of emotional content, are presented rapidly. Research indicates that SCLs are related to performance and anticipation of performance, which reveals a relationship with "energy regulation and mobilization" (Dawson, Schell & Filion, 2000, p. 215). Because of this, it would make sense that arousal can be shown to vary with perceived sleep quality, fatigue, and mood as well as the cognitive performance demands the individual requires to complete the task.

The present study examined the changing patterns in SCLs during a test of cognitive flexibility in which a participant is analyzed on how well they adapt and detect changing patterns, sustained attention, and attentional filtering, all considered to be

neutral in valence. It was hypothesized that SCLs would reflect the type of task demand and that changing arousal levels within each test reflect an adaptive response over the course of the test. Follow up analysis included measuring sleep and fatigue, the results of which were used to examine the effect of these variables on the pattern of changing SCL data.

Methods

Participants

Participants (N = 51) were University of Missouri – Kansas City (UMKC) students whose mean age was 23.8235 with a standard deviation of 5.96559 ranging from 18 – 42 with normal hearing and normal or corrected vision. There were 37 females and 14 males. Students were recruited via an online recruiting and scheduling system (PsychPool), and course credit, with instructor permission, was used as compensation following participation. All participation was voluntary, and a signed copy of informed consent was filed separately from all other participant data and materials.

Measures

Participants were asked to complete a series of self-report questionnaires, including the Modified Fatigue Impact Scale, which determines self-perceived cognitive and physical fatigue; the Perceived Stress Scale, which measures an individual's perception of his/her stress; and the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI), which measures an individual's perceived sleep and sleep quality.

The participant was prepared for electromyography (EMG) electrode placement on the lower eyelid group (orbicularis oculi) by cleaning and swabbing electrode gel under the participant's left eye and temple, according to established practices (Blumenthal et al., 2005). He/she was asked to go on break to wash the non-dominant hand to prepare for pulse rate and EDA electrode placement. Skin conductance electrode paste was applied to the index and middle finger of the participant as well as to 6mm EDA electrodes, which were then placed on the two fingers according to established practices (Boucsein, 2012). Biometric data obtained consisted of heart rate, SCL, along with the muscle activity of the eyeblink in response to a presented startle noise. Signals were amplified using a Biopac bio-

amplification module and recorded using Acqknowledge software. During the psychophysiological recording portion of the study, the participant was seated comfortably in a sound-attenuated chamber where he/she underwent the Wisconsin Card Sorting Task (WCST), a measure of cognitive flexibility with no time limit or outside stimulus, and Conner's Continuous Performance Test II (CPT), a measure of dimensions of focused/sustained attention lasting approximately 14 minutes introducing letters at varying speeds requiring the participant to hit the spacebar as fast as he/she can for every letter presentation except the letter "X".

Following these tests, the participant underwent the startle eyeblink modification portion of the study called Words-As-Prepulses (WAP). The sound-attenuated chamber was darkened from low light to nonexistent light, and headphones were placed over both ears. The participant was then shown a total of 60 words that included both 15 words from a participant's "to-be-remembered" list, along with 15 words that were similar but not on the list, each to be presented twice. The words were presented randomly, and at random intervals between words, ranging from 2.5 to 5.5 seconds. Each word appeared for 1000ms and startle sounds eliciting a "baseline" eyeblink response were presented in between word trials. During the word trials, the startle noise was presented at 30ms, 120ms, 240ms, and 970ms following word onset in pseudo-random order, and counterbalanced during the duration of the study. The participant was then asked to keep their attention on the screen and to press the spacebar as soon as any word appeared. This test assessed, among other aspects, how well the individual was able to filter out a loud, abrasive stimulus while concentrating on responding to a target stimuli (the words).

At the conclusion of the tests, the participant was disconnected from the electrode recording equipment, debriefed, and thanked for his/her participation. SCLs were analyzed over the course of early, late and middle portions of each test to determine variability of arousal patterns in relation to the respective portion during the duration of the test. Afterwards, a post-hoc analysis of perceived sleep and fatigue was used to assess other factors modulating patterns of arousal during each of these tests.

Results

A 3 (test type) X 3 (time) repeated measures ANOVA of SCL revealed a significant main effect of test type: $F(2, 100) = 59.07$, $p < .001$, while the main effect of time was not significant. However, the interaction of time by test type was also significant [$F(4, 200) = 19.27$, $p < .001$] indicating that arousal level, as measured by SCL changed differently, but not in the same way, see Figure 1.

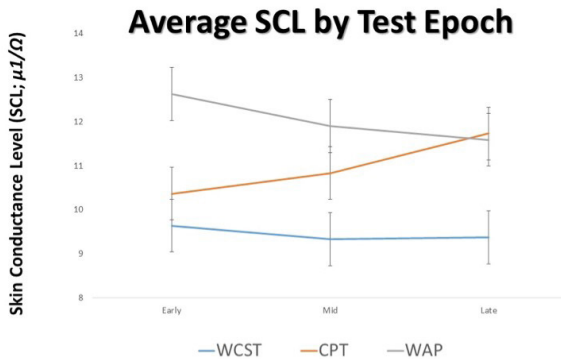


Figure 1

In order to assess other measures coinciding with these changing arousal patterns, first participants were divided among two groups: self-perceived “poor” sleepers and self-perceived “good” sleepers as determined by the PSQI. When these two groups were analyzed by the variability of skin conductance levels from early – late portions of the WCST by the total correct answers given, it was determined that self-perceived “poor” sleepers who had more SCL change throughout the test had less correct answers whereas self-perceived “good” sleepers who had more SCL change throughout the test had more correct answers, see Figure 2. When these same variables were analyzed with reaction times on the CPT, it was found that both “poor” and “good” self-perceived sleepers had longer reaction times with higher levels of arousal changes,

see Figure 3. However, when looking at reaction time consistency, or how much they changed from shorter to longer reaction times throughout the test, self-perceived “poor” sleepers with higher levels of SCL change tended to have less consistency, and self-perceived “good” sleepers with higher levels of SCL change tended to have more consistency, see Figure 4.

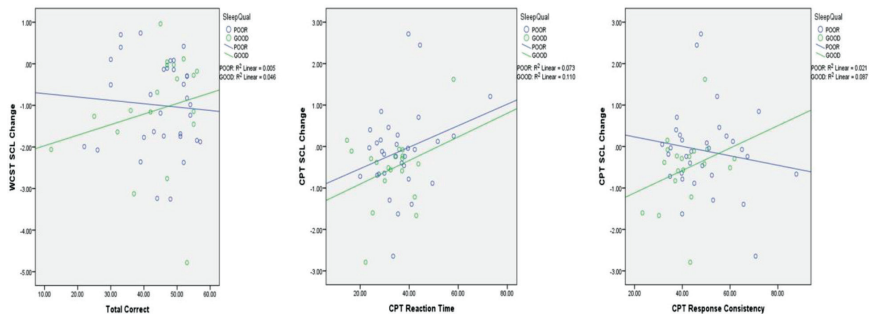


Figure 2-4

Average SCL over the course of these tests was then compared with self-perceived mental and physical fatigue. In all 3 tests there was little to no change among self-perceived “good” sleepers, but self-perceived “poor” sleepers who also perceived themselves to be more mentally and/or physically fatigued had significantly lower average SCLs. So, it appears that those who considered themselves to be “poor” sleepers, who were more fatigued either mentally or physically, had significantly less average arousal over the course of all three tests, see Figures 5-10.

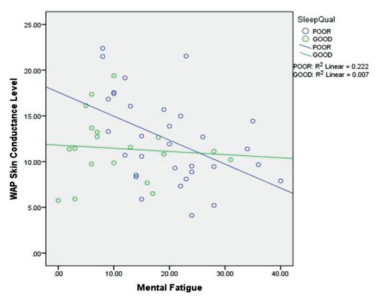
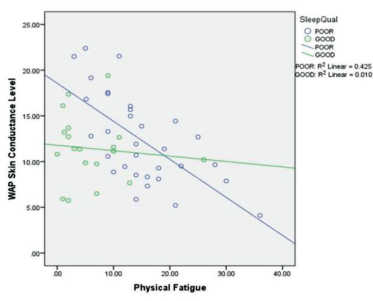
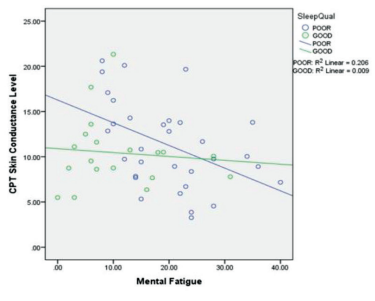
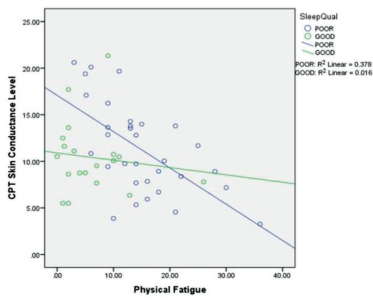
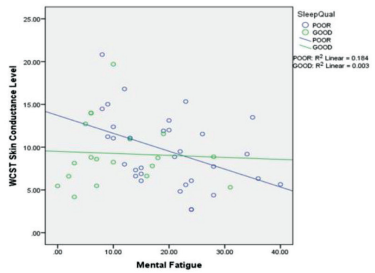
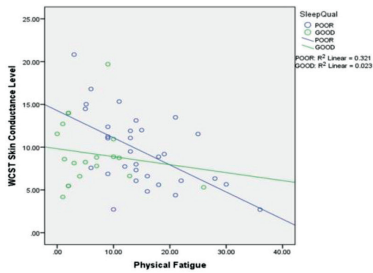


