Encounters with complexity: Perspectives from the Global Service and Justice Program

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Edited by Anna Robertson

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Introduction

Anna Robertson

Such is the world in all its complexity, with great global promises and countless tragic betrayal. Such is the world in which Jesuit institutions of higher education are called to serve faith and promote justice.

- Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J.

In a now-famous address delivered at Santa Clara University in 2000, Superior General of the Society of Jesus Peter-Hans Kolvenbach spoke on the Jesuit university's role in the service of faith and the promotion of justice.[1] The focus on this intersection - of faith and justice, contemplation and action, orthodoxy and orthopraxis - fits into what theologian Matthew T. Eggemeier identifies as "one of the prominent turns in contemporary theology," namely, "the call for a renewed relationship between Christian spirituality and sociopolitical concerns" (2012, 43).

This renewal can be traced to the Second Vatican Council, where the Church famously committed itself to reading and responding to the "signs of the times" (*Gaudium et Spes* 1965, sec. 4, 11). In this shift, the Church moved from a "wholly negative judgment on modern history" (Ruggieri 1987, 95) to an "acknowledgement of history as an authentic 'place' wherein the imminent presence of the kingdom may be perceived" (Ruggieri 1987, 98). The importance of the Second Vatican Council for Catholic theology today cannot be overstated. Before the Council the Church found itself reeling in a modern, technological world in which religion was increasingly coming to be seen as irrelevant, even obsolete. We are reminded here of Nietzsche's announcement of the death of God: "'Where is God?' he cried; 'I'll tell you! *We have killed him* – you and I!" (2001, 119). The modern turn to the

[1] Kolvenbach, Peter-Hans. 2000. "The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice in American Jesuit Higher Education." Discourse given at Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, October 6, 2000. http://www.scu.edu/ic/publications/upload/scl-0010-kolvenbach.pdf.

subject, which situated authority in the rational individual, largely divested the Church of its theretofore-unquestioned authority, while the modern will to progress vis-à-vis domination of the natural world stripped the cosmos of its mystery. Though of course exceptions to the generalization exist, the Second Vatican Council marked the Church's shift from condemnation of modernity to an engagement with it. This shift, on the one hand, entailed an affirmation of the subjectivity of individuals and the dignity of personal conscience while, on the other, it upheld the authority of the Church in dialogue with the people of God as mature subjects. This turn to the subject was accompanied by a turn to the world, a commitment to read and respond to the "signs of the times" which led to an explosion of liberation-oriented theologies in the years following the Council. Edward Hahnenberg describes how the conciliar document *Gaudium et Spes* "sees the world caught up in profound transformations, deep shifts that have created imbalances among people" (2007, 61). It is within this reality marked by profound change that the Church sought to articulate "that Christ is the meaning of human life and the key to human history" (Hahnenberg 2007, 61).

Ten years after the Second Vatican Council, the Society of Jesus convened its 32nd General Congregation,[2] where they would discern the implications of the Second Vatican Council for the order. A major outcome of the 32nd General Congregation was the reimagining of the historical directive of the Society of Jesus, "the service of faith," to integrally include "the promotion of justice" (Kolvenbach 2000, 2). The reverberations of this shift echoed through the halls of Jesuit universities around the world and can still be

[2] December 2nd, 1974 - March 7th, 1975

heard today in the many opportunities for students at Jesuit universities to be involved in service and solidarity work.

Jesuit education aims to educate the "whole person." Because the whole person is necessarily embedded in a historical reality, the whole person's education must take that historical reality into account. To harken back to Kolvenbach's address, Jesuit education must prepare students to engage with courage and humility "the world in all its complexity, with great global promises and countless tragic betrayals" (2000, 9). Before his death, Dean Brackley, professor of moral theology at the Universidad Centroamericana "José Simeón Cañas" (UCA) in San Salvador, would speak to North American delegations about *la realidad mundial*,[3] leaning upon the work of Ignacio Ellacuría. In the context of an immersion trip in a place like El Salvador, the suffering and inequality which today mars *la realidad mundial* is stark, though one need not travel outside of the United States to perceive this particular sign of the time. An education of the whole person which responds to the signs of the times and attends to *la realidad mundial*, then, should send graduates into the world with an understanding of "the world's suffering and the causes of that suffering, as well as possible solutions" (Brackley 2014).

However, education of the whole person cannot stop with an understanding of the nature of suffering and injustice in the world, no matter how robust. This would leave students with a keen sense of what is wrong in the world with little ability to adequately respond. Brackley suggests that understanding alone is not enough; rather, it must be paired with a concomitant moral preparedness to effect change upon *la realidad* (2014). For Kolvenbach, this moral preparedness takes the form of "a well-educated solidarity" in

[3] *La realidad mundial* translates as "the global reality."

which contact with victims of suffering is key (2000, 10). Similarly, Brackley speaks of the "encounter with the victims" as foundational to the development of authentic solidarity (2014). According to Ellacuría, the university should order its priorities according to the needs of the poor majorities, determining "the order of research priorities, what should be taught, the size of the university and how many students should be accepted, what majors should be given priority and how they should be studied, what values and professional training should be imparted, and what the structure of the university itself should be" (Ellacuría 1991, 214). For a Jesuit university with a largely privileged student body, to put the poor majorities first involves facilitating encounters between students and those poor majorities. In these encounters, "the anonymous masses of the world's poor emerge from their cardboard-cutout reality and take on the three-dimensional status of full-fledged human beings" (Brackley 2014).

Encounter facilitates a process of conversion, of radical reorientation, which Brackley witnessed in students who would come to El Salvador and encounter the poor and their reality there:

> "Things fall apart," as the poet says; the visitors' world is coming unhinged as the poor welcome them without demanding that they clean up their act with their hosts and billions like them. The northerners' disorientation is like the sweet shame and holy confusion of falling in love. In fact, that is what is happening, a kind of falling in love. The earth trembles. Their horizon is opening up. They're entering unfamiliar ground, a richer, more real world (Brackley 2014).

Things fall apart. The nature of reality is unhinged. We can no longer close our eyes to the "countless tragic betrayals," and yet it is only with this "open-eyed mysticism" (Metz 1998, 69) that we can tap into wellsprings of hope for "great global promises" – promises of

equality, of all voices telling their stories and being heard, and, ultimately, of an end to suffering and death.

Boston College is one of the many Jesuit universities in the United States where, if one listens in the right halls, the echoes of the Second Vatican Council and the 32nd General Congregation still reverberate. The authors of this book are the participants in the Global Service and Justice Program (GSJP) of Boston College's McGillycuddy-Logue Center for Global Studies, one such program that attempts to amplify those reverberations. The Global Service and Justice Program, which began with its first cohort of first-years in 2010, seeks to form students over four years to be responsible and engaged global citizens with hearts of service and an eye toward justice. Over the course of their education, students take three classes together, engage in group reflection on retreats, participate in regular service placements in the Boston area, and integrate service into an experience abroad, usually during a semester or summer abroad program. They explore what it means to be in solidarity with one another as a community and with the global and local poor and marginalized. During their capstone course, taught in the fall of their senior year, the students are asked to write a research paper dealing extensively with some facet of global justice. In dialogue with professors and peers, students polish their work so that at the end of the semester it is ready to be published in an anthology. This book is the second book of its kind. It is the capstone anthology for the second cohort of students to complete the Global Service and Justice Program at Boston College, the class of 2015.

Many, though not all, students chose to write on topics related to their time spent abroad as part of GSJP. In developing their research, the authors assessed policy and theory underlying and affecting their research topics, carving out the relevance of the authors'

particular contribution in light of existing research. Both the topics and the disciplines from which the students approach them are diverse. Each of the authors, nevertheless, adeptly engages pressing issues of global significance. To structure the book, we have provided a loose framework tying the chapters together, but any attempt to neatly group the chapters thematically would be forced. Thus, I encourage readers to let "things fall apart" – that is, to allow the diversity of perspectives to chip away at any stale or rigid discourses that shape perceptions of the world. The text should be approached as a unity only insofar as the diversity of perspectives contributes to a more capacious understanding of the world as a whole.

The first grouping of chapters deals with specific facets of the concrete realities of globalization. If we are to respond to the signs of the times, deepening our understanding of the lived repercussions of globalization helps shape our understanding of *la realidad*.

In chapter 1, Katharine Borah examines the lived reality of transnational families in the Philippines, focusing specifically on psychological effects upon spouses and children left behind. Though she highlights some positive impacts at the family level of having a parent or spouse abroad, overall Borah determines the psychological effects to be negative. Without condemning the act of working abroad, she concludes that programs which support family members left behind need to be developed and strengthened.

Chapter 2, by Brenna Cass, analyzes the climate between Chileans and Peruvians in Chile, where Peruvians make up the largest demographic of immigrants. Drawing upon newspaper articles, news reports, and other media, Cass finds that negative, often contradictory stereotypes of Peruvians persist in Chilean discourse, reproduced and shaped by the news media and public discourse. She advocates for policy-level changes and

increased interaction between Chileans and Peruvians as important components of reshaping the tension-filled discourse about Peruvian immigrants.

Chapter 3, by Alexandra Gaynor, begins with her experience accompanying families in urban slums in Manila, Philippines. She evaluates approaches to development in urban slums and informal settlements. Examining grassroots, top-down, and blended models, she concludes that the grassroots model best respects the dignity of slum-dwellers and most effectively creates change. Though she acknowledges the real challenges of grassroots development, she rejects a "one-size-fits-all" top-down model, arguing for the ineffectiveness of approaches that exclude the "expert" voices of the slum-dwellers themselves.

In chapter 4, Alyssa Giammarella assesses policy approaches to curbing sex trafficking and the attitudes that undergird them. Her attention to policies in origin, transit, and destination countries makes her account particularly capacious in its scope. Using examples from Southeast Asia, the United States, and Sweden, she examines policies of regional institutions, preventive measures on the ground, and legal and governmental policy.

Chapters 5 and 6 emerge in the intersection of agriculture, environment, and economics in a globalized world. In chapter 5, Alexandra Moscovitz examines the social and environmental consequences of large-scale consumer demand for corn, quinoa, and teff. Devoting much attention to the detrimental effects on communities of production, Moscovitz suggests the need to develop sustainable models of production that minimize disruptions to local economies and ecosystems.

In chapter 6, Jessica Zuban delves into the impact of different methods of beef production on climate change. Linking beef production to increases in the greenhouse gas nitrous oxide, Zuban asserts that change must take place in the beef industry. After analyzing both supply-side and demand-side approaches, she concludes that the most effective way to reduce the overall consumption of beef and resultant greenhouse gas emissions is to garner a sense of consumer responsibility to lessen red meat intake.

The next two chapters deal with the influence and effects of particular economic theories in Chile and Haiti, respectively. In chapter 7, Stephanie Hardy-Tondreau explores the social costs of neoliberal economic policies in Chile. She begins her analysis with the Pinochet era and moves into the democratic post-Pinochet period. Acknowledging the successes and failures globally of neoliberal economics in terms of economic growth, Hardy-Tondreau isolates the need to focus specifically on social costs.