Figure 5-10

Discussion

The main effects results support the hypothesis as they suggest that baseline arousal is affected by the demands of the specific test as well as showing a type of adaptive response to the demands of test as well. Because the stimuli were neutral in nature, it can be safe to assume these changes were due, in some ways, to the cognitive demands of the test. If the stimuli were not neutral, it could not be certain that the changing arousal patterns were not due to strength from an emotional response. When looking at the overall changes in arousal patterns of the WCST, it is revealed that there is a slight dip in arousal from the early to middle portion of the test, but a slight increase from the middle to late portion of test indicating that there was not much in the way of arousing stimuli presented over the course of the test, nor was there much cognitive demand placed on the participant. When looking at the changes in the pattern of arousal from early to middle and middle to late portions of the CPT, it is shown that over the course of this longer, more exhausting test, arousal tends to increase. It may be inferred by watching arousal levels increase over the course of this test, that participants may be becoming increasingly tired, and need the extra levels of arousal to keep themselves awake in order to complete the task at hand. Conversely, when looking at the WAP where a startle noise is elicited throughout, the participants tend to start out with higher levels of arousal, which tends to decrease over the course of this much shorter test. When assessing the results from the WAP, it may be that the startle eliciting noise is abrasive enough to jump start this mechanism involved in the “fight or flight” because of seeing those high levels of SCLs early on. Over time, the participant tends to habituate to the noise and becomes less aroused as the test continues. It may be inferred that it is some kind of anxiety-producing aspect occurring within these tests causing these increases and decreases in arousal over time.

The results from this study reveal that arousal levels are dependent not only on the type of test that’s given, but the duration of the test as well. When looking at sleep, it is shown that during the WCST, “poor” sleepers have a harder time performing

well on tests of cognitive flexibility the more aroused they become, but “good” sleepers actually perform better as they become more aroused, perhaps indicating that sleep quality has something to do with task demands when a person is confronted with an alerting response. For both groups of sleepers it was clear that the more varied their SCLs were, the longer their reaction times tended to be, indicating that the ability to have stable arousal patterns has to do with how quickly a person is performing a task, but, when looking at how consistent each type of sleeper was in reacting, it was clear that “poor” sleepers were less consistent in reaction times the more varied their skin conductance level was, and “good” sleepers were more consistent the more varied their skin conductance was inferring that “good” sleepers had a tendency to adapt to changing arousal patterns better than “poor” sleepers.

When looking at mental and physical fatigue in relation to sleep and average skin conductance levels, the results suggested that “good” sleepers who perceived themselves to be more mentally and/or physically fatigued had little change in skin conductance levels from those that perceived themselves to be less fatigued, however those who considered themselves to be “poor” sleepers who were more mentally and/or physically fatigued had overall lower average skin conductance levels in all three test conditions emphasizing that self-perceived “poor” sleepers may have less of an ability to become physiologically aroused when introduced to an outside stimuli intended to evoke anxiety.

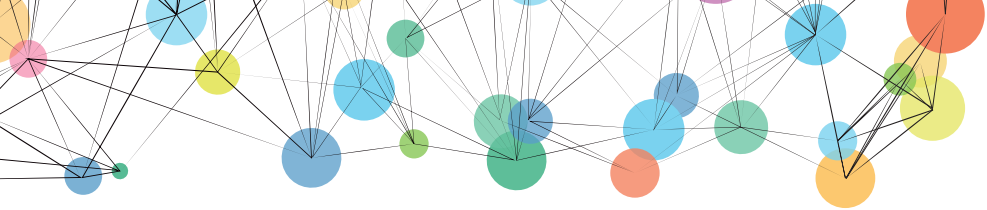
This study is not without several limitations. While analysis of self-perceived sleep and fatigue may be relevant in regards to the physiological data received in this study, there is no guarantee that it is an individual’s actual fatigue and sleep being reflected. Follow up research using actual physiological sleep and fatigue data in regards to SCLs in relation to tasks varying in cognitive demand may yield more conclusive results about what is occurring when these different patterns emerge.

The significance of these results provides better understanding of the physiological mechanisms behind tests and tasks that are undertaken every day. These data suggest there is a significant

relationship between arousal, performance, perceived mental and physical fatigue, and perceived sleep. It is important to take all of these qualities into consideration when determining capabilities in larger aspects of achievements in life.

References

- Blumenthal, T. D., Cuthbert, B. N., Filion, D. L., Hackley, S., Lipp, O. V., & van Boxtel, A. (2005). Committee report: Guidelines for human startle eyeblink electromyographic studies. *Psychophysiology*, *42*(1), 1-15. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8986.2005.00271.x
- Boucsein, W. (2012) Publication recommendations for electrodermal measurements. *Psychophysiology*, *49*, 1017-1034. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8986.2012.01384x
- Cook, C.W. III, Hawk, L.W. Jr., Davis, T.L., & Stevenson, V.E. (1991). Affective individual differences and startle reflex modulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *100*(1), p. 5-13.
- Critchley, H.D. (2002). Electrodermal Responses: What happens in the brain. *The Neuroscientist*, *8*(2), 132-142.
- Dawson, M.E., Schell, A.M., & Filion, D.L. (2000). The electrodermal system. In Cacioppo, J.T., Tassinary, L.G., & Berntson, G.G. (Eds.) *The Handbook of Psychophysiology* (2nd ed., pp. 200-223). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Honts, C. R. (1994) Psychophysiological detection of deception. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* *3*(3), p. 77-82.
- Silva, C., Ferreira, A.C., Soares, I., & Esteves, F. (2015). Emotions under the skin: Autonomic reactivity to emotional pictures in insecure attachment. *Journal of Psychophysiology* *29*(4),161-170. doi:10.1027/0269-8803/a000147



ANTHONY GILYARD

A DISSECTION OF VIDEO GAMES AS A MEDIUM OF ART: THE UTILIZATION OF AESTHETICS AND THE EFFECTIVENESS OF VIDEO GAMES AS A TOOL IN CURRICULUM

Over the years, video games have seen increasing acceptance as a classification of art by individuals other than those traditionally defined as gamers, such as politicians and educators. Art as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary has many definitions, but the definition discussed in this paper is “the expression or application of human creative skill and imagination, typically in a visual form” (“Art”). Once considered just a form of entertainment, video games have garnered much more cultural significance in society. The United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of the classification of video games as art in 2011, and even the French Minister of Culture, Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, supported the recognition of video games as an art form in 2006. Despite being initially introduced as a form of entertainment, video games play an important role in popular culture as well as education. With the incorporation of aesthetics along with the capabilities of video games in the classroom, video games are a form of art that can be applied in several artistic disciplines.

Video games, just like books, movies, or poetry, can be designed with various meanings, interpretations, or intent. For instance, what if video games are designed to integrate players into their gameplay, creating different experiences based off the interpretation of the player? In education, could students in a visual arts curriculum learn basic programming and how to create 2D art through a video game? Society in general can learn to appreciate and utilize video games beyond their current reach as they can

become instrumental tools in reflection and learning. Involved in the concept of art is “aesthetic,” which means “perception” in Greek and is defined by our experience of art and/or the nature of the art such as how it’s designed. Video games can allow people, not just gamers, to create and share their creative ideas and beliefs through story as well as aesthetics, one of the core concepts of game design. Aesthetics help us understand what qualities determine a work’s categorization as art as well as the work’s overall quality. In video games, the aesthetic may encompass several aspects such as graphics, art design, music, and mechanics. In the *Journal of Media Practice*, Ernest Adams, a game design consultant, mentions that video games have aspects of aesthetics in which “there are distinct aesthetic qualities of games, such as ‘replayability,’ that may not apply to more conventional art forms” (Adams 71). Adams explains that video games present aesthetic qualities not seen in other forms. Replayability, for example, is the desire to play through a game again with the intent of seeking a different experience. This type of aesthetic quality is very common in games that allow players to make decisions that could affect a game’s narrative or its characters. Of course, aesthetic qualities such as replayability may not be present in every video game.

Over the past few decades, many video games have been designed or created with various differences in aesthetics with the intent of invoking different experiences and emotions. Take 1993’s, *Doom*, for example. *Doom* is a science fiction first-person shooter game with 2.5-D graphics that pits a player against the demons of Hell. The game was highly acclaimed for its art and style at the time as well as for its music, gameplay, and pace. The game has very little story and mainly involves the mass slaughter of demons using multiple weapons with heavy rock music playing in the background. The player is constantly moving as a result of the game’s pace, thus creating fast and action-filled gameplay. One of the game’s creators, John Carmack, stated that the reason for the game’s design was for the players to feel quick and powerful while destroying grotesque demons at an alarming rate (Mendoza 249-250). The main protagonist is a nameless space marine with no given history

or background, which allows players to picture themselves as the space marine. This allows players to become more immersed in the game's experience and become more engaged in the gameplay. After the game's release, it received critical acclaim and attention for its innovation and style in the video game industry with several sequels and mods created afterwards. Many players praised the game's unique atmosphere and experience, raising the standard for later games.

Telltale's *The Walking Dead* is a more recent example of a video game with unique aesthetic. Released in 2012, *The Walking Dead* is a point and click game set in the same universe as the comic books it's based off of, but with a whole new cast of characters. The game was developed in cell-shaded graphic designed to have visuals similar to that of a comic book. Storytelling is a large and integral aspect of the game design with the development of characters and their stories being critical. Unlike *Doom*, *The Walking Dead* puts less emphasis on gameplay and more on the story. The game allows players to make decisions over the course of the narrative that can have a positive or negative impact on the player's relationships with other characters. Additionally, these decisions can affect the flow of the narrative, influencing the cause-and-effect relationship of events and how characters react.