Chapter 8, by Lakeisha St. Joy, analyzes the appropriateness of neo-colonialism as a framework for interpreting economic and power relations between developing and developed nations. She devotes particular attention the question of whether World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies in fact benefit developing countries or simply reinforce existing power dynamics and contribute to neo-colonialism. Through the Haitian case study, St. Joy concludes that, though neo-colonialism may not be an all-encompassing theory, it is a useful tool for analyzing power relations between nations today.

The next grouping of articles deals with different facets of children's welfare and education. Chapter 9, co-authored by Bridget Manning and Daiva Siliunas, is a comparative study of the welfare of children in Romanian group care settings and in foster care settings in the United States. Manning and Siliunas expound the historical development of each

system and examine how two varying environments influence child development. Their analysis of physical, mental, behavioral, and intellectual outcomes concludes that children fare better in foster care in the United States than in group care in Eastern Europe.

In chapter 10, Elizabeth Blesson tackles the question of cultural relativism as it applies to education. She asks whether it is possible to develop a set of universal best practices for childcare and education without disregarding genuine cultural difference. Holding in tension the risks inherent in both universalizing claims and relativizing ones, Blesson concludes that universal standards for developmentally appropriate practices can provide a framework for childcare and education but cannot be made absolute at the expense of culture.

Chapter 11, by Ericka Cruz, unpacks the phenomenon of low rates of university enrollment among students from South African townships. She begins with an examination of apartheid-era realities of inequalities and goes on to describe some of the educational policies since apartheid, in both their shortcomings and successes. She concludes that a combination of both historical and current processes converge to keep township students from university success and advocates for policy changes that better address historical inequalities.

Chapter 12, by Yanyi Weng, explores the relationship between zero-tolerance policies in U.S. schools and the school-to-prison pipeline. Weng's analysis unveils the negative effects of zero-tolerance policies, including penalizing benign offenses as if they were severe and unduly burdening minority populations. Drawing upon the example of school systems that have effectively reduced suspension and expulsion with restorative approaches, she proposes the integration of restorative approaches into disciplinary

practices, especially in dealing with minor offenses, as an important step in reducing the flow of children through the school-to-prison pipeline.

Where Weng focuses on the school side of the pipeline, Erik Gore closes the book in chapter 13 by addressing the prison side through the lens of recidivism in the United States. Gore disentangles the many factors contributing to high rates of recidivism among the U.S. prison population, including educational programming, vocation training, and rehabilitation. Like Weng, he raises critical questions about the presence of institutionalized racism, in his case as it is manifested in the prison system. He concludes that proper rehabilitation and support of inmates can reduce recidivism rates on the whole while increasing the livelihood of offenders.

"Such is the world in all its complexity," Kolvenbach wrote, "with great global promise and countless tragic betrayal" (2000, 9). Such is the world to which GSJP students have devoted their four years to encountering and understanding. This book aims to give an account of the world's complexity. Its fourteen authors take fourteen distinct "tragic betrayals" as their starting points, examining the multiple actors, layers, and outcomes of specific facets of social inequality in the world today. Yet, the book is not without hope: the authors pose concrete steps and solutions for ameliorating the inequalities they address. It is in understanding injustice that we might discern ways of effectively acting against it.

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1. Labor Migration in the Philippines: Impacts on Those Left Behind

Katharine Borah

I distinctly remember my first impressions of the home. The house looked sturdier than the rest. It had a sustainable roof and a beautiful concrete porch with stairs in the front where all the neighborhood children played. A shiny red motorcycle stood perched up against the side of the house. Inside, lovely light blue faux laminate floor stood beneath my feet. A newly purchased bamboo furniture set surrounded one of the only televisions in the neighborhood in a living room where nearly everyone in the village would gather together to watch Manny Pacquiao box.

During my weeklong homestay with a family living in the rural fishing village of Calatagan, Batangas in the Philippines, these external and material details struck me. Little by little, through my host mother's broken English and my essentially nonexistent Tagalog, I learned more about my family and why their home stood out as compared to the other homes in the village. Every day, while the other "nanays" squatted for hours at the local market selling the fish their husbands and fathers had caught, my host mother remained home.

Eventually, I learned that my host mother's husband is on OFW, or overseas Filipino worker. He has been working abroad in Saudi Arabia for a computer technology company for many years. His wife told me how he had not been able to return home in over 16 months. The first time he was able to return home to meet his son, his son was already one years old. When I left the village in September, his family was hopeful that their father would be able to come visit over Christmastime, yet when I returned in November disappointment marked my family's faces as the family had realized that his visit home would have to be postponed.

During my time studying abroad in the Philippines, I encountered many families living in a similar situation as my host family from Calatagan. Both mothers and fathers travel abroad as overseas Flipino workers leaving spouses and children behind. While through observation my host family appeared to be thriving economically, I could not help but wonder how the family was coping socially, psychologically, and emotionally. Without the support of having a father and husband at home, my host mother seemed to take on a greater amount of family responsibility than other women in the village. Furthermore, my experiences led me to wonder how children are affected without having a father or mother figure at home.

Ultimately, my experiences and encounters in the Philippines prompted the following research questions: *With the growing reality of and reliance on labor migration*

internationally and certainly in the Philippines, what effects does overseas working of an individual have on that person's family members left behind at home? Additionally, what types of micro and macro-level interventions exist to support transnational families? The phenomenon of labor migration and families living transnationally is indeed global, however, the bulk of my research will focus on the Philippines.

While families may benefit in certain aspects when a parent or spouse works abroad, academic research and personal family accounts undoubtedly reveal that spouses, children, and overall dynamics within the family oftentimes suffer negative consequences when families live transnationally. In regards to these negative psychosocial impacts, there exists an urgent, fundamental need for the development and improvement of services that support the family members left behind.

Economic Circumstances

According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), approximately 10 million Filipinos worked abroad in 2013, which amounts to about 10 percent of the total population (2013, 16). To put that number into perspective, those working abroad equal about 18 percent of the working-age population in the Philippines and 25 percent of the total labor force (IMF 2013, 16). Moreover, slightly more than 10 percent of Filipino households have one family member working abroad (IMF 2013, 16). While research indicates that men consistently earn more money abroad and subsequently are able to send more money home, more and more Filipino women are participating in labor migration (Gorodzeisky and Moshe 2005). These statistics indicate both the prevalence of labor migration in the

context of the Philippines as well as the staggering number of families being impacted psychologically, socially, and developmentally due to the migration of family members.

An essential component of labor migration is the act of sending remittances, or transfers of money, back home. Extensive research has been completed on both a micro and macro-level examining the economic effects of having family members travel abroad in order to send remittances home to families. Research data has confirmed that remittance flows positively impact the GDP in Asian countries and the Philippines. Remittances have also been shown to be beneficial to the economic growth and well-being of developing nations such as the Philippines (Imai 2014; Gorodzeisky and Moshe 2008).

On a more global scale, remittance flows to South Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific areas amounted to $316 billion USD in 2009, 50.6% of the total amount of remittance inflows to developing countries, and $406 billion USD in 2012, 54.9% of the totally remittance inflows (Imai 2014, 526). Labor migration has been established to be a reasonable and effective strategy of poor and lower-middle income households to combat poverty and to improve standards of living (Gorodzeisky and Moshe 2008). The incomes of households receiving remittances are significantly higher than the incomes of households not receiving remittances, as also evidenced by an increased standard of living in these households (Gorodzeisky and Moshe 2008). Furthermore, according to UNICEF, the United Nation's Children's Fund, (2008), families of OFWs experience hunger less than half the time compared to families without OFWs (1). Clearly, both families and developing countries can benefit financially by taking part in labor migration and the sending of remittances.

The majority of current literature concerning labor migration and transnational family living situations focuses solely on the economic effects of migration rather than the psychosocial impacts. Much of the research that does consider the psychosocial effects on family members left behind only provides limited perspectives in terms of who is being impacted and in what kind of family situation. Therefore, there is a need for research that provides a comprehensive view on the ways in which parental labor migration affects the family unit as a whole. Impacts on children, on spouses both men and women, and on traditional gender or family roles must be synthesized in order to offer insight into the impacts on family dynamics as a result of labor migration. More attention must also be called to family situations when the wife travels abroad seeing as this situation is a growing phenomenon.

Impacts on the Spouse

When an individual makes the decision to leave home to work abroad, the spouse left behind often experiences negative psychosocial consequences. In terms of the effects on spouses, most of the literature available focuses on challenges that women face when their husbands work overseas. Due to issues such as long absences, poor communication, and lack of physical support, many wives left behind suffer psychologically (Sultana and Hafeez-ur-Rehman 2014; Lu 2012; Silver 2014). Women commonly express feelings of loneliness, stress due to an increased workload, and marital dissatisfaction (Sultana and Hafeez-ur-Rehman 2014; Lu 2012; Silver 2014). Wives also express frustration with disruptions in childbearing and feelings of family incompleteness (Sultana and Hafeez-ur-Rehman 2014). While most studies concentrate on women left behind, other research

reveals an increase in susceptibility to stress-related health impairments such as hypertension, as well as an increase in symptoms of depression, in spouses of either gender left behind by labor migrants (Lu 2012; Silver 2014). Evidently, the mental and physical well-being of spouses can be detrimentally affected when a partner works overseas.

Impacts on Children

Parental labor migration has been shown to negatively affect children in areas ranging from academics, health, development, to happiness. The children of overseas workers are likely to exhibit symptoms of depression, stress, and general unhappiness (Philippine Institute for Development Studies 2008; Harper and Martin 2013; Silver 2014; Jordan and Graham 2012). According to a report from the Philippine Institute for Development Studies 2008, less than 10% of overseas Filipino workers' children claim to be "very happy" versus 15% of children without OFW parents (4). Furthermore, 25% of children with OFW parents consider their relationship with their parents "very good" while 33% of children without OFW parents describe their relationship as "very good" (Philippine Institute for Development Studies 2008, 4). However, studies indicate that children with migrant parents in South-East Asian countries such as the Philippines develop greater resilience and achieve more academically compared to children without migrant parents (Jordan and Graham 2012; Philippine Institute for Development Studies 2008). Researchers disagree in terms of children's ability to adapt to changes in the family unit and parental absences. Some scholars claim that the strain parental migration can have on children decreases over time as children learn to adjust and become more resilient (Harper and Martin 2013; Jordan and Graham 2012).