Music is also an important element of the video game, setting the tone and mood for events and creating a suspenseful or emotional atmosphere. *The Walking Dead* has been critically acclaimed by reviewers and players alike, praising the game for the harsh emotional tone and the emphasis on character development rather than making exciting gameplay. A large emphasis on having exciting gameplay would have been detrimental to the game's intended experience because the intent was to create a meaningful and impactful story, not create a game with such a large focus on gameplay to the point where the gameplay serves as a distraction from the story. Games like Telltale's *The Walking Dead* evoke themes and experiences in which writers pass down their thoughts for the player to interpret through gameplay and his or her own experiences. The use of aesthetics can engage players in

ways unique to the realm of video games. The players can become emotionally invested in characters because much time and effort is put into their development. Should one of these characters die, the game is designed to place a toll on players who feel more invested in the characters, creating emotional responses and thoughts upon their deaths. In many cases, it is up to the player to decide what is meaningful and what is not depending on their interpretations of the game. That being said, not everyone enjoyed *The Walking Dead* as it lacks gameplay and emphasizes the story. However, like all evaluations of art, these opinions ultimately depend on personal taste.

One game that intentionally leaves players with the ability to interpret the meaning of its story is *Limbo*, released in 2010. Unlike most other games, *Limbo* has a unique style and aesthetic as it is a 2D puzzle/platformer with visuals identical to that of a film noir. The game presents itself in shades of black and white with film grain effects and minimal ambient sounds to create a mysterious, eerie atmosphere. According to the main composer, Martin Stig Andersen, the game's music and sound design is mainly acousmatic or ambient with the intention of creating interpretation on the player's part (Thomsen 2). The story involves a nameless boy who wakes up in a forest on the "edge of hell" and leaves to search for his missing sister. *Limbo's* narrative is minimal because the creators of the game wanted players to interpret the story for themselves (Thompson 2). Critics praised the game for its presentation and was even compared to works of German Expressionism, a creative movement in Germany that occurred before World War I (Martin 24).

These are just a few of examples of how video games can provide different experiences in aesthetics. Depending on the view of the player, aesthetic qualities can differ on what can make a game an artistic experience. In *Limbo*, for example, does one find oneself in deep contemplation of the game's ambience and how it affects the meaning of the game's narrative? Or does the sound make the game a dull experience and detract from its overall quality? In *Doom*, does the absence of story make the game less meaningful,

or does it strengthen the game's structure in favor of making the game more applicable to players? These aspects of video gaming can create meaning depending on who interprets them. There are those who play games purely focused on the action or gameplay. On the other hand, there are those who play a game to invest in the story, treating characters and their experiences as if they actually exist. As art exists for taste and interpretation, so can video games in which anyone can experience them, appreciating any of their aesthetic qualities.

Despite their differences from traditional forms of art, video games do not stray from other forms of art in terms of intent or origin. Jef Folkerts, a lecturer of communication and media at Hanze University, states that video games are not unlike other forms of art such as books or films because “without exception they all are products of the imagination and as cultural artefacts an expression of, and a reflection on the culture they emerge from. On the other side they all, one way or another, arouse imagination among their users” (Folkerts 99). *Doom*, *The Walking Dead*, *Limbo*, and many other games provide different aesthetics and experiences. These games help satisfy players with various tastes, leading people to appreciate some games over others. Some games may be interpretive and require some investment, while other games can be taken at face value without any detriment or benefit to the overall experience. Through aesthetics, creativity in video games takes both a broad and specific approach with its applicability not just towards society in general, but also as an instrumental tool in art education.

Some video games allow players to create and design their own content or worlds. Limits vary on these games' restrictions, but players can use complex thinking or creativity to work around these limits, creating products of their mind. Games like these can help students in the field of visual arts, encouraging them to use their creative minds and produce works within a video game at low cost with potentially limitless resources. For example, the Xbox 360 exclusive *Halo 3* gives players a chance to create unique maps for players to play together by using objects such as crates, fences,

and boxes to create various structures (CMNeir). The popular video game series, *The Sims*, revolves around the freedom in the creation of many things such as homes, carnivals, and even medieval castles. World building games or games with a large emphasis on creativity are now starting to create a presence in art curriculum with the addition of *Minecraft*.

Minecraft is a highly popular, critically acclaimed video game created by developer Markus Perrson where creation makes up the core of the gameplay. Players use textured cubes to build constructions of any kind. The game does not provide a tutorial or instructions for new players and so they must learn the game's mechanics themselves or refer to the hundreds of how-to videos on *YouTube* made by more experienced players. There are three modes in the game: creative mode, survival mode, and adventure mode. Creative mode, the mode that would best fit the curriculum, gives players access to all building material and resources at the beginning of the game to build what they like within the world with no restrictions. In survival mode, the player must avoid hostile inhabitants of the world whenever possible, strategically gather resources, and build shelters to protect themselves from monsters such as giant spiders and zombies. Adventure mode gives the main objective of navigating through a player-created map in order to find and destroy the fictional Ender Dragon. Although all three modes give the player the ability to make choices and use whatever materials they see fit, creative mode immediately gives players total creative freedom, giving them all the materials at the start with the ability to create what they want. Because of this, the game is very appealing for educators because it gives students limitless possibilities in structural creations and gives educators an opportunity to engage with their students.

Two art educators, Alexandra Overby and Brian Jones, advocate the use of video games in an art curriculum. They studied the use of the game *Minecraft* and its role in the classroom as well as how it affects students from grades K-12. Observing the students, they noticed that while they initially struggled to grasp the concepts and mechanics of the game, they quickly started to become

accustomed to how the game worked (Overby and Jones 22). The authors noted that the players quickly began to debate which building material would be most appropriate for their structure, how to create building materials as well how to change their color, and to look into factors such as the theme, size, and detail of their structures (Overby and Jones 22). Projects such as villages inspired by medieval architecture, monumental homes, and even a children's museum were among some of what the students created and expanded on with constructions becoming more and more complex and elaborate.

After the study, Overby and Jones concluded that *Minecraft* can apply several key concepts to classroom learning. It was found that *Minecraft* can teach basic programming skills that would allow the ability to create interactive digital art (Overby and Jones 24). According to Overby and Jones, programming in the game can lead to more advanced or complicated coding and create interest in learning image and 3-D programs such as Photoshop or Maya (Overby and Jones 24). Collaboration was another significant aspect of the game that helped players work together during the construction of buildings. Some players can gather materials, while others can start building. Lastly, *Minecraft* gives the ability to create pixel art, a 2-D art that is then recreated in 3-D in the game (Overby and Jones 24). In this process, students must critically think and analyze what and how many resources they need to convert the art from 2-D to 3-D. Examples of pixel art can be anything from video game characters to recreating famous works of art. The possibilities are practically limitless.

Minecraft thrusts players into the role of both an architect and a developer in which they can critically think and analyze what they need or must do to express their imaginative ideas. Users even have the opportunity to share their works online and allow them to be critiqued and interpreted by anyone who views them. This criticism allows players to gain feedback on the meaning and characteristics of their work. Despite this, there are educators who believe that learning based on computers could prove to be detrimental in the classroom (Overby and Jones 26). There are also educators who may be unaccustomed to technology and thus may be uncomfortable

with using video games in the classroom (Overby and Jones 26). In her own article about technology in art education, Professor Penelope Orr believes that the lack of knowledge or confidence regarding technology in art curriculum hinders the possibility of new media practices in art education. Unlike technology such as interactive whiteboards or an iPad with drawing apps, works can easily be produced within a video game with little cost or risk. Students can create reflections of their imagination with easy accessibility for others to see and provide feedback on their work. Ryan Patton of the Virginia Commonwealth University agrees, saying:

“...art educators should learn how to critique and make video games as a way to develop an understanding of the associations between objects and ideas and how game interactions can be traced to reveal and critique complex relationships and systems within artistic and other life processes” (Patton 47).

Aesthetic qualities such as mechanics in world building and visual style can appeal to educators in helping provide students the tools to think critically about their creations.

Video games are a worthy form of art. Unlike other art forms, they contain unique aesthetic features that can enhance the player's experiences and feelings. Graphics, art design, music, mechanics, and interactivity can create an experience quite different from other forms of art. However, video games are very similar to other forms as they can be the subject of interpretation and taste. Keeping people who experience their video games in mind, video game developers focus on applicability in an attempt to connect players and immerse them in the gaming experience. Of course, the weight of this varies depending on the individual, but many video games push to convey a message to their players. For example, as mentioned before, *Doom* wants players to feel powerful and unique, constructing the main protagonist in a way that allows the players to be the main protagonist themselves rather than have a predetermined character as the protagonist. In order for users to decide a game's meaning, they must ask what a video game means to them and what they seek from it.

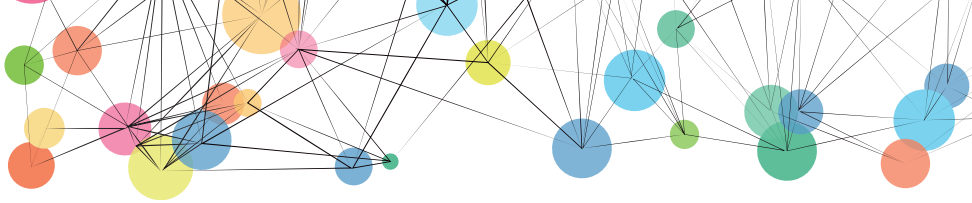
From applicability in aesthetics, video games extend themselves not just into popular culture, but also the art curriculum. Many of them allow the in-game manifestation of the player's imagination as well as become an integral part of a classroom's curriculum. With minimal cost and risk, games that demand the creation of worlds or certain environments can allow students to apply critical thinking skills when building and constructing. As both social media and the Internet grow, so does the ability for students as well as players in general to share their creations online. Unique creations and designs can allow students to develop their own works as well as the works of others online to find inspiration and learn new concepts in visual arts. Although this is still a debated topic, video games have provided unique experiences and ways of engagement that are unlike other forms of art. In order to strongly benefit from video games, they must be seen as not just a tool for entertainment, but as a tool that can allow personal growth and experience through their applicability as an art form.

Works Cited

- "Art." Def. 1. *oed.com*. Oxford Dictionaries, April 2016. Accessed 10 April 2016.
- Adams, Ernest W. "Will Computer Games Ever Be A Legitimate Art Form?." *Journal Of Media Practice*, vol. 7, no .1, 2006, pp. 67-77.
- Bruyn, Severyn T. "Art and Aesthetics (Severyn T. Bruyn)." Boston College, 2002. Accessed 12 Apr. 2016.
- "ForgeHub Presents: The Best of Halo 3 Forge." *YouTube*, uploaded by C.M. Neir, 12 Sept. 2010.
- Crampton, Thomas. "For France, Video Games Are as Artful as Cinema." *The New York Times*, 05 Nov. 2006. Accessed 15 Apr. 2016.
- Folkerts, Jef. "Playing Games As An Art Experience: How Videogames Produce Meaning Through Narrative And Play." At *The Interface / Probing The Boundaries* vol. 69., 2010, pp. 99-117.
- Mahardy, Mike. "A Visual History of The Sims - IGN." *IGN. International Gaming News*, 4 Sept. 2014: 1-2. Accessed 14 Apr. 2016.
- Martin, Garrett. "Summer Games: Dark 'Limbo' Provides Cool Action." *The Boston Herald*, 26 July 2010: 24. Accessed 13 Apr. 2016.
- Mendoza, Johnathan. *The Official Doom Survivor's Strategies & Secrets*. N.p.: John Wiley & Sons, 1994. 249-50.
- Orr, Penelope P. "A Hollow God: Technology's Effects on Paradigms and Practices in Secondary Art Education." Dissertation, Purdue University, 2003.
- Patton, Ryan. "Games As An Artistic Medium: Investigating Complexity Thinking In Game-Based Art Pedagogy." *Studies In Art Education*, vol. 55., no. 1, 2013, pp. 35-50.
- Sutter, John D. "Supreme Court Sees Video Games as Art." *Cable News Network* 27 June 2011. Accessed 15 Apr. 2016.
- "Minecraft Unleashed 2: Worlds Greatest Builds [HD Montage]." *YouTube*, uploaded by *TheTechJoint*, 28 July 2015.

Thomsen, Michael. "How Limbo Came to Life." *IGN. International Gaming News*, 14 Sept. 2010. Accessed 13 Apr. 2016.

Verby, Alexandra, and Brian Jones. "Virtual Legos: Incorporating Minecraft Into The Art Education Curriculum." *Art Education*, vol. 68, no. 1, 2015, pp. 21-27.



CLAIRE GODFREY

RACE, LANGUAGE AND THE URBAN LANDSCAPE: ON MATERIAL EFFECTS OF RACIALIZED IDENTITY FORMATIONS

Introduction

An immense body of work already exists with respect to the relationship between race and the modern landscape which demonstrates the depths of the racial dimension of America's urban development. Statistics show that in the decades since the Civil Rights Movement, segregation and particularly the hyper-segregation of whites has grown. Distance between racial groups is evident in practically every area of social life, from housing, employment, and education to health, political access and representation, and involvement with the criminal justice system. Over a century of *de jure* white supremacy in the United States has effectively resulted, in keeping with the 1968 prediction of the Kerner Commission, in "two societies, one black, one white – separate and unequal." Racialized residential discrimination and the struggles both to enact and dismantle it have had an extremely influential effect on America's degeneration into its standard form of a racially-dual society.

Individual understandings of concepts such as race and racism are practically as varied as the people who live by them. For the purposes of this paper, race and racial categories are defined as "a [fabricated] body of prejudgments that distorts our ideas about human differences and group behavior" (American Anthropological Association, 713). This identification of race as something which was initially created by man is not to deny the salience of race and racism in the lives of individuals throughout history. Rather, it is to remind that "human beings have the capacity to learn any

cultural behavior,” and, by extension, that we are similarly capable of unlearning damaging behavior (American Anthropological Association, 713). The specific concept of racialization refers to “the way in which racial categories sort people, society distributes resources along racial lines, and state policy shapes and is shaped by the racial contours of society” (Gotham 13). This racially-based unequal distribution of resources historically established land acquisition and infrastructure precedents that have more often than not proved resistant to change with devastating long-term effects.

In terms of urban planning, there are two different levels wherein the racialization of space takes place: first, the material or physical, which is racialized through the effects of both explicit and implicit racist policies and private action, and second, the extra-verbal, or cognitive dimension, wherein ideological indoctrination frames how individuals perceive their material surroundings, thereby dictating how said individuals are inclined to act. In the United States, the connection between race, land (property) and individual identity was established early, and has mutated along with the ideology of white supremacy into the ‘colorblind’ form it takes today. To demonstrate the origins and form of America’s dual-level racialization of space, this paper presents analyses of racialized identity formation, ideological mechanisms of indoctrination and institutionalization, and a consideration of the ways in which these are interwoven with the real estate industry and urban development as a whole. As previous scholars have pointed out, the ultimate purpose of naming and describing racist practices is not to pass judgment nor induce guilt but rather to empower current and future generations to both recognize and work against racism in all its forms.

Ideology and the American Racial Identity

General definitions of ideology describe a set of beliefs, an outlook or a worldview that provide individuals with established frameworks for understanding relationships (to others and to one’s environment) and making decisions about how to act (Higgs 36). In the history of human society, ideologies have, more often than not,

been used by the elite to harness the labor, power, and support of other (lower) classes, if not for explicit material gain then at the very least to ensure their continued dominance. This method of using ideology to divide and conquer has been used in the United States, wherein the ideology of white supremacy justified the legal sanction of slavery for nearly 100 years and has been providing rationalizations for the continuing oppression and exploitation of minorities in the years since.

Contrary to the current popular understanding (which is demonstrably ideologically based) that racists are no more or less than individual extremists who operate on the outskirts of acceptable society, when a given society's normative function is the unequal distribution of power and resources along racial lines, any action which is not explicitly and adequately anti-racist will inadvertently follow society's established racialized trajectory (Barndt 148). In the United States, the ideology of white supremacy has continually provided a variety of benefits to the white population, the most basic of which is solidarity, i.e., the fulfillment of the human psychological/spiritual need to associate with a broader group identity (Higgs 42). These benefits, though often tangible, are essentially no more than a bribe, gifted to the white population automatically and specifically designed to both disguise the globalized system of resource redistribution and dissipate organized resistance (Alexander 34-35).

The clearest example of this racial bribe in US history is in its initial establishment, described by Michelle Alexander in *The New Jim Crow* as follows:

Deliberately and strategically, the [elite] planter class extended special privileges to poor whites in an effort to drive a wedge between them and black slaves. White settlers were allowed greater access to Native American lands, white servants were allowed to police slaves through slave patrols and militias, and barriers were created so that free labor would not be placed in competition with slave labor. These measures effectively eliminated the risk of future alliances between black slaves and poor whites.

Poor whites suddenly had a direct, personal stake in the existence of a race-based system of slavery. Their own plight had not improved by much, but at least they were not slaves. Once the planter elite split the labor force, poor whites responded to the logic of their situation and sought ways to expand their racially privileged position. (25)

Similar forms of this bribe have been repeatedly enacted since. Therefore, white privilege and racial discrimination today have been institutionalized and work for the most part autonomously, which allows whites to distance themselves from the racial dimension of their daily actions (Bonilla-Silva 53). Racial bribes today rely not on whites' violent maintenance of racial boundaries; that work is completed by the autonomous functions of the state. Instead, whites merely have to commit to turning a blind eye to the ways in which their privileged treatment is reliant on the continued exploitation of others.

Although race is not the only axis of social division at work in modern society, it is, especially in the United States, overdeterminant, functioning essentially as a meta-language which "impregnates the simplest meanings we take for granted... [and] tends to subsume other sets of social relations" (Higginbotham 255). Where an individual's understanding of their identity is connected both to racial superiority and private property as symbolic of wealth, it follows that disruptions to perceived racial and residential norms would have an incendiary effect on political engagement as a means to defend/secure one's perceived holdings. Historically, the ideology of white supremacy has relied on this metaphor of theft or threat of loss to induce impoverished, working, and middle class whites to decry organizations and institutions that might have benefitted them, like independent labor unions, public housing, and government welfare, on the basis of their racialized implications.

Language of Ideology, Meta-Language of Race

Language is an integral part of identity development. In his article on the development of Israeli/Palestinian group identities, Phillip Hammock describes the development of individual identity as "ideology cognized through the individual engagement with

discourse, made manifest in a personal narrative constructed and reconstructed across the life course, and scripted in and through social interaction and social practice” (222). This process begins even before birth, as philosopher Louis Althusser points out; babies are born, at the very least, with the expectation that they will bear their father’s name, i.e., attach to a pre-existing identity formation (119). In recent years, studies of early child language development found that “by the time the children were 3 years old, trends in amount of talk, vocabulary growth, and style of interaction were well-established...when we listened to the children, we seemed to hear their parents speaking” (Hart & Risley 7). When, as in the United States, children develop both under conditions of racial hyper-segregation and with exposure to the mentality of past generations through familial interaction, the “power of a word to mean,” specifically the power of internalized racial language in early identity development can have devastating effects (Higginbotham 256, Bonilla-Silva 32, 60).