Impacts on Gender Roles

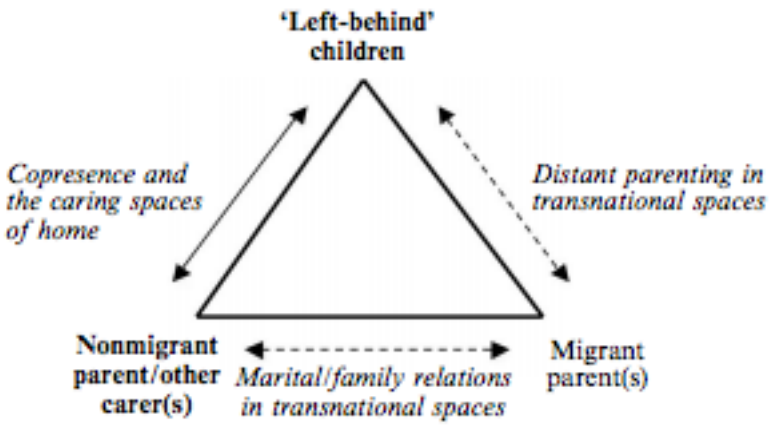
Especially in the context of the Philippines, labor migration and the resulting transnational parenting largely impacts gender roles within the family unit. For instance, role ambiguity, the reconfiguration of responsibilities, and deviation from traditional gender norms arise as consequences of parental migration and may lead to a disruption within the family (Arias 2013; Harper and Martin 2013; Parrenas 2008, 2010). Important differences occur between transnational mothering and transnational fathering in the Philippines. When mothers migrate, they oftentimes feel pressured to maintain or even boost their caregiving role from abroad. Nevertheless, many children of these mothers express feelings of neglect because their physically present fathers typically do not adapt their caregiving or compassionate practices. Furthermore, due to the Filipino notion that women are more suited for domesticity, fathers at home frequently reject performing the household chores, which puts a greater burden on daughters and other family members at home (Parrenas 2010). On the other hand, father migrant laborers find it more difficult to remain intimate and emotionally connected to their children when abroad. Women also face challenges being the single parent at home as they struggle to undertake the more paternal roles, such as being the disciplinarian (Harper and Martin 2013; Arias 2013). Transnational parenting's disruption of traditional gender roles is clearly affecting the family dynamics of those involved.

Policy Literature

Almost all of the research literature concerning labor migration and transnational parenting calls for increased support to families as well as policy change. Some researchers argue for micro-level changes such as programs to aid with communication and coping among transnational families (Silver 2014; Boccagni 2014) while larger-scale policy adjustments such as improved transportation and better domestic job opportunities are also mentioned (Silver 2014; Lu 2012; Gorodzeisky and Moshe 2008). In the Philippines specifically, government and various NGO programs offer services for migrants, yet most of the services focus on workers' rights abroad, the optimization of economic benefits, working recruitment, and reintegration assistances (Orbeta, Cabalgin, and Abringo 2009).

The Care Triangle

In attempts to provide a more comprehensive understanding of labor migration and its effects on the family, Sociologists Tobio and Gorfinkiel's depiction of the "care triangle" is extremely useful (Graham et al. 2012, 797). The triangle, depicted below, represents the relationships within the family and the care dynamics between three groups: (1) children of overseas workers; (2) migrant parents; and (3) parents who remain home. The triangle depicts the interconnectedness between these three groups as they experience and negotiate care both locally and transnationally. In order to gain a broader perspective on the impacts of labor migration, all three corners of the triangle and relationships between those groups must be considered (Graham et al. 2012).



(Graham et al. 2012, 797)

UNICEF conducted a large study analyzing the affects of parental migration on Filipino children's rights and quotes the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child that states: "Family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding" is best for the "full and harmonious development" of a child. (2008, 1). Parents typically create a family atmosphere composed of parents and children striving to uphold this value for their children. However, certain families feel that in order to provide for their children "full and harmonious development", one family member, oftentimes a parent, must gain transnational employment to provide resources for their families. While many parents identify the primary motive supporting decisions of labor migration as necessary to provide their respective children with a quality education, the parents must compromise the typical structure of the family unit in order to do so (UNICEF 2008).

Researchers have clearly outlined the various economic benefits resulting from parental labor migration such as higher incomes, food security, and superior standards of living. On the other hand, stark psychosocial and developmental differences in the children of OFWs and non-OFWs are revealed in UNICEF's research. Due to the fact that the ratio

between Filipino men and women working abroad equals approximately 1 to 1, the study's research population has the following composition: 46 percent families with OFW fathers, 50 percent families with OFW mothers, and 4 percent families with both parents working abroad (UNICEF 2008, 21). Through quantitative data, the research reveals the higher academic achievement and academic involvement of children of OFWs as compared to children of non-OFWs. In addition, OFW parents spend nearly twice as much as non-OFW parents in terms of their children's education (UNICEF 2008, 19). On the other hand, the study identified poor self-perception among OFW children especially between the ages of 13 and 16 (UNICEF 2008, 33).

Parental migrant workers from the Philippines and their children primarily rely upon cellphones in order to stay connected and communicate. Researchers from UNICEF asked children of OFWs ages 7 to 17 to write letters to their parents in order to provide qualitative insight into the children's well-being. 63% of these letters expressed gratitude towards parents, and researchers found that the content of the letters suggests that children felt more comfortable expressing their feelings in letters rather than on the phone (UNICEF 2008, 25). A few excerpts below reveal common themes found in the children's letters that suggest the need for psychological support:

Thank you for what you are doing so that we can go to school, and have money to buy food, fruits, rice, clothes, slippers. Thank you!
Joanne (8 years old, translated from Filipino)

But mom, all I need is you because I miss you so much. I miss my mom who kiss me at night before sleep. I can't express my feelings to you when you are calling me through cellphone. I can't show you how much I miss you and how I love you. .. I hope that someday we will be a family and I want to hug and kiss you this time. I miss you mom and I love you. I always pray to God that our family will be happy someday. I miss you and I love you.

Sarah (16 years old, excerpt as written)

Dear Daddy,
I hope you will come home already because I miss you very much. Come take care of us. Just come home even without toys.
PS My wish this Christmas is for you to be here
Love,
Keren (7 ears old, translated from Filipino)

(UNICEF 2008, 25-26).

Interestingly enough, overseas Filipino workers are considerably better educated than their counterparts in the Philippines. Approximately two-thirds of OFWs had graduated or attended some college while merely 13 percent of the totally domestic labor force had. (IMF 2013, 18). While numerous parents feel the need to sacrifice time spent with their children in order to work abroad to provide better educational opportunities, the statistics are intriguing in the ways in which it appears that many educated citizens of the Philippines end up working abroad rather than domestically. This information begs for government attention and increased support. If those most educated feel it necessary to go abroad in order to find sufficient labor opportunities to provide adequate education for their children, then an improvement in job opportunities domestically seems vital so that the most educated Filipinos are able to work locally and contribute to the Filipino economy.

Transnational Parenting within a Cultural Context

In order to fully grasp the impacts labor migration has on the family unit as a whole in the Philippines, one must more fully understand Filipino culture and the role of the family in that culture. At the core of the family and of Filipino culture lies the value of

"kapwa" which is the notion of a shared identity through kinship. While the concept of "other" is commonly regarded as being a separate entity than oneself, the Filipino sense of "kapwa" implies an inclusivity and oneness with others. The Filipino core value of "kapwa" is intertwined with the value of "pakikisama", or smooth interpersonal relationships, as Filipinos strive to maintain harmonious relationships especially in the family unit. Filipino individuals, in essence, "pursue ends that are intended to uplift the family" (Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004, 202). Typically, Filipino fathers take on the role as the authoritarian and disciplinarian while mothers play the role of the caregivers and homemakers in order to maintain familial harmony. The family's equilibrium and traditional role configuration is oftentimes challenged when one parent works abroad (Arias 2013; Harper and Martin 2013; Parrenas 2008, 2010).

As previously mentioned, Filipino families typically make the decision for a parent to work overseas in order to best provide economically and in terms of education for their children. These motives directly represent Filipino values of kinship and "pakikisama". Researchers note the unique impacts and burdens on families in relation to gender. Namely, families with a mother working abroad experience different impacts of migration than families with a father working abroad.

More specifically, Parrenas describes the "crisis of care" that may occur in as children are likely to experience a certain degree of vulnerability and care deficits when a mother migrates (Graham et al. 2012). A majority of migrant mothers call home at least once a week to remain in communication with their children due, in large part, to mothers typically feeling a sense of responsibility when it comes to the emotional well-being of their children. Wives' feelings of family incompleteness echo children's dissatisfaction with

transnational mothering (Parrenas 2005). Furthermore, Parrenas discusses barriers to communication in terms of family socioeconomic status and access to communication technology. Consequently, children coming from working-class families experiencing transnational mothering expressed increased feelings of abandonment due to limited access to communication resources (Parrenas 2005, 334). Children with mothers working abroad rarely mentioned turning towards their physically present fathers for support as an option (Parrenas 2005, 332). The vulnerability and care deficit children experience when a parent works abroad are psychological concerns that necessitate intervention.

Positive Impacts on Traditional Gender Roles

While mothers working abroad commonly express feelings of burden related to transnational mothering, these mothers also may experience positive changes when gender roles are reconstituted. One study in Sri Lanka (Handapangoda 2012), a second study in the Philippines (Asis, Huang, and Yeoh 2004), and another in El Salvador (Horton 2008) discover the ways in which female migration allows women to take over the role as the family breadwinner. By moving beyond typical gender roles of domesticity, women experience economic empowerment, greater control over family resources, autonomy, and self-discovery (Handapangoda 2012; Asis, Huand, and Yeoh 2004; Horton 2008). Perhaps women who remain behind while their husbands work also experience a greater sense of independence as well. For instance, my host mother in the Philippines operates an ice-selling business from her home. The monetary gains her family experiences as a result of her husband's work in Saudi Arabia allow her to be more independent in terms of running her own business.

A Call for Strengthened Support

When a parent or spouse participates in labor migration, families may benefit economically, educationally, and in terms of female empowerment. On the other hand, changes in the traditional family unit cause both children and spouses to suffer negative impacts as family members work transnationally. As mentioned previously, there is a need for policy changes or community-based interventions to address these possible negative consequences of labor migration. While government policies and organizations in the Philippines address the needs and rights of those working abroad, the well-being of those remaining home must also be addressed in order to take into consideration the well-being of the family as a whole.

According to UNICEF (2008), merely 37 percent of families included in the study sample were satisfied with the ways in which the Philippines government protects and serves OFWs (46). In an overview of the programs available to OFWs, UNICEF concludes that the bulk of programs available, primarily offered through the Overseas Worker's Welfare Administration and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration both under the Department of Labor and Employment, only address the economic needs of OFWs while only one of the programs surveyed caters towards the needs of children of OFWs. That single program that caters to children focuses solely on economic needs as well as it provides financial assistance to send children of former OFWs to school. Furthermore, the two programs surveyed that address psychosocial needs rather than economic needs do so very limitedly. For instance, the Reintegration Program run through the Family Welfare and Assistance Program only deals with OFW's psychosocial needs as they return

home to the Philippines (UNICEF 2008, 47-51). There is an overwhelming urgency for programs and services to address the psychological and social needs of family members left behind when parents migrate.

Bischof et al. (2013) performed research in Mexico examining the mental health implications women face when left behind by migrant husbands. "Family reorganization, new roles, and decreased social support" lead to a higher risk for depression for these women, as was also noted in similar research (Bischof et al. 2013, 1). In order to provide social support and to alleviate the risk of developing depression, the researchers implemented an intervention called *Mujeres en Solidaridad Apoyandose (MESA)*, meaning "Women in Solidarity and Support". The intervention involved *promotoras*, or "lay health advisors", as well as a synthesis of cognitive behavioral therapy strategies, psychoeducation, and social support activities. Local community women were recruited as promotoras and took part in a five-day training program centered on peer support, healthy coping skills, and mental health education. The promotoras then recruited women from the community whose husbands were working abroad to participate in the MESA support groups. Similar interventions have been implemented with Mexican immigrants living within the United States, but this study premiered the use of these techniques with women who stayed home while their husbands worked abroad (Bischof et al. 2013).

The results of the research study indicate that women partaking in the MESA group intervention who initially had severe or high depressive symptoms experienced a significant decrease in depressive symptoms. Participants also perceived increases in social support after participating in the MESA groups (Bischof et al. 2013). Overall, the research demonstrates the possible impact community-based interventions can have in supporting

those left behind by migrant spouses. This type of low-cost initiative is especially appropriate for use in areas with minimal resources. While the intervention was only studied in terms of women spouses, perhaps a similar kind of community-based intervention could also serve husbands and children left behind. A similar program would likely prove beneficial in the Philippines where many spouses live in communities with families living in similar situations. For instance, when I stayed in Calatagan with a host family whose father worked abroad, the family next door was preparing to say goodbye to their mother. With such a large emphasis on "kapwa" and shared identity in the Filipino culture, the community-based MESA model seems very appropriate in the Philippines where greater psychosocial support is needed.

The research concerning the psychosocial effects labor migration has on family members indisputably reveals the need for interventions in government policy as well as governmental and nongovernmental programs especially in areas such as the Philippines. Services that facilitate accessible and cost-efficient communication between children and parents could be beneficial. Support groups in the home-country as well as abroad for family members experiencing transnational living conditions could also be effective. As labor migration exists as a phenomenon both worldwide and certainly in the Philippines, greater attention must be called towards upholding the psychosocial rights and needs of families living in these kinds of situations.

The journalist Cynthia Gorney (2014) depicts the challenges transnational parents face by telling the story of Teresa, an overseas Filipina worker who works with her husband, Luis, in Dubai. Teresa chose to work overseas and live four time zones away from her two eldest children to best support her family and to provide a stable roof over her

family's head in the Philippines. Every Friday afternoon, Teresa and Luis attend a Catholic mass said in Tagalog. One Friday, the priest begged the congregation, a congregation largely composed of parents working overseas just like Luis and Teresa, "Don't forget the people you left behind, don't forget the reason you're here" (Gorney 2014, 3). The same statement could be proposed to the Filipino government, to the Department of Labor and Employment, and to NGOs aiming to address the needs of overseas Filipino workers and labor migrants worldwide. Numerous psychological, social, and developmental impacts of parental labor migration have been noted: effects on spouses, on children, on both men and women, on family dynamics, etc. These consequences cannot be ignored. Family members left behind by overseas migrant workers cannot be forgotten.

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2. Current Peruvian Immigrant and Chilean Relations: Problems and Possible Solutions

Brenna Cass

During my time studying abroad in Santiago, Chile in the spring of my junior year, I never traveled to Peru to see the ruins of Machu Picchu or visited the city of Lima, but I gained a glimpse into Peruvian culture through daily interaction with the many Peruvian immigrants living in Santiago. I lived in Las Condes, one of the most affluent neighborhoods in Santiago. In my homestay, we had a Peruvian "nana," the Chilean term for a housekeeper, named Mari, who worked nine hour days, six days a week. She did the majority of the house work and all of the cooking for the four members of my household including my host mom's elderly mother and for her grandchildren when they would come and stay with us. My neighborhood was full of Peruvian nanas, made noticeable by the aprons which they all wore while working. These nanas could be seen shopping at the grocery store, at the park or walking home from school with children who were not their own. Many, such as the nana who worked in my house, had developed close relationships with the families that employed them and had worked for the same family for many years.

The Peruvian presence in Santiago could also be seen clearly in the Plaza de Armas located the center of the city, where groups of Peruvian immigrants would hold demonstrations or carry signs calling for less discrimination against Peruvian immigrants and would sell Peruvian souvenirs from their carts to the tourists who came to see the many museums and historical monuments in the area. They were recognizable by their traditional indigenous Peruvian dress that they would sometimes wear while protesting and because they had an appearance and way of speaking that was distinctive from Chileans. These protests, combined with the many Peruvian nanas who worked in my

neighborhood, caused me to want to look further into Peruvian-Chilean relations within Chile.

I have an interest in writing about this topic because I saw many similarities between Peruvian immigrants to Chile and Mexican immigrants to the United States. The Peruvian immigrants were very hardworking, which I saw firsthand with the Peruvian nana who worked in my house. However, the discourse about Peruvians was overwhelmingly negative – I would hear people talking about how they took jobs from Chileans, were lazy, violent and alcoholic. This negative discourse is also heard about Mexican and other Latin American immigrants to the United States- people say that they are lazy, take jobs from hard-working Americans and that they are criminals. Hearing these stereotypes about Peruvians and the striking similarity to the discourses about immigrants to the United States inspired me to look more into the facts about Peruvian immigrants living in Chile. In the following chapter, I look more closely at the current relationship between Chileans and Peruvian immigrants in Chile as portrayed through news media. I then go on to investigate how Peruvian immigrants are perceived and treated by Chileans and how Chileans are perceived from the Peruvian perspective, with information gained largely through newspaper articles and other forms of media.

Through my investigation of the literature related to Peruvian-Chilean relations and the news media describing the current state of relations, I argue that increased interaction between Chileans and Peruvian immigrants in different spheres, such as political and cultural, would decrease tensions between the groups which would lead to less negative discourse about Peruvians and decrease discrimination against Peruvian immigrants. I also argue for policy reforms to be made to Chile's current immigration policy.

Relevant Literature

The major topics related to Peruvian-Chilean relations in Chile addressed in the following literature review are the advantages and disadvantages of Peruvian enclaves in Santiago, the possibility for Peruvian integration into Chilean society, the discrimination against Peruvian immigrants based on race, and the unique difficulties experienced by Peruvian immigrant women. The cultural enclaves where many Peruvian immigrants live are some of the most visible manifestations of increased Peruvian migration to Chile. One of the largest, referred to as Lima Chica (or little Lima), is located in the Plaza de Armas in the center of Santiago. The literature disagrees on whether these places are advantageous to immigrants (Brazan 2007; Mora 2008) or if they are something which hinder immigrant integration into the larger community (Sabogal and Núñez 2010; Gonzalez, Sirlopu, and Kessler 2010). Brazan describes these communities, such as Lima Chica, as providing many benefits to immigrants. They are described as more than just an enclave where one lives but instead as a place for cultural, political and social interchange. Though enclaves do generate more of a feeling of "otherness" in Chilean perceptions of Peruvians, argues Brazan, the proximity of the many Peruvian immigrants allows for political socialization which gives the immigrant communities agency within their new country. He cites three political groups which have been born out of these enclaves. He sees the Peruvian community as something which provides many benefits for immigrants overall and determines this by looking in particular from the Peruvian immigrant perspective and what most benefits them (Brazan 2007, 121-150). Mora argues that the immigrant communities in Santiago both help and hinder immigrant integration. She describes the Peruvian

communities as being very tightly-knit spaces which hinder integration of Peruvians into Chilean society but also aid in the creation of a new type of Chilean citizenship. She refers to this new citizenship as "institutionalized transnationalism," (Mora 2008, 345) in which the Peruvian immigrants are permanent parts of Chilean society through their contribution to the labor market but still have strong ties to their home country of Peru through remittances and cultural practices (Mora 2008, 339-347).

Arguments for the benefits of Peruvian enclaves in Santiago are contested by Sabogal and Núñez. They argue that, in comparison to immigrant communities in Southern Florida, the Peruvian immigrant community in Santiago doesn't provide a beneficial community for those who live there. This is due to immigration policies in Chile which force Peruvian workers to compete against each other for jobs with employers who will provide them a worker's contract which will allow them to get a resident visa. This, coupled with poor living conditions and poverty which lead to robbery among immigrants, causes a lack of solidarity among Peruvian immigrants in Santiago. Furthermore, a lack of support and affirmation from their fellow Peruvians causes immigrants in Santiago to feel an even greater sense of alienation in their new country (Sabogal and Núñez 2010, 88-105). Roberto Gonzalez et al.'s research supports this point. Using social-psychological factors and intergroup variables such as acculturation preferences and intergroup contact, they predict the attitudes of Chileans towards a group of "others," in this case, Peruvians. The findings are that the amount of contact between the Chilean group and the othered Peruvian group plays a role in predicting prejudice: as Peruvian contact with the outergroup increases, Chilean prejudice towards that group decreases. (Gonzalez, Sirlopu, and Kessler 2010, 803-824). This supports arguments that Peruvian enclaves are overall

disadvantageous to immigrants living in Santiago because a more integrated Peruvian-Chilean society would cause less discrimination towards Peruvians.

Another topic addressed by the literature is how accepting Chilean society is to immigrants and the possibility for immigrant integration into Chilean society. Sirlopu and Van Oudenhoven argue that Chile is a society receptive to immigrant integration because Chileans have a strong support for a multicultural society that blends both immigrants and citizens, as determined through a large-scale survey of Peruvians and Chileans in Santiago. Overall Chilean support for multiculturalism comes primarily from an acceptance of Peruvians as fellow Latin Americans with similar worldviews. However, support for multiculturalism decreases among lower-class Chilean citizens who are competing with Peruvians for employment and are therefore less likely to support the acceptance of more competition to the workforce (Sirlopú and Van Oudenhoven 2013, 739-749). The argument that Chile as a whole is willing to accept a multicultural society is contested by Tijoux-Merino, who argues that racial stereotyping and the process of separating Chileans and Peruvians into "us" and "them" is a habitus that is taught by parents to their children and shaped by cultural usage. Racial stereotypes about Peruvians continue to be supported by following generations as parents transmit these behaviors to their children (Tijoux-Merino 2013, 83-104). The argument that discrimination toward Peruvian immigrants is continued over generations is supported by Carvacho's research. He uses social psychological factors to predict prejudice towards immigrants and the overall Chilean acceptance of immigrant, specifically ideological attitudes towards social dominance and right wing authoritarianism. His article concludes that the high levels of support for social dominance and right wing authoritarianism do predict a higher level of prejudice towards foreigners in

the cases of Chile and Germany (Carvacho 2010, 221-233). According to this argument, there are inherent aspects of Chilean ideology which lead to increased discrimination against all foreigners, including Peruvians.