In recent years, psychologists have experimented with tracking brain activity on an MRI machine while showing subjects images of people’s faces of various races in order to test the extra-verbal boundaries of the sociological theories that individuals differentiate associations based on racial identifiers. The image of an unfamiliar black face triggered neural responses in the amygdala of white men, the area of the brain specifically associated with fear and vigilance. In a different study, images of the homeless, black or white, both incited activity in the insula, an area associated with disgust, and “failed to stimulate areas of the brain that usually activate whenever people think about other people, or themselves” (Fiske). These experiments substantiate what students of ideology and racism have maintained for years, that the “social construction of race [is] predicated upon the recognition of difference and signifying the simultaneous distinguishing and positioning of groups vis-à-vis one another” (Higginbotham 253). It is important to recall that this recognition of difference is taught through an individual’s socialization in racial isolation; it is a learned behavior, not a biological predisposition.

Althusser refers to this process as “the ideological recognition function,” which he compares to an individual being hailed in the street; though the metaphor implies a linear progression of time, in fact the hailing and the individual recognition of his or her identity as the hailed occurs simultaneously, the implication being that any individual capable of being so hailed ideologically is “always-already” primed for activation (118-119). In effect, any time an individual of a given group is confronted with a decision, whether they realize their decision-making process has been ideologically corrupted or not, they will act accordingly, unless they make the active and often inconvenient or “illogical” choice of acting against their ideological intuition. This process, and more specifically the system of classificatory logic that induces whites to “misrecognize” fellow humans as an alien or “Other,” is the underlying ideological mechanism whites use to justify and rationalize the existence of the racially-stratified system at work in the United States today (Wynter 45).

It is specifically this misrecognition function, upheld in reality by ideological and state apparatus, that has resulted in the modern meta-language of race that lends differential meanings to words depending on their racial association. Consider, for example, the following passage from Barndt’s *Dismantling Racism*:

What are simply school problems in any other place become ‘problems of minority education.’ Whatever the issue – housing, school, jobs, street lights, sewers, sex, welfare, family life – in the ‘minority community,’ they become racial problems... Categories such as ‘cultural deprivation,’ ‘welfare syndrome’ or ‘family deterioration’ are part of the everyday language to describe people of color in the United States.

A totally different vocabulary is used, of course, to describe the white community – a vocabulary that gives more pleasant names to our illnesses. For example, we live in ‘communities’ and ‘neighborhoods;’ they live in ‘ghettos,’ ‘inner cities,’ and ‘slums.’ We have ‘youth disturbances;’ they have ‘race riots.’ The use of such sociological languages

Figure 1: Racial microaggressions are forms of ideological invalidation. (Sue et al. 278)

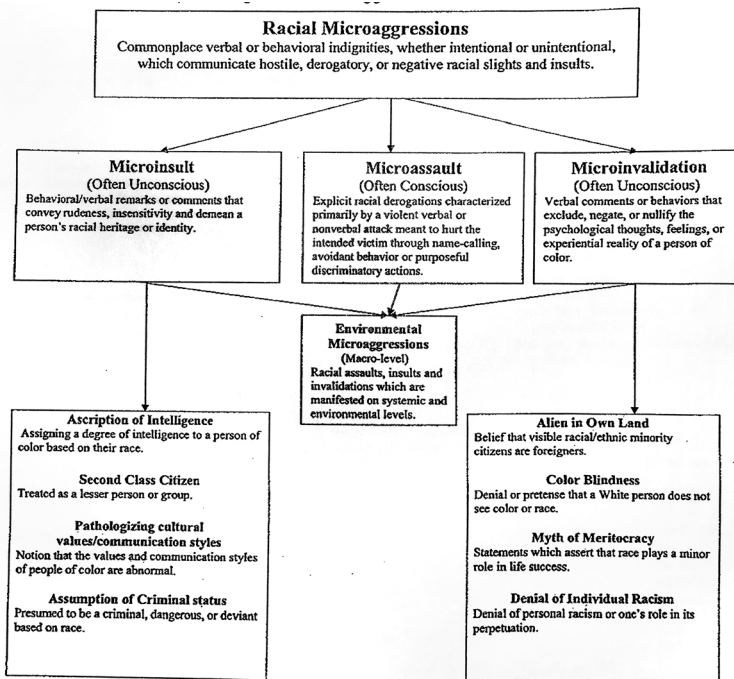


Figure 1

to describe our separate existences helps to make the cultural curtain even more impenetrable. (108-109)

Higginbotham specifically demonstrates how this dual system of classification based on race is visible when we consider how the experiences of individuals in other categories of social division are split along racial lines. During the Reconstruction Era, for example, black women were routinely criticized for “female loafersm,” i.e., their

withdrawal from the workforce “to play the lady while their husbands supported them” (260). During the same period, upper-class white women were increasingly encouraged to isolate in the home, in keeping with the broader trend of growing domestic isolation, where both the home itself as symbolic of wealth and the “racially pure” white women within were perceived as in need of protection from the threat of racialized urban contamination.

The Industry of Real Estate

The association between land and wealth did not originate in America, yet due to both the vastness of the American territory and the racialized perception of land in America as vacant and therefore open for the taking, access to the associated social benefits of land ownership was more readily available for the average American citizen than their Old World counterparts (Jackson 53-54). The emphasis that developed in America, however, was not simply on the ownership of land but on the conspicuous ownership of land; that is, ownership of land that has been disconnected from serving an economic purpose, such as a farm or mill, and is instead an ornamental, symbolic representation of accumulated business capital. Men, especially upper-class men, were expected to make at least enough money through business in the city to afford to keep their family in an ornamental, semi-rural homestead on the outskirts of the metropolis, so as to keep them “safe” from the perceived negative influence of urban life. The following 1905 real-estate advertisement explicitly exemplifies this mindset: “Get your children into the country. The cities murder children. The hot pavements, the dust, the noise, are fatal in many cases, and harmful always. The history of successful men is nearly always the history of country boys”(Jackson 138). This is but one of many examples of similar expressions, made through advertisements and general statements of influential individuals, which portray the city as inherently unsafe and incapable of betterment.

This call to abandon cities was in large part constructed by real estate developers in their mission to inflate the cost of their products. Although many of the detrimental effects of both urbanization and industrialization were visible even as they occurred, these

negative consequences manifested with few adequate means of coping in place for the general public. This can hardly be called accidental, as a main part of the reason business leaders at this time were so easily able to commandeer local governments into developing public services according to their interests was due to the ideological assumption that disease, vice, and poverty were innate to the “lesser” races, and that the only logical solution was to segregate and contain the negative aspects of urban life (Goldberg 197-198; Jackson 120, 124). Beginning in the late 20th century, this general trend for public services and municipal development to focus on transit and sprawling residential development over inner-city welfare at the expense of the general taxpayer has been described as the ‘shortcut’ whites took to establish a secure, stable residential environment (Jackson 131, 293; Schirmer 97).

Racialized language was an essential component of the real estate industry’s early sales technique. The rhetoric of advertisements played on white anxiety both through explicit claims of white exclusivity and the use of implicit, coded language which alluded to shared cultural assumptions about race and urban issues (Goldberg 202). Over time, as open racial discrimination became more and more taboo, advertisements and racial rhetoric in general reverted to exclusive reliance on “non-racial” justifications for racial segregation. In effect, this insistence that racial segregation is the result of individual choices made in a free market combined with the ideological misrecognition of minorities as outside the boundaries of the “legitimate” American public has allowed the government to excuse itself from taking responsibility for these populations’ continually disadvantaged state (Wynter 44-46). While the FHA essentially subsidized white flight from inner cities, and suburbs today continue to benefit from the small percent of their population which requires government/public assistance, officials continually argue against fair/public housing proposals under the pretense that they are explicitly coercive welfare state maneuvers. These same developers have continually taken advantage of the coercively-based relationship between suburbs and the city (Jackson 285, Gotham 129-133).

Figure 2. Racially restrictive covenants were not rendered illicit until 1972, though they were challengeable in court by 1954. (Goldberg 195, Gotham 41)

Racial Restrictive Covenants and Subdivisions in
Metropolitan Kansas City, 1900–1947

<i>County (MO)</i>	<i>Johnson County (KS)</i>	<i>Jackson County</i>	<i>Clay (MO)</i>	<i>Platte County (MO)</i>
Total Number of Restrictive Covenants	148	138	34	34
Total Subdivisions	154	221	48	46
% of Subdivisions with Restrictive Covenants	96%	62%	71%	74%
Total Acreage of Subdivisions	3105	3322	1086	NA
Total Acreage of Subdivisions with Restrictive Covenants	3023	2160	948	NA
% of Acreage of Subdivisions with Restrictive Covenants	97%	65%	87%	NA
Year First Restrictive Covenant Recorded	1917	1908	1903	1930
Year Last Restrictive Covenant Recorded	1962	1954	1960	1954

Source: Plat Books and Guarantor Books at the Recorder of Deeds Offices for Johnson County, Jackson County, Clay County, and Platte County; Slingsby 1980, p. 112; X1239A "Explicit Racially Restricted Covenants Against Blacks, 1900–1965. Jackson, Clay, and Platte Counties"; X22 (oversized). "Restrictive Covenant Location Map, Kansas City Metropolitan Area, 1947." Both exhibits prepared by Gary Tobin. Racially restrictive covenants including date recorded, name of subdivision, and land developer are located in Box 343. KC 250, Arthur A. Benson, II. Legal Papers. WHMC-KC and in Box 47, folder 1. KC 206, Hare and Hare. WHMC-KC.

Figure 2

Although these suburban environments may appear stable, this stability has been achieved only by further sacrificing the stability of the national community as a whole. The cost of not initially developing adequate methods to remedy the ills of urban life, along with the astronomical commitment early generations made to pay for the development and maintenance of residential sprawl, have had devastating long-term results (Jackson 297-298, 304; Ben-Joseph 80). Today, cities can barely afford to keep their streets in their current state of continual disrepair, much less introduce new initiatives for alternative, potentially more efficient municipal practices. More often than not, when construction projects are even partially municipally funded, they are geared more towards selling the city as an attractive destination rather than addressing residential needs (Sohmer & Lang, 426-427). The standard justification for this is that tourists and consumers will be drawn to the city, resulting in an increase of foot traffic and revenue. In reality, the majority of this revenue goes to both businesses and workers that are not local and do not live in the city. In fact, if inner-city residents were not forced to bear the cost of both such projects and their cities' failing infrastructures, they would likely have at least some extra disposable income to begin supporting their own local businesses. In turn, this would cause an increase in cities' tax revenue and would eventually result in the collection of enough funds to begin the consideration of larger projects. This particular method of municipal development is not as flashy as building new stadiums and shopping centers, but it is the necessary first step toward the construction of the kind of stable infrastructure that is needed to support successful residential life.

Conclusions

Althusser and others have maintained that "ideology has a material existence" (112). In the United States, the urban landscape is a clear reflection of the material existence of white supremacy born through the ideological actions of individuals and the government as a whole. Today, however, the racialized nature of the urban landscape has been cloaked by the rhetorical insistence that these outcomes are not racial. In his work on the settlement and rise of Chicago, William Cronon describes a similar

rhetorical move. After early municipal leaders modified key parts of the natural landscape of the Chicago area so that it might better serve their interests, “boosters”, or advertisers of the city, continued to describe these constructed attributes as a “natural” part of Chicago’s municipal advantage. Cronon and others have referred to this alteration of the landscapes and its subsequent inflation with the natural order as “second nature” (56). Racial residential segregation in the United States today is, in many ways, a form of second nature. Although this phenomenon was openly constructed, American children today grow up indoctrinated with the belief that segregation is natural and that integration has not yet occurred because “the races just don’t get along” (Bonilla-Silva 84-87). In fact, integration has not occurred because, by the time the government was forced to dismantle it on the public stage, white supremacy had already shifted to a new battleground. Today, suburbs regularly refuse annexation by their nearby metropolis; as Jackson states, “the well-to-do could avoid local costs of urban old age simply by stepping over the border and leaving the poor to support the poor” (285). This continuing dissociation between today’s urban and suburban governments is yet another extension of America’s historically based racially-dual society.

Suburbs, however, are not the only highly visible form of white supremacy on the modern landscape. Nearly a century after white retreat and the association between minorities and urban crime began to be institutionalized, scholars have shown that “mass incarceration has been the most thoroughly implemented government social program of our time” at the continual expense of investing in public services specifically designed to address the extreme conditions of poverty which foster crime (Davis). This situation is disguised; unemployment figures for African-American men, for example, jump from 11 to 17 percent once incarceration is figured into the equation, even as countless corporations take advantage of inmate labor, which offers no health benefits or workers compensation and includes no potential for strikes or union organizing (Davis).

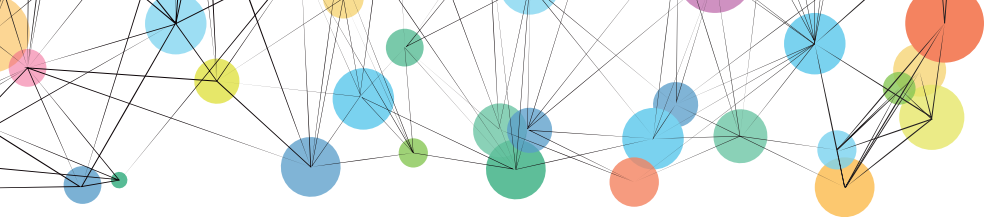
Comparisons that have been made between the prison and military industrial complexes can also be extended to the real estate industry. Described as “a set of bureaucratic, political, and economic interests encouraging increased spending...regardless of actual need,” the industrial complexes operate with immense overlap between public and private interests and, more often than not, with “an eye to the bottom line” (Schlosser 54). The same is true of the real estate industry (Gotham 7-10). Although the term ‘complex’ applies in one respect to the system of invested parties, “in the realm of psychology a complex is an overreaction to some perceived threat” (Schlosser 55). Whereas the “permanent emergencies” of the Cold War and the War on Drugs prompted the government to sanction the shift of military and incarceration efforts into big-business maneuvers, the perceptions of communism and crime as threats and the subsequent descent into defensive action, which is highly profitable for those in charge, can in fact be traced back to the previously discussed ideological metaphors of theft.

The immense reaction to racialized understandings of what an individual perceives he or she is entitled only makes sense once we appreciate the extra-cognitive function of the ideology of white supremacy which, as stated, defines the legitimate community of the American public as only those who ascribe to the middle-upper class white male norm. By extension, the poor both in America itself and in the global third world are placed outside the realm of responsibility, along with any others who cannot or refuse to ascribe to the aforementioned ideal. Therefore, any claim to equality that cannot be incorporated into the constructed realm of what is ‘normal’ becomes viewed as an illegitimate, impossible, and potentially dangerous threat.

Works Cited

- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2012.
- Althusser, Louis. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.
- American Anthropological Association. "Official Statement on 'Race.'" *American Anthropologist*. 100:3 (1998): 712-713.
- Barndt, Joseph. *Dismantling Racism: The Continuing Challenge to White America*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991.
- Ben-Joseph, Eran. *The Code of the City: Standards and the Hidden Language of Place Making*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1991.
- Davis, Angela. "Prison Interviews." *In If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance*. Joseph Okpaku Publishing, 1971: 177-188.
- Fiske, Susan. "Look Twice: How Prejudiced Are You?" University of California, Berkeley: The Greater Good Science Center. June 1, 2008.
- Goldberg, David Theo. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1993.
- Hammock, Phillip L. "Narrative and the Cultural Psychology of Identity." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 12:3 (2008): 222-247.
- Hart, Betty and Todd R. Risley. "The Early Catastrophe: The 30 million Word Gap by Age 3." *American Educator* 27:1 (2003): 4-9.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race." *Signs* 17:2 (1992): 251-274.

- Higgs, Robert. *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of the American Government*. New York: Oxford Press University, 1987.
- Gotham, Kevin. *Race, Real Estate and Uneven Development: The Kansas City Experience, 1900-2010*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2014.
- Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Schirmer, Sherry Lamb. *A City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City 1900-1960*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002.
- Schlosser, Eric. "The Prison-Industrial Complex." *The Atlantic Monthly* (Dec 1998): 51-77.
- Sue, Derald Wing; et al. "Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice." *American Psychologist* 62:4 (2007): 271-286.
- Sohmer, Rebecca & Robert E.Lang, "Beyond this old house: Historic preservation in community development," *Housing Policy Debate* 9:3 (2010): 425-430.
- Wynter, Sylvia. "No Humans Involved: An Open Letter to My Colleagues." *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century*. 1.1 (1994): 42-73.



YAZMIN MARTINEZ & DENITA HOARD

WHAT IT TAKES TO AGE IN PLACE: SERVICES AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

Recent studies have suggested that a greater number of older adults prefer to age in place rather than move to a retirement home (e.g., Cohen-Mansfield, Ali, Frank, 2010). One outcome of this trend is that a larger number of older adults are remaining in their neighborhoods while younger, more mobile residents are moving out. This creates neighborhoods that are Naturally Occurring Retirement Communities (NORCs). NORCs are described as a community not planned or designed for senior adults but that over time becomes a community that primarily houses older adults.

With the growing number of older adults choosing to age in place, there has been an increasing interest in what is needed to successfully do that. A study conducted by Bronsteinn, Gellis, and Kenaley (2009) found that many residents felt that their needs were not being met due to the lack of funding or accessible programs. One resident stated, “although health and social services are important, the residents believe that concrete services such as snow removal, helping to change a lightbulb, and raking leaves were the determining factors for older adults living independently in the community” (Bronsteinn, Gellis, & Kenaley, 2009). Another study conducted by Greenfield (2015) suggests that relationships with neighbors are key in NORC communities. For example, that study highlighted the significance of helping among neighbors in that they are third in line to family, important contacts for an emergency situation, and typically involved in interdependency

and reciprocity (Greenfield, 2005). These findings indicate that one important aspect of successful aging appears to be tied to social connections. However, some older adults feel that other things, such as light housekeeping and small maintenance repairs, also factor into successful aging in place.

To meet the needs of residents, NORC supportive services programs (NORC-SSPs) have been created to help provide social connections, health care, and additional services that are tailored to a resident's specific needs. NORC programs aim to promote aging in place through a combination of community support, social service referrals, and community engagement, which are all efforts put in place to help sustain the activities of daily life for older adults. They do this by creating "partnerships among diverse stakeholders-including residents, local government, housing managers and owners, and local service providers-to coordinate services and programs for residents" that live within the NORC community (Greenfield, Scharlach, Lehning, & Davitt, 2012). First, NORC-SSPs:

...Emphasize activities and services to promote participants' civic engagement and empowerment, such as by providing opportunities for older adults to participate in governance boards and to exchange social support among community members. Second, they emphasize social relationship building activities, such as group recreational, educational, and health promotion activities. Third, NORC programs focus on services to enhance participants' access to resources such as by linking older adults with transportation assistance or home repair services. (Greenfield, Scharlach, Lehning & Davitt, 2012, p. 275)

In designing a NORC program for a specific community, it is important to understand the community's needs and preferences. Although many older adults prefer aging in place, studies suggest that additional services are often required for these older adults to maintain their independence.