Beyond the idea of a Peruvian enclave or Chilean society leading to discrimination towards immigrants is the argument that Peruvians are largely discriminated against due to their race, especially in the work force. One of the most common arguments in the literature related to race is that Chileans discriminate against Peruvians because they view themselves as "white" or of European descent (non-mestizo) and view Peruvians as "indigenous," and therefore lesser (Mora 2008; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Sirlopú and Van Oudenhoven 2013; Staab and Maher 2006). Both Staab at el. and Mora et al. describe a duality within the perception of Peruvian immigrants by Chilean employers, who often employ Peruvian men as construction workers and Peruvian women as domestic help or "nanas." On one side of Chilean discourse, Peruvian immigrant workers are seen as submissive and hard-working, especially in comparison to Chileans who are not as willing to work as servants. At the same time, Peruvians are also described as lazy and displaying criminal behavior. As an explanation for this dual discourse, they argue that Peruvians occupy a complex position at the intersection of class and national identity, and that the negative discourse from Chileans allows them to continue to be treated as subordinate (Staab and Maher 2006, 87-116). The same phenomenon is described in different terms by Mora and Undurraga who label the two identities of Peruvian immigrants as the "good servant" and the "problematic immigrant." These two roles have the same characteristics as Staab and Maher's dual discourse – a submissive hard-working Peruvian, contrasted with a criminal, lazy immigrant, respectively. The development of racialized stereotypes

around immigrant labor limits Peruvian success in employment in Chile (Mora and Undurraga 2013, 294-310). Both articles discuss the negative side of the discourse as reinforcing stereotypes of Peruvians and therefore allowing their subordination.

There was a discussion in the literature of increased immigration of female Peruvian immigrants to Chile and the new issues related to gender roles this brings about. It is important to note that my two sources which discussed women Peruvian immigrants (Illanes 2010; Mendez Caro et al. 2012) were two in a small number of scholarly sources that included in-depth interviews with Peruvian immigrants. There is certainly space in the literature for more in-depth interviews with Peruvian immigrants in Santiago. Illanes discovered a tension felt by migrant mothers between being far away from their children and wanting to sacrifice to provide a better life for them, and the rejection and criticism they were subject to from other mothers for doing so. She discussed the "otherness" felt by immigrant mothers who were already "others" in terms of being foreigners in a Chilean society and being ostracized for the choices they made (Illanes 2010, 205-224). In this way, Illanes' argument supports the argument made by Sabogal about the lack of solidarity among Peruvian immigrant communities in Chile. The second article also highlighted immigrant voices and discussed the necessity of using a dynamic model when discussing female immigration as it entails many different factors. The authors cited social status and gender identities of immigrant women as factors that make the situation of immigrant women more complex. For that reason, the situations of immigrant women are not so easily defined or understood (Mendez Caro et al. 2012, 648-661).

My topic fits into the discussion within the literature outlined above because I investigate the experiences of Peruvians within Chile as expressed in newspaper and media

sources which I will look at from the point of view of Chileans and of Peruvians. Very few of the sources outlined in my literature review looked at the immigration issue from the Peruvian side, and more were interested in Chilean perceptions of Peruvians. This issue is also constantly evolving and therefore it is necessary to look at the most current state of relations between Chileans and Peruvians.

Current Data about Immigration in Chile

According to the Chilean census taken in 2012, there are 339,536 people living in Chile who were born in other countries. This is in comparison to the total population of Chile, which the 2012 census listed as 16,634,603 people. Peru is the country with the most immigrants living in Chile, with 39,601 Peruvians or 30.52% of all immigrants (Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas 2012, 6). In comparison to the census of 2002, the number of Peruvian immigrants in Chile has increased. In 2002, there were 37,860 Peruvian immigrants living in Chile, making up 19.38% of the total immigrant population. In 2002, Peru was the second most represented country in terms of immigration, following behind Argentina (Instituto Nacional de Estadisticas 2002, 18). The majority of foreigners living in Chile reside in Santiago, the country's capital. In a survey done of immigrants living in Santiago in 2012, the most popular reason for their migration to Chile was to search for better job opportunities, with 57% of immigrants citing that as their reason for migration (Alianza Comunicacion y Pobreza 2012, 14). The comparative census data clearly shows the increase in Peruvian immigrants to Chile over the past 10 years and the majority of them for job purposes, which could be due in part to Chile's growing economy. As the number of immigrants living in Chile increases, the problems between Peruvians and

Chileans are almost guaranteed to increase as well. 41.1% of immigrants said that they had suffered some discrimination while living in Chile, with the majority of the discrimination coming from Chileans (Alianza Comunicacion y Pobreza 2012, 34). Migrants from countries which bordered Chile, including Peru, said that negative discourse most often heard was that Peruvians took jobs from Chileans and that they were criminals who should be treated with distrust (Alianza Comunicacion y Pobreza 2012, 35). An important factor in negative relationships between Peruvians and Chileans is Chile's migration policies, both historically and today.

Chilean Migration Policies – Past and Present

Many of the present problems in terms of discrimination against Peruvian immigrants have their roots Chile's past migration policies. This began with the selective immigration policies which Chile enforced. In an attempt to increase the population of European whites in Chile in the early 1800s, the government encouraged Europeans primarily from Switzerland, Germany and England to open factories in Chile's cites, inhabit unpopulated areas in the South and to cultivate uncultivated land. This was done an attempt to bolster Chile's economy and to make the race of Chilean people more European and to integrate European descent into their gene pool. In this way, the selective immigration policies fostered ideas of discrimination against races that were not white and European. As Chile entered the twentieth century, more than half of the foreigners living in Chile were born in Europe. During World Wars I and II, immigration from Europe decreased significantly and has not increased since. While the country was under a military dictatorship that lasted from 1973 to 1990, there were many more people leaving Chile

than entering Chile, due in large part to the repressive government of the time. After the election of a democratic, civilian government, immigration to Chile increased again, with the majority of immigrants coming from other Latin American countries, drawn in by Chile's growing economy. The number of immigrants to Chile has continued to increase, with Peru being the most represented country in recent immigration (Doña-Reveco and Levinson 2012, 69-73).

Chile's current immigration policies were established by Augusto Pinochet as part of the 1975 Immigration Act. This act accompanied Pinochet's other policies for national security, which aimed to prevent terrorism from both internal and external threats. The act established three types of visas: tourist, resident or permanent. Within the resident visa, there are five sub-categories. The most popular type of visa obtained by Peruvian immigrants is a contract visa, which is sponsored by a Chilean employer and was discussed earlier as something which leads to competition among Peruvians. As the immigration policies were established over 40 years ago and under a very different government, current lawmakers have sought to change immigration policies to modernize them. In her first term, current president Michelle Bachelet initiated a government program, the *Instructivo Presidencial No. 9,* a nonbinding policy that attempted to open Chile up to more immigration and eliminate discrimination against immigrants. However, the practices laid out in this document have not been implemented in Chilean society. (Doña-Reveco and Levinson 2012, 72-83). The same is true for Bachelet's current term as President. Though she has some changes, such as a recent law which allowed immigrants who are waiting for a visa to access the governmental health care, a larger change to the immigration policy is needed as more immigrants continue to enter Chile (Departamento de Extranjería y

Migración 2014). The need for a new, more comprehensive policy of immigration was also supported by the current literature (Mendez Caro et al. 2012, Brazan 2007).

Attitudes of Chileans towards Peruvians

In order to look at the current state of relations between Chilean and Peruvian immigrants, I will use data primarily from news media. There are both negative and positive discourses from Chileans regarding Peruvian immigrants living in Chile. I will begin by looking at the negative. According to Sirlopú and Van Oudenhoven's 2013 article, the biggest roadblock to Chile becoming a more multicultural society is the conflict between immigrants and lower-class Chileans who are in direct competition with Peruvian immigrants for jobs (Sirlopu and Van Oudenhoven 2013, 745-746). This is seen in discourses from qualitative interviews done with different groups of Chileans in a report called "Voices of Poverty." In a focus group, low-income men aged 46-49 and living in Santiago offered their opinions about Peruvians working in Santiago,

> "I believe that we're poor because of the President, because she has allowed a lot of foreigners to come here. These Peruvians, how much do they work? And they screw us over! And those same Peruvians, up over there, how much are they earning? So, employers prefer to hire a Peruvian because they're going to cost less, and what about us? This country isn't theirs. The Peruvians are making money in this country, but they're sending it away and we're spending it here. So, the President has the most fault in this because she shouldn't have given so many good things to the many foreigners here because it's cutting down the earnings to Chileans. This country is ours" (Fundación Superación de la Pobreza 2010, 30-31).[4]

This negative discourse about Peruvian immigrants taking jobs and money away from Chileans who deserve them is something heard often in Chile, as well as in the anti-immigrant discourse of other countries.

[A]All of the translations from Spanish to English are the author's own.

The news media also negatively portrays the Peruvian community in Santiago. A segment called "Constant Fighting Among Peruvians in Chile," which aired on one of the most-watched nightly news channels in Chile, Chilevision, described the murder of a Peruvian youth by his peers due to the excessive consumption of alcohol. The reporter refers to the Peruvians as the common denominator in other recent acts of murder and delinquency. He states that the violence which killed the Peruvian youth, Pedro Aguilar, isn't an isolated case but instead demonstrates the violence of Peruvians in general due to their typical consumption of alcohol and fighting, citing two other cases of Peruvian youths killed by their fellow Peruvians. In an interview during the segment, a woman who lives next door to a Peruvian community in Santiago criticizes the Peruvians who live next to her, first stating that they fight and drink but going on to say they are ultimately impossible to coexist with. The report goes on to show the inhumane conditions in which the Peruvians live, showing graffiti-covered walls with chipping paint and exposed wires in the house of a Peruvian woman related to one of the victims. The five-minute segment ends on a somewhat positive note discussing the ways in which municipal offices are working on improving the lives of Peruvians in Santiago by helping them integrate into society and by helping them find employment ("Constantes Peleas Entre Inmigrantes Peruanos en Chile" 2013). This short news segment generalizes about Peruvians living in Santiago and in doing so, perpetuates some of the most commonly held stereotypes about Peruvian immigrants-specifically that they are violent and alcoholics. The interview with a Chilean neighbor shows one opinion about Peruvians but the news piece in general, aired on one of the most-watched channels in Chile, demonstrates the type of information about Peruvians that many Chileans are consuming.

Though the majority of Peruvian immigrants live in Santiago, there are also large populations of Peruvians in the Antofagasta region in the north of Chile because of its close proximity to the Peruvian border. There is a clear anti-immigrant sentiment present among Chileans who live in the northern region of the country. In October 2013, the growing anti-immigrant sentiment came to a head when a civic organization organized a march they named "Take Back Antofagasta" (*Recuperemos Antofagasta*). The slogan was "*Recuperemos Antofagasta, así no podemos vivir"* or, "Take back Antofagasta, we can't live like this." The march was organized as a response to the growing number of immigrants from Colombia, Peru and Bolivia to the Antofagasta region, however it did not end up taking place due to a lack of approval from the government of Antofagasta ("Marcha en Contra de Peruanos en Chile Causa Polémica*"* 2013). A poster promoting the event, shared primarily on Facebook, clearly shows the insecurities felt by the citizens of Antofagasta. The right side features white children and adults with light hair and skin playing sports together and chatting under a tree, while the left side shows multiple dark-skinned men wielding knives and guns and advancing on the white children. This advertisement can be seen in Appendix I (Correa 2013).