The purpose of the present study is to identify the relevant resources needed by the older adults living in the Palestine neighborhood of Kansas City, Missouri. The Palestine Senior Activity Center received a grant from the State of Missouri to develop a NORC program for residents living within a one-mile radius from the Center, and we worked with them to begin to identify the needed resources in their community. In order to identify Palestine residents' needs, a survey was designed to capture residents' existing resources, needed resources, and social connectedness.

Method

Participants for our study were senior adults who attend Palestine Senior Activity Center located at 3325 Prospect Ave, Kansas City, Missouri 64128. There were a total of 55 participants (25 males and 30 females). The range of age for participants was 54 to 94 years old, and the average age of the participants was 74.5 years. 82 percent of participants reported living in a single-family home.

Materials

A multiple-choice survey was designed based on a longer survey that was originally used by the St. Louis NORC program to identify the community's needs. We revised the survey to focus primarily on the housing issues we were interested in for the Palestine neighborhood and to keep the survey to a manageable length. The survey was designed to be completed independently or with assistance from the researchers. The topics of the survey included current living situation, everyday activities, medication use, financial management, computer usage, household income, medical insurance, social resources, and social connections. In addition, we were interested in participants' perceptions of their own aging. Thus, we created a question using a Likert scale, inquiring about how well residents felt they were aging in their community on a scale of 1 to 10, (1 being not aging successfully and 10 being aging very successfully) and added it to the survey.

Procedure

Research assistants visited the Palestine Senior Activity Center during the lunch hour when most members are at the Center. Research assistants set up a table and walked around to the lunch tables asking people if they would be interested in participating in a survey being conducted to identify the existing and needed resources in the community in addition to their social connections within the community. Those who agreed to participate were then entered into a drawing for a gift card to Walgreens. Participants were then given the choice to complete the survey with one of the assistants or by themselves. Different participants took different amounts of time to complete the survey; on average, the survey required approximately 20 minutes to complete.

Results

Individual survey responses were recorded on paper forms. Following data collection, the research assistants entered responses from the paper forms into an electronic data file for later analysis. The data were then analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) software and the Descriptive Statistics subroutines. Summaries of the descriptive data for the questions of primary interest are presented below.

Perceived Needs

Table I shows the response to survey questions about resource needs. The three most frequently identified resources needed by the older adults living in the Palestine community were home maintenance, more grocery stores, and lawn services.

Table 1. Products and services identified by participants as important to remaining independent in their own home. Numbers show percentage of participants who indicated that product or service was needed.

Home Repairs	43.6%
More Grocery Stores	40%
Lawn Service	36.4%
More Police Patrols	29.1%
Weatherization	29.1%
Utility Assistance	23.6%
Exercise opportunities	21.8%
Cleaning Services	20%
More Pharmacies	20%
Help making or preparing meals	20%
Transportation	16.4%
Legal	16.4%
Senior Activity programs	10.9%

Table 1

Social Connections

Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of responses related to social environment. Figure 1 shows that two-thirds of the participants have at least three good friends; Figure 2 shows that 81% of participants visit with friends at least once a week.

Figure 1. Participants report of the number of good friends they have.

Figure 1. Participants report of the number of good friends they have.

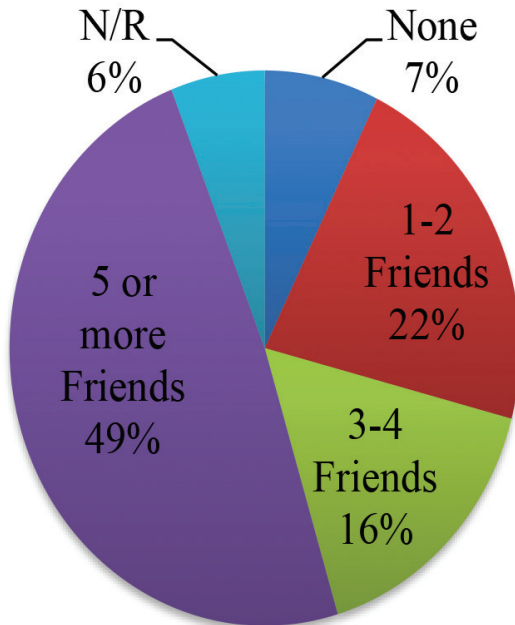


Figure 1
(N/R means No Response)

Figure 2. Participant's report of the frequency of visits with friends.

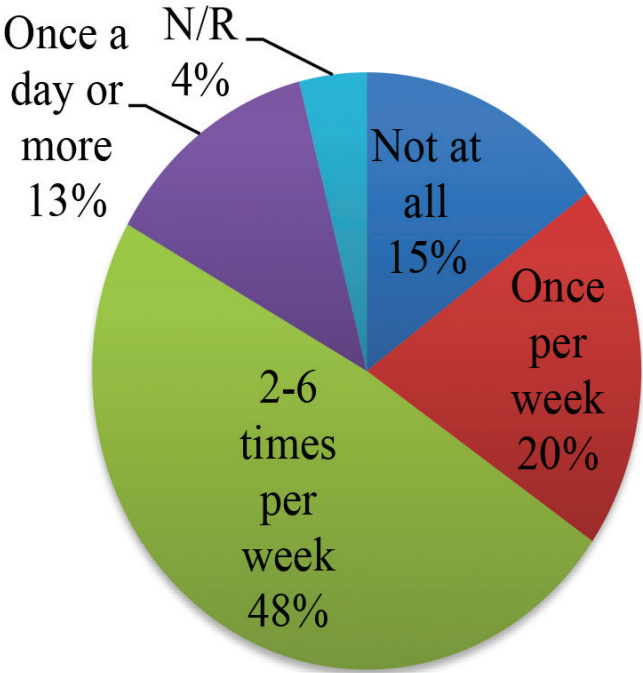


Figure 2

Self-rated Successful Aging

Participants were also asked to rate themselves on how successfully they felt they were aging based on a scale of 1 (not aging successfully) to 10 (aging very successfully). Figure 3 shows the distribution of scores indicating that most participants rated themselves very highly.

Figure 3. Participants' rating of how successfully they thought they were aging on a scale of 1 (not aging successfully) to 10 (aging very successfully).

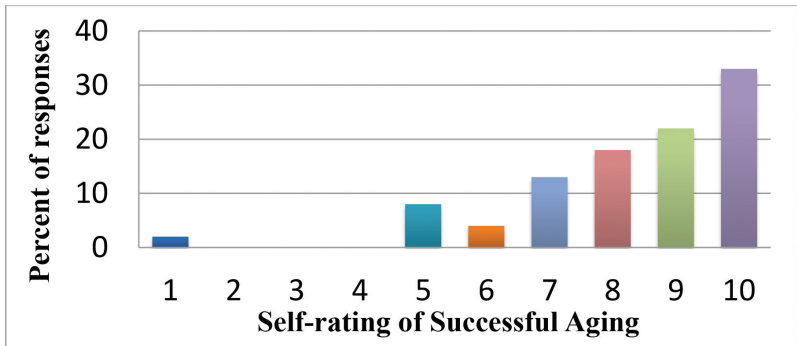


Figure 3
(Two participants did not respond to this question.)

Discussion

There is a consensus that aging in place is preferable for older adults and a belief that a NORC program can support this effort by providing residents access to reliable, trustworthy services for health care, light housekeeping, maintenance repairs, and much more. Having this type of support in place allows residents to stay in their home under most circumstances. However, residents also need to develop informal systems such as friends and neighbors for social support and emergency contacts.

This research broadens the scope of aging in place by focusing on burdens that affect independent living for older adults. Many of the resources listed were identified by older adults in the community as being necessary to maintain their homes. This study's findings indicate that although many older adults feel that they are aging well within their community, other resources such as home repairs, lawn services, and social connections have

been identified to help maintain their independent living. These additional resources need to be considered alongside characteristics of the individual, including a person's perceived need for support, in order to promote independent living.

Results from the study show that the top three needed resources reported by the older adults living in the Palestine community were home maintenance, more grocery stores, and lawn service.

We found it interesting that even with these needs presented, the majority of the participants rated themselves as aging very successfully in place and felt they were independent in their daily living activities. These high ratings may be a result of the rich social connectedness apparent in this community. Participants frequently noted that their friends assisted them with particular tasks such as shopping, cooking, and transportation. In addition to visiting with friends, about half of our participants reported that they use computers for Facebook to stay in touch with friends and family. Based on our study, we can infer that neighbors, friends, and social resources in the community are important to aging in place and assisting senior adults to maintain their independence.

Much is beginning to be done to address the growing needs for community-based care for older adults, and we need to learn from these efforts and build on successful initiatives. For example, nursing students and healthcare assistants are receiving "collaborative education that prepares...[them] in supportive care for older adults living at home..." (Pesut, et al. 2015). New legislation has been passed and, as a result of the trend of aging in place, "... congressional grants have been awarded to nonprofit agencies in 42 different localities (located in 25 states) for NORC program development" (Norcs, 2013). Building and supporting programs such as NORCs requires knowledge, skills, advocacy, community building, and a broad collaboration with community resources. NORC programs represent a potentially promising approach for supporting aging in place among older adults. However, according to a study done by Greenfield, Scharlach, Lehning, & Davitt (2012), more research needs to be done to better understand how best to design and implement NORC programs. These researchers

identified five questions that need to be answered in order for research to “inform theory, policy and practice” related to NORC programs. These are:

1. How are the models actually implemented ‘on the ground’?
2. To what extent do NORC programs...achieve important initial, intermediate, and long-term outcomes and goals?
3. What internal and external resources contribute to NORC programs’... effectiveness and sustainability?
4. Are NORC programs... effective at meeting the needs of the diverse range of older adults who might benefit as participants?
5. To what extent are... NORC programs cost-effective for participants as well as other stakeholders? (Greenfield, et al.)

The project described here represents an initial contribution to the development of a NORC program in our local community. Additional work will be required to assess whether this model for providing resources to older adults accomplishes its goal of supporting aging in place.

References

- Bronstein, L., Gellis, Z. D., & Kenaley, B. L. (2011). A neighborhood naturally occurring retirement community: Views from providers and residents. *Journal of Applied Gerontology, 30*(1), 104-112. doi:10.1177/0733464809354730
- Cohen-Mansfield, J., Dakheel-Ali, M., & Frank, J. K. (2010). The impact of a naturally occurring retirement communities service program in Maryland, USA. *Health Promotion International, 25*(2), 210-220. doi:10.1093/heapro/daq006
- Greenfield, E. A. (2015). Support from neighbors and aging in place: Can NORC programs make a difference? *The Gerontologist*, doi:10.1093/geront/gnu162
- Greenfield, E. A., Scharlach, A., Lehning, A. J., & Davitt, J. K. (2012). A conceptual framework for examining the promise of the NORC program and village models to promote aging in place. *Journal of Aging Studies, 26*(3), 273-284. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2012.01.003
- Naturally occurring retirement communities (Norcs). (2013). In E. Capezuti, *The encyclopedia of elder care: The comprehensive resource on geriatric health and social care*. New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company.
Retrieved from http://proxy.library.umkc.edu/login?url=http%3A%2F%2Fsearch.credoreference.com%2Fcontent%2Fentry%2Fspenelderc%2Fnaturally_occurring_retirement_communities_norcs%2Fo
- Pesut, B., McLean, T., Reimer-Kirkham, S., Hartrick-Doane, G., Hutchings, D., & Russell, L. B. (2015). Educating registered nursing and healthcare assistant students in community-based supportive care of older adults: A mixed methods study. *Nurse Education Today, 35*(9), e90-e96. doi: 10.1016/j.nedt.2015.07.015
- Scharlach, A., Graham, C., & Lehning, A. (2012;2011;). The "village" model: A consumer-driven approach for aging in place. *The Gerontologist, 52*(3), 418-427. doi:10.1093/geront/gnr083

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Alexander H. Peuser

Alex Peuser is a music therapy and psychology double major. He chose to attend UMKC because of the opportunities that the Conservatory could provide me. After graduation, he intends to continuing my education with a Master's Degree in Music Therapy or Psychology. In the long run, he would like to become a clinical psychologist specializing in Music Therapy as a treatment plan.

He would like to thank Professor Higgins who worked with him to have this ready for publication. He would also like to thank his voice teachers who provided inspiration for this project, and finally he would like to thank anyone who he forced to read his manuscript.

Madison K. Lackey

Madison Lackey is a pre-law student majoring in French and criminal justice. She chose to go to UMKC because of the size and dedication to the students. The small class size allows students to get to know their professors. In addition, UMKC is very dedicated to helping students by providing resources such as the writing center and free foreign language tutoring. Outside of class, she likes to sing and play the piano. After Madison graduates, she plans on going to law school. She would like to thank Dr. Henrietta Rix Wood and Professor Austin Williams for teaching an excellent class on urban education and helping her to improve her research skills.

Alexander J. Tawney

Alexander Tawney is a recent graduate from Spring 2016, and during his undergraduate studies, he majored in history. He chose to attend UMKC because he was so thoroughly impressed by everything after his first visit during his senior year of high school. From the campus in the heart of the city or the faculty he spoke with in the History department, Alexander had no doubt that it was the right place for him. His favorite hobbies include reading--especially historical monographs and political biographies--listening to podcasts, and spending time with his friends, family, and his wonderful girlfriend, all of whom have been so supportive of him. He would like to thank every professor in the History department for all the knowledge he gained from them in his four years at UMKC. He would especially like to thank Dr. Diane Mutti-Burke. It was for her course on the Civil War that he wrote this essay, and her help and guidance was invaluable to the final result.

Sydney N. Harvey

Sydney Harvey graduated in the spring of 2016 from UMKC as an Honors Scholar with a dual major in philosophy and communications studies with an emphasis in film and media with a minor in classic and ancient studies. She is currently in graduate school at UMKC earning her MA in theatre with an emphasis in playwriting. She chose UMKC because of its connection to Kansas City art and culture and she was also drawn to UMKC's amazing philosophy department. After graduating with her Master's degree, she plans to apply for her PhD in Philosophy to become a philosophy professor. It is almost impossible for her to truly thank Clancy Martin for his help in her academic development. She decided to complete this philosophy thesis on the metaphysics of film after taking a philosophy of literature course with Clancy Martin. He is her greatest support for her passion in philosophy and is constantly pushing her to create better work and for that she thanks him.

Nathan P Cho

Nathan Cho is majoring in political science. He chose to attend UMKC, because they offered an attractive debate scholarship and program. He still needs to figure out what he wants to do after graduation. He would like to thank Dr. Wagner for forcing him out of his comfort zone and getting him engaged with the actual city. The experience working with a nonprofit on a real issue connected him with Kansas City and has been incredibly valuable.

Sarah E. Smith

Sarah Smith is currently a first-year law student at UMKC Law. She graduated in May 2016 with a double degree in political science and communication studies. Her communication studies emphasis was in journalism and mass communications. She also received a minor in criminal justice and criminology. She transferred to UMKC after her freshman year because she enjoyed Kansas City and the urban environment of the University. Throughout her time at UMKC, she was active on the executive board of her sorority, the political science honor society, and multiple other honor societies and organizations. She would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Vonnahme for leading the political science capstone class and for the constant encouragement in the pursuit of this thesis.

Olivia D. Cross

Olivia Cross decided to attend UMKC as a psychology major because of the breadth of opportunities for hands-on experience, and accessible, knowledgeable instructors. She enjoys reading and writing as well as studying cognitive psychophysiology. After graduation, she plans to attend graduate school to further her education in this field. She would like to thank the Cognitive Psychophysiology Research Group for all their hard work, and she would like to especially thank Bryan D. Fox, M.A. and Dr. Diane L. Filion, whose guidance made this possible.

Anthony Gilyard

Anthony Gilyard is currently majoring in business administration with an emphasis in management. As he is a native of Kansas City, he chose UMKC to continue to be a part of the city's diverse background and to take advantage of the university's many unique opportunities. In his free time, he enjoys working out, baking, and exploring the Kansas City area. After he graduates, he plans to work with businesses both big and small in the Kansas City area and beyond to help expand their growth. He would like to personally thank Professor Jane Blakeley for giving him the opportunity to write about the topic of his essay. In addition, he would also like to extend his thanks to the Writing Studio for providing valuable feedback and improvements to his essay before he submitted it to *Lucerna*.

Claire D. Godfrey

Claire Godfrey grew up in Liberty and decided to move back to Kansas City and transfer to UMKC after a few years of going to school out of state. After graduation, she is hoping to continue working with the non-profit for which she is currently interning, the Kansas City Anti-Violence Project. She would like to give special thanks to Dr. Driever and to her peers in USS 499WI, whose feedback and direction helped refine this essay, as well as Professors Torres and Owen, whose classes inspired and helped her to understand essential frameworks and to build the initial infrastructure of this work.

Denita R. Hoard

At the time this research was conducted, Denita Hoard was completing her undergraduate in psychology. Currently, she is working on her Master's in social work. She chose to attend UMKC because it is close to home. She also likes that students are offered the opportunity to conduct hands on research experience if they are interested. Her interest is working with aging adults and community organization. She would like to thank Dr. Joan McDowd. When their project started, she was uncertain how it would turn out; but, Dr. McDowd was there every step of the way sharing her expertise and ideas. She also encouraged Denita to come up with ideas. Dr. McDowd's confidence in her, encouraged her to have confidence in herself. She would like to thank her research partner Yazmin Martinez. She is a hard worker and put a lot of effort into making their project a success.

Yazmin Campos Martinez

Yazmin Martinez's undergraduate major was psychology with a minor in family studies. Her hobby is being a mom. Her plans are to continue my education at UMKC and earn a Master's of Social Work. As of Fall 2016, she has started her graduate program at UMKC. She would like to thank her professor Dr. Joan McDowd, for encouraging her, being a great supporter and helping edit and guide the development of her essay, even if it took 13 drafts to get it just right. She never gave up. She would also like to thank Dr. Filion for introducing her to the *Lucerna* journal for undergraduate work. Dr. Filion's excitement for research is priceless and very motivating. Both have played a major role in Yazmin's education and she is so happy that their paths have crossed.



Alexander H. Peuser

Madison K. Lackey

Alexander J. Tawney

Sydney N. Harvey

Nathan P. Cho

Sarah E. Smith

Olivia D. Cross

Anthony Gilyard

Claire D. Godfrey

Denita R. Hoard

Yazmin Campos Martinez



A PUBLICATION BY
THE UMKC HONORS COLLEGE