Though an anti-Peruvian sentiment is certainly still present, the majority of immigrants do not experience discrimination based on their status as immigrants. In a 2012 survey, 41.1% of immigrants in Chile had experienced some form of discrimination due to their status as an immigrant, meaning close to 60% had not (Alianza Comunicacion y Pobreza 2012, 34). In my investigation of the current representation of Peruvian immigrants in news media, I found an increasingly positive media representation of Peruvian immigrants. The representations I will discuss were featured in *La Tercera,* the

third most popular daily newspaper in Santiago. *La Tercera* contains more features and opinions than the two most popular newspapers in Chile, *El Mercurio* and *La Segunda*. An article from early November in *La Tercera* talked about the ever-growing presence of immigrant children in classrooms. This article acknowledged the racism that exists between Chileans and immigrants of indigenous or African descent and discussed how one primary school, colegio Camilo Mori, held a diversity fair where students learned about the different cultures present at their school. The head of the General Education division in the Ministry of Education said in the article that "the schools have the possibility to enrich their proposed pedagogy and to take advantage of the value of multiculturalism. This will be promoted from the Ministry of Education with tools and special support" (Montoya 2014). The practice of diversity education from a young age is directly connected to an article discussed earlier, in which Tijoux-Merino argues that discrimination against Peruvian immigrants is a behavior passed down from parent to child (2013). The celebration of the diversity of immigrants from a young age is certainly a positive step towards a Chilean society that is more accepting of immigrants overall.

Another article featured in *La Tercera* in January of 2014 discussed the recent "Peruvinization" of Chilean society. The article positively represented the influx of Peruvian immigrants to Santiago, discussing the many social and political clubs for Peruvians as well as Peruvian minor-league soccer team playing in the Chilean league. Perez et al. positively represented the economic success of Peruvians in Chile through stories about a poor Peruvian immigrant who ended up opening one of the most successful Peruvian restaurants in Chile and a *nana* in a Chilean household who makes three times what she made as a nurse in Peru. Perez et al. offer a different view on the beneficial aspects of

Peruvian enclaves in Santiago, describing the revitalizing effect that Peruvians have had in Santiago and explaining that the neighborhoods where they have settled, previously abandoned, have been revitalized by the presence of so many new inhabitants (Perez et al. 2014). Although the examples above only provide a brief insight into the many forms of Chilean news media which portray Chilean's perceptions of Peruvians, they represent both the ingrained anti-immigrant sentiment as well as the recently changing attitudes towards Peruvian immigrants. These changing attitudes are steps towards a more multicultural Chile that is more accepting of immigrants overall.

Attitudes of Peruvians towards Chileans

In my investigation of the current state of relations between Peruvians and Chileans, I also want to investigate how Chileans are perceived by Peruvian immigrants, as expressed in news media. In an interview with *The Santiago Times,* Rodolfo Noriega, the president of the Peruvian Refugee Committee, discussed Peruvians in the labor force. He mentioned Chile's growing economy and its dependence on Peruvians to continue being successful: "[Chile] does not have the capacity to develop without depending on a workforce willing to assume the challenges of progress." Another Peruvian immigrant discussed the challenges Peruvians face in the workforce, saying that Peruvians and Bolivians are often taken advantage by their Chilean employers, "There are many who are exploited. They don't pay them the wages they should be getting," Noriega went on to discuss the discrimination against Peruvians and the perception of Peruvians in Chile as criminals. Noriega described this as an "institutionalized discrimination," and pointed out that legislation and immigration policies "do not allow you to integrate yourself because it considers you to be

below the regular citizen, it treats you below your status as a human being," (Yagoub 2013). One such policy which Noriega is referring to allows police to request identification from those they believe to be immigrants in the country without a visa. Many immigrants expressed dismay over this same policy in a protest against the policy held in 2011. "If you don't have Chilean flesh, you don't exist," said one Peruvian citizen in regard to the law (Correa 2011). Another discussed the connection often made between being an immigrant and being a criminal:

> They say that immigrants are delinquents. The national police of Chile have the right to ask for our identification…and threaten that they're going to throw us out or take away our Visa. This is just one in a series of abuses committed by the police, when their principal function is the persecuting criminals. Today, we are the wronged (Correa 2011).

Raul Paiva, a representative of Peruvian immigrants in Chile, said that "…migration is a right, not a crime" (Correa 2011).

These interviews done with Peruvian immigrants, though they only provide a small snapshot of the many Peruvian immigrants in Santiago, show continued tensions between Peruvian immigrants and Chileans. This reality is different than the reality presented by *La Tercera* about successful Peruvian immigrants, but both are realities in the lives of Peruvians living in Chile. Despite discrimination against them, the immigrant community in Santiago continues to flourish. One example of this is the many political organizations formed by and for Peruvian immigrants in Santiago, in which which many immigrants participate. Three of the large political organizations are the Comité de Refugiados Peruanos en Chile (Committee of Peruvian Refugees), the Asociación de Inmigrantes por la Integración Latinoamericana y del Caribe (Association of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants for Integration) or APLIA, and Programa Andino para la Dignidad Humana

(Andean Program for Human Dignity) or Proandes. These organizations and the number of Peruvian immigrants who participate in them show the vibrant community that Peruvian immigrants have in Santiago, despite discrimination against them (Brazan 2007, 122). Though the country is moving towards a more multicultural society, discrimination is still alive and well. As Rodolfo Noriega said, the discrimination is partially a country's natural reaction to an influx of foreigners: "Every time a foreign community arrives and begins to grow, this generates a rejection as a means of self-defense, fueled by prejudiced ideologies," (Yagoub 2013).

Conclusion

With the improvement of modes of transportation and the ever-globalizing world we live in, the movement of people between countries will only increase throughout the 21st century. The treatment of immigrants in Chile has important implications for US citizens and others living in today's globalized societies. Chile, with its relatively easy process of legal immigration and growing economy, is one of the best case studies about the treatment of immigrants. As the number of immigrants continues to grow, the country will quickly need to adapt and begin to facilitate the integration of Peruvian immigrants into Chilean society through policy changes as well as changes in public attitudes. The Chilean model of building a multicultural society and the level of Peruvian inclusion to that society will be an important example for other countries, such as the United States, to follow as they too face a large influx of immigrants in the years to come.

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Appendix 1


MANIFESTACIÓN POR LA SEGURIDAD CIUDADANA
RECUPEREMOS ANTOFAGASTA
ASÍ NO SE PUEDE VIVIR.
PP
PSOE
SABADO 19 DE OCTUBRE
MANIFESTACION EN ANTOFAGASTA

3. Community-Led Development of the Urban Poor

Alex Gaynor

It's the smell that hits you first. Rainwater peppered with garbage stench and fuel residue dripping with human excrement. As we walked along the bay, we looked down into the murky, ecologically dead waters colored gasoline-black with pollution and garbage, and saw some brave adults and children swimming around in the sludge. Trash was everywhere, sewage systems were non-existent, and there was no running water. Looking far over the sea of corrugated metal and thatched rooftops, I realized that this was not just an isolated area, but the slum stretched on for at least a mile in all directions. Walking further along, our group came to a cluster of structures that looked as if they once were standing houses. "They were destroyed in a fire a few years ago," our supervisor told us. "A couple had a fight one night and threw matches that started a fire that displaced nearly 800 people." The more complex streets and alleyways we walked down, the more hopeless I became.

My experiences visiting various slums during my semester in the Philippines have made me shockingly aware of some of the conditions and issues facing slum residents today. It is difficult as a foreigner who has been taught that I have the power to "fix" broken socio-economic structures, to observe such material suffering and feel ultimately powerless and unable to reach out and help in any way possible. The Baseco slum that I previously illustrated is located on the edge of the seawall of the port, on a heap of garbage and reclaimed land on Manila Bay. This community formed in the late 1980s and originally served as a settlement area for migrant laborers from the provinces, who could not find affordable housing in Manila's competitive housing market. Many people who live in the slum serve as the lifeblood labor of the city's globalizing economy, yet they continue to live in squalor. Baseco's precarious location on the seawall makes it susceptible for typhoons, while its informal nature also makes it the prime target for eviction. While the conditions must be improved in order to meet certain baseline standards of human living, eviction only exasperates the problem by making thousands of people homeless (Shatkin 2004, 2473-2474). Baseco is only one example of the kinds of 'forgotten places' around the world that society can easily turn a blind eye to. However, the relationships that I formed with

people who lived in these kinds of conditions have prompted me to inquire further about what can actually be done to provide some reprieve to slum dwellers.

The focus of my research is on the livelihoods[5] and conditions facing the urban poor living in slums and informal settlements around the globe—specifically on their focus on empowerment and regeneration. In the globalizing world, there are many initiatives for different types of development. Bottom-up, community-led development focuses on using the voices of the poor to drive the development projects enacted in the area through local discussion and leadership. In contrast, authors such as Berner, Phillips, Abbott, and Athavankar argue that change is best enacted with a top-down approach which uses more heavy-handed government policy and task forces to drive development from the top of the power chain. Through relevant case studies and examples, I seek to answer this question of whether or not slum communities can indeed achieve sustainability, which I will define in the next section, or if the approach must be more broad and top-down in scope. My thesis in this argument is that through the examination of different approaches to slum community development, the grassroots bottom-up approach not only takes the individualized experience, knowledge, and dignity of the slum-dwellers into account, but also has the power to be the most sustainable.

History of Slum Development and Key Terminology

In order to properly examine the reality of community-led slum development, the entity of a slum must first be clarified. A slum is defined as, "a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor…[with] high densities and low

[5] In this context, livelihoods denote the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living (Farrington, Ramasut and Walker 2002).

standards of housing" (Nabutola 2004, 1). They can be categorized as either a "slum of hope," which embodies a progressive settlement, or a "slum of despair," which illustrates a declining and degeneration neighborhood (Nabutola 2004, 2). Slums typically have inadequate access to safe drinking water, sanitation, and healthcare, along with issues of poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding, and an insecure tenure status (UN-HABITAT 2007). An informal settlement is another term for a slum, and it is commonly characterized by its identity as housing for "squatters" or people who illegally live on private and government-owned land. The two terms have become synonymous in recent years, especially with the trend of globalization and the rush to cities that simply do not have enough land to legally house all community members.

Due to the recent influx in migration to urban areas, the world's cities are becoming more populated than ever, and about 95 percent of this flight to cities in the coming decade will occur in places that are not fully equipped to handle this transition, thus leading to the creation of more slums and informal settlements (UN-HABITAT 2007). While government-led housing programs and "enabling approaches"[6] were popular in the late 1980s in many Asian and African cities, the late 1990s saw a rise of community-driven solutions that examined slum development in a more holistic way. These approaches combined mobilized communities, the legal security of land tenure (lack of government eviction), access to livelihoods, as well as affordable infrastructure and services that were based on community demand (UN-HABITAT 2007). Slum upgrading is a process that can take different forms depending upon the location and resource availability of the slum. Some concrete examples

[6] In these "enabling approaches, "governments served as facilitators in housing development projects such as removing obstacles that blocked access to new housing and land rights. This strategy was largely ineffective simply because without community participation, nothing sustainable was accomplished on the policy end (UN-HABITAT 2007).

of how slums seek to upgrade are: inclusion within the larger city fabric, fostering economic development, and improving the quality of life[7] (UN-HABITAT 2007). Nevertheless, the debate on community-driven solutions to slum regeneration remains as salient today as it was twenty years ago.

In order to examine the value and inefficacy of certain approaches to community development, it is necessary to put forth further clarifications of key terminology. The "bottom-up" approach refers to putting community members at the forefront of development and allowing them to make their voices the predominant ones in the discussion on their livelihoods. Community projects ideally influence NGOs and other de-centralized organizations, which in turn engage local networks that eventually are supposed to create pro-poor policies that affect the government. The problem often encountered is the lack of follow-through up the chain of events. "Top-down" development is a more structured method of growth, and often consists of a "one-size-fits-all" model, that can fail to apply the details of each unique case study and situation that naturally affect the community at hand. Ideally, government programs would influence NGOs, which in turn create large-scale impact and eventually collaborate with recipient communities; but this is not always the flow of events due to systematic barriers (Cronin and Guthrie 2011, 131). What both methods of advancement are trying to do is achieve sustainable development, which can be defined as the ability to live with basic socio-cultural human rights—such as clean water, access to education, ability to find work, sanitation, and healthcare—and not fall back into absolute poverty and reliance on outside resources.

[7] This is a somewhat subjective term, but for our purposes this will include: an increased access to basic resources such as food, water, and stable shelter, as well as a political and social voice, and sanitation improvements that prevent the spread of disease.

Cronin and Guthrie (2011) define sustainable development as having longevity, implying a sense of permanence as well as being able to adapt to new situations. Many sources confirm that community involvement is the most effective way to properly serve the needs of people living in slums, but all sides of the argument will be considered in the following chapter.

Top-down Arguments Considered

Few people will argue that the poor are utterly passive in the development process, and many top-down supporters recognize this as well. Critics of bottom-up community empowerment such as co-authors Berner and Phillips (2005) do attest, despite their caution against community-led development, that this type of regeneration allows for ownership of the situation by communities, efficiency in regards to community members' own monetary and time contributions, as well as autonomy. Nevertheless, they make the distinction between autonomy (political and governmental self-sufficiency) and autarky (economic self-sufficiency) and also acknowledge that the community self-help paradigm needs to be restructured to recognize that the poor residents of urban slums cannot be self-sufficient in escaping poverty due to the systems and structures that are heavily embedded in their lives. The authors claim that if urban poor communities are "left to their own devices," they are simply perpetuating a regressive and ultimately unsuccessful policy and no community can "opt out of the realities of power" (Berner and Phillips 2005, 25). No community is an island that exists in itself, and Berner and Phillips argue that in order to make sustainable strides in development, macro-structures and policies must be addressed

instead of focusing on local community groups to advance their own mandates and development plans.

Another popular critique of community-driven development is whether or not community (the essential drivers of development in those models) is truly a reality is all slums. Development organizations have a tendency to romanticize cohesive communities and it is commonplace to attribute close ties and pleasant relations between members of poor communities. However, the authors assert that this situation is not always the case, and often slum communities experience violence, gang activity, and a lack of unity. This is often seen, according to Rocca et al. (2009), in the form of domestic partner violence, which makes it difficult to form cohesive partnerships among community members. However, what Berner and Phillips as well as other authors surveyed, fail to speak about are specific examples of this type of instance occurring, as well as community-driven self-help projects failing. Additionally, they also do not acknowledge the fear that many slum residents may have associated with governments due to past situations where they have destroyed neighborhoods in order to "cut down on slum growth" instead of seeking policy-driven change.

In a report on the "Seven Myths of Slum Development," the organization Share the World's Resources seeks to debunk popular myths associated with slums. Particularly, they discuss the fact that not all slum communities are unified, and the sense of "ruthless individualism and petty-exploitation" (Share the World's Resources 2010) that occur in less-destitute neighborhoods still is present. Additionally, with harsh government measures such as evictions, police coercion, or forced mass relocation, it is often difficult for residents to come together in the case of this adversity if they have so much to worry

about themselves. From my own experience in the Philippines, I have found that this was often not the case, and that many residents of these types of neighborhoods that I came to know were the most generous and community-oriented people that I have ever met. Thus, the report must be looking into situations where communities have really endured intense trauma as well as internal divisions unique to their situations.

Slum development through top-down means could be effective or ineffective depending upon the community support for certain projects that are imposed upon them. The willingness of communities to participate depends largely upon their relevant knowledge of the reality of their situation, trust in government, social values, and moral principles. Due to the history of tension with the government in many slum communities, specifically ones that have endured forced relocation or razing, it is not surprising that many residents oppose direct government action in their neighborhoods (Swapan 2014). For example, in Bangladesh, urban planning, characterized by its colonial heritage, has become a highly political bureaucracy. The country's planning focuses on aid-dependent measures and does not work on achieving sustainability in asset generation and sustainable livelihood development, which will be further explained in the next section (Swapan 2014). Slum residents often remark, in highly bureaucratic systems such as Bangladesh, that governments and government agencies do not properly involve the community where the development is taking place, thus causing them to be adverse to the process itself.

Instead of putting all of the pressure on governments to act in slum regeneration, many academics and activists argue for a balanced approach to top-down development. Author John Abbott refers to this model as a "plano global," or a holistic plan that combines

governmentally mandated provisions such as physical infrastructure developments with the context of community action planning through participatory organizing (Abbott 2001). Another term for this idea is a "grassroots public-private partnership (GPPP)," which is a micro-scale project implemented by community organizations that builds into a public networks to serve low-income neighborhoods (Bremer and Bhuiyan 2014). For example, in urban Egypt, some of these GPPPs work in the area of clean water access, and involve the community and NGO influence on projects that must also involve collaboration with the government that they rely on for the public water network. It is important for these projects to develop on all levels of society and to use community voices to influence policy if that is an achievable task (Bremer and Bhuiyan 2014).

Along the lines of a more balance top-down approach, Athavankar (2011) brings to light the role of the state as an enabler in slum development, as opposed to the sole force behind upgrading projects. He acknowledges that the state's role is limited but not irrelevant. On a policy level, the state can be responsible for transferring land rights to dwellers in these communities in order to motivate them to begin thinking about upgrading projects by gaining legal ownership of their dwelling places. Additionally, many development projects run at a high cost and governments are capable of creating financial bodies that can open the markets to more people. If projects of larger scale have stakeholders and investors, it is difficult to completely rule them out of the process, especially since their money is fueling the project to begin with. Athavankar also stresses the necessity of government involvement in order to create effective policy that begins to change the structures that contribute to the creation of slums to begin with. But all of this however, must be done in a delicate balance with the voices of the residents of the

communities being served (Athavankar 2011).

The Case for Community Participation and Bottom-up Development

It is commonly acknowledged that the poor are indeed the best experts of their condition and that they must be encouraged to use the assets that they do have to improve their situation. Schilderman and Ruskulis (2005, 185-201) are among many authors that critique one-way communication between organizations interested in slum upgrading and the slum residents whose community they are seeking to upgrade. This lack of two-way communication and dialogue often marginalizes communities even more and can lead to detrimental or failed projects that cause more harm than good.

A theoretical backing for this community-driven development argument is seen in economist Amartya Sen's book *Development as Freedom* (1999). Sen's thesis centers around what he calls the "capabilities approach," which is similar to the idea of sustainable livelihoods development, which will be discussed later on. This model focuses on a type of development that gives the very poor more freedom and the capabilities to access the resources given to the richer echelon of society. By calling for an increase in poor citizens' access and opportunities to basic needs as well as socio-economic-political rights, Sen acknowledges that development is not solely about economic growth, but also about the growth of capabilities. Like the livelihoods approach, he takes all of the factors of poverty into account when broaching the development subject. He defines the major factors that limit freedom as "poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states" (Sen 1999, 1). This interconnectedness of issues emphasizes

this need of suiting each development strategy into the complex web of issues associated with each individual community in need of development (Sen 1999).

In March of 1966, a pilot project in urban community development, unheard of for its time, was launched in Barrio Magsaysay, a reclaimed area within the Tondo shore lands of Manila Philippines. The purpose of the study was to serve as a test-run for what was hoped to be a new age of urban slum development by introducing community development techniques to the area and assessing the relative successes and failures. A central question that the Magsaysay Project sought to address was the role of urban community leaders and how they, as factors of the community development processes, can be used to affect social change within the slum. The project was divided between action and research phases, where community development workers were immersed in the *barangay*[8] in order to introduce certain "life-improvement" programs. The aim of the project was centered on fostering self-help and mutual aid programs while also creating a sense of civic pride to make way for economic betterment. Towards the end of the first year of the pilot program, when Laquin's book *Slums are for People* was written in 1971, it was already observable that urban community development necessitates an on-site program to provide improvements to economic, social, livelihood, and political conditions through the organized efforts of the people themselves aided by trained development workers. This study, as the first of its kind, deduced that there needed to be a connection between community development workers and local leadership in an effort to work together to affect social change, and set the stage for future efforts (Laquin 1971).

[8] Tagalog term for village or district

Cronin and Guthrie (2011, 129-139) recount the success of a two-way communication process between local NGOs in the Silanga neighborhood of the Kibera slum in Nairobi Kenya. In Silanga before any development had taken place, one pit latrine served about 270 people in the slum, which was well above the World Health Organization's recommendation of 40 persons per toilet. The Kibera Water and Sanitation Project was enacted as a partnership between the NGO Practical Action and the local Rotary Club as a bottom-up influenced practice. The focus of the project was simple: to improve health conditions of residents and the environment by generating a cleaner water supply and plentiful sanitation facilities to reduce the prevalence of sanitation-related diseases. The model of the Silanga project involved combining the existing NGOs and community associations of the neighborhood with the larger organizations under one umbrella project. Due to this, residents were much more welcoming to the idea of installing more sanitary and plentiful pit latrines in their community, since many people of the community were responsible for the labor and planning that went into constructing these facilities. There has been only more development and consistency in this project today, thus proving it to be an example of sustainable bottom-up development on a small sanitation-specific scale (Cronin and Guthrie 2011).

Another example of community-led development is the Orangi Pilot Project in the Orangi slum in Karachi, Pakistan. Among many programs, the project contains a low-cost sanitation program that supports communities to develop their own internal sewerage such as sanitary latrines inside homes, underground sewers for the home, and neighborhood collecting sewers. This effort is intended to be a collaboration of external development areas such as large-scale sewage systems built by local governments, as well

as community council voice in what projects are worth pursuing. Back in the 1980s before the internal community research project on what was needed to upgrade the slum, Orangi was a backward-looking slum community. Over the course of the project's three-decade history, the local people of Orangi have been able to pay for and build an affordable sanitation system, which reaches close to 99,000 homes (Hasan 2006). After its initial success, the Orangi Pilot project expanded into the Research and Training Institution for further projects, the Orangi Charitable trust to manage microcredit programs, the Karachi Health and Social Development Association, and the Pilot Project Society to manage the former three groups. Through the initial installation of microcredit (which will be defined shortly) that would generate capital to improve sanitation in the community, the Orangi Pilot Program is a prime example of the potentiality for sustainable success among community-led development projects (Hasan 2006).

The Orangi project utilized a presently common example of an NGO-community partnership: micro-lending. Micro-lending, or micro-finance, is the process of extending small loans to borrowers who typically lack the collateral, employment, and credit history to receive other types of loans. It is done to alleviate economic poverty as well as empower community members, especially women and small business owners. These loans are given with the intention that the poor, who would otherwise not be capable of applying for government loans, have talents and skills that are underutilized and have the potential to generate income if given the starting capital. Micro-lending is carried out by NGOs, which act as intermediaries between slum dwellers and donors (Madon and Sahay 2002). Typically, low-income community members can come together to participate in the popular "group loan" model, as is the base for the "collective investment model" (CIM)

created by sustainability scientists Yarime and Mutisya (2011). The CIM is built from existing models, such as Bangladesh's Grameen Bank[9], that focus on group lending without requiring collateral in return for a loan. When one person from a community forms a group with ten to twenty others, they then go through intensive financial training after applying for a loan, and eventually they hopefully generate income to pay back their loan collectively and produce more income (Yarime and Mutisya 2011).

Examples of successful[10] micro-finance programs can be found in a variety of Asian countries. The Community Mortgage Programme (CMP) in the Philippines for example, is a housing finance program that allows poor households living on both public and private lands without security of tenure to have access to affordable housing units. The CMP loans exclusively to residents that are at risk of slum evacuation and have also been able to organize into a community association for a group loan. Over a period of up to 25 years, the borrowers can use the loan to buy building supplies to build a new home in a secure area or move to a pre-established structure or community. Another case is the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA), which gives loans to women in India for housing or entrepreneurial enterprise purposes. The duration and interest amount of SEWA's loans depend upon the type of loan—housing or income generating—as well as the loan-credit history of the participant, thus making the system more sustainable if borrowers pay back their loans on time because they now have enough capital to sustain themselves (UN-HABITAT 2007).

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[9] Grameen Bank is a Nobel Prize-winning large and successful microfinance organization and community development bank that makes small loans to the poor without requiring collateral (Yarime and Mutisya 2011).

[10] I use "successful" as a measure of borrower sustainability, lack of extreme debt, and ability to provide for their family and save as well.

In a similar vein, one approach to bottom-up development that has been recently growing in popularly is known as the "sustainable livelihood approach," or SLA, which aims to understand poverty in its realistic dimension. SLAs started to grow in the late 1990s out of a new understanding that there needed to be a social perspective on development outside of food production and income generation. The term livelihood has come to denote the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living, and it is considered sustainable when it can cope with stresses and shocks to its capabilities and assets[11]. They are underpinned by an "asset-vulnerability approach" that seeks to "bring together the lessons of best practice in development with a set of guiding principles supported by an analytical framework…which analyze[s] issues and target interventions" (Brocklesby and Fisher 2003, 186). Sustainable livelihood development focuses heavily on the context of the situations of the poor, and instead of focusing on what they lack, the approach works with the assets that they do have, all within a social, economic, political, and historically cognizant framework (Farrington, Ramasut and Walker 2002).

This people-centered approach is holistic in nature because it combines focused strategies between levels of society (such as NGOs and community associations) as well as reflective practice that consider the social context behind issues of slum development (Frankenberger 2000). SLAs acknowledge the multi-faceted nature of poverty and recognize that, "the poor develop diverse and changing livelihood portfolios addressing their perceptions of their own poverty, but do so within the context of pervasive vulnerability" (Farrington, Ramasut and Walker 2002). This framework provides a systematic basis for identifying how people manage their assets within the context of

[11] Assets in this context are resources on which people draw in order to carry out their livelihood strategies such as: human, social, physical, natural, and political capital (Farrington, Ramasut and Walker 2002).

vulnerability and institutional frameworks; this begs the question as to what types of risk do the most vulnerable of society, in this case slum residents, face and how can their current assets combat those risks that are integral to this process. This method calls for an intersectional look at the concrete reality of vulnerability and suffering of the poor to better understand what strategies and policies could be the most successful and appropriate for use. Sustainable livelihood development makes it clear that improvement will not stick unless it focuses on what is actually occurring on the ground given each unique situation and context.

In a paper critiquing the SLAs, Morse, McNamara, and Acholo (2009) gather evidence on the effects of this popular development strategy in a rural region of Nigeria. They acknowledge that while SLAs have been successful in implementing a "practical framework for evidenced-based intervention," putting them into practice "is not as easy as it may appear…[especially since] there are relatively few reported attempts to take a critical stance on the feasibility of SLA and its ability to deliver real change for the developing world" (Morse, McNamara, and Acholo 2009, 3). They argue that while the SLA approach is attractive in theory, the practice and implementation of it is not as simple as developers imagine, due to their analytical research in two Nigerian border towns, which produced very different implementation methods and outcomes. In their paper, the authors claim that there is no way to find a common denominator among different SLA practices because they are so specific and unique to each situation. Their critique is that of the system of development itself, which they acknowledge as not being a cohesive and specific way to cause widespread development and change. The argument does not directly apply to the practices of SLAs and thus it can be deduced that they are wary of categorizing all

SLAs into one general category of development, when in reality each SLA is unique to the area that it is working in (Morse, McNamara, and Acholo 2009). This debate is a common one throughout the development and academic spheres, but I do not believe that it devalues the process of holistic examination of each development situation in order to create sustainable change.

Examples of Current Community-Centered Approaches to Development

It has been stated that NGOs and community action groups are at the forefront of community-led development. There are a number of groups involved in slum bottom-up development that exemplify the key facets of what has been discussed of this type of growth thus far. Among many these particular groups, some notable examples include: Shining Hope for Communities (SHOFCO) which works in the Kibera slum in Nairobi Kenya, Lingap Pangkabataan Inc. (LPI) which is a children's rights NGO working in many cities in the Philippines, as well as Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) specifically the SDI South African Alliance.

Shining Hope for Communities works within the Kibera slum to allow the community to better itself. The SHOFCO model combats extreme poverty in conjunction with gender inequality by linking tuition-free schools for girls to holistic social services for all members of the Kibera community. Through empowering young girls through free education, this Kenyan-run organization seeks to teach girls future leadership skills in order to uplift themselves out of slum poverty. SHOFCO also provides a safety net of wrap-

around services such as WASH[12] Programs, a community center, and resident-based leadership on projects ranging from literacy advancement to art and business entrepreneurship. All of the programs work together to tackle urban poverty through an integrated approach that recognizes the interconnected needs of slum residents. The schools for girls nurture the next generation of leaders for long-term change, while the WASH programs address the current needs of the community, and the economic loan-initiatives programs increase financial stability. Through local leadership at this grassroots-level organization, SHOFCO is the largest employer in the slum and allows residents to be the central drivers behind the community's development. The group puts the slum residents at the nexus of all of the issues facing the neighborhood, and uses them as tools to their own development rather than pieces to move around (Shining Hope for Communities 2014).

Another bottom-up example of community development is the children's rights NGO Lingap Pangkabataan Inc., where I volunteered during my semester in Manila. LPI has developed a model of child-focused and community-based programing aimed to serve the needs of residents of slums and low-income communities. This strategy was created to promote the rights of children as future leaders of society through mobilized community participation and association in conjunction with local churches. The organization extends technical and financial assistance, in the form of a micro-finance program, as well as many other education-based services to empower children at a young age to be change-agents of their own future and to ideally leave the slums through education. Many of their centers around the country offer early childhood education classes, seminars on children's rights,

[12] WASH stands for water, sanitation, and hygiene. SHOFCO's WASH program includes: a water tower bio-latrines, community toilets, and hygiene stations to prevent communicable diseases.

as well as children's advocacy programs such as ECCAP (Enhancing Children's Capacities for Advocacy and Participation) where kids are trained to participate in community advocacy life, and how to become future leaders in their own community development. Like SHOFCO in Kenya, Lingap aims to attack the roots of poverty in slums through the people that are experiencing it themselves (Lingap Pangkabataan 2014).

Lingap also collects data and opinions from its clients about their satisfaction with Lingap's services as well as more information about their desires for their own well-being. Through communication with Norman Agustin, the executive director of LPI, by email on November 11, 2014, I was able to make some important conclusions about what some slum-dwellers actually think, in their own words, of the services they are given and their own autonomy in the process. Agustin believes that, "the mindset of the families [has] changed…if they wanted dole-outs before, they are now more concerned on how they can participate genuinely and define their aspirations and how they will achieve them" as well as "to see better living conditions and opportunities for their children."[13] He also spoke more about the role that Lingap plays directly in places like the Baseco slum that was mentioned earlier. Together with other NGOs, Lingap serves as a facilitator among residents who have organized themselves to take action for the betterment of their communities. These task force groups bring together community volunteers, parents, and children and meet to talk about issues ranging from flooding concerns, to economic savings, to education, to controlling violence in the community.[14] Their model serves as a

[13] Received from email communication on November 11, 2014 with Norman Agustin, Executive Director of LPI.
[14] Ibid.

primary example of how to involve citizens in their own uplifting process: one that stems from their own needs and desires.

Continuing this trend, the transnational coalition Shack/Slum Dwellers International is a leader in this type community cooperation in development. In order to engage in slum development, SDI seeks to curate "inclusive cities" that begin at the individual settlement level, and put the poor at the center of the conversation. With over 1 billion people living in slums today, forward-looking cities must learn how to adapt their urban development strategies to this type of model (Shack/Slum Dwellers International 2014). Their strategy of development incorporates a circular model of savings, women's empowerment, community infrastructure planning, NGO and academic partnerships, sanitation and healthcare advancement through clean toilet facilities and hygiene blocks, and horizontal exchange learning. One of the most avant-garde tactics of SDI is this horizontal exchange, which allows SDI chapters, with the resources to do so, to come together with other chapters that have participated in successful slum-upgrading projects and to share ideas about how they could make such a project work in their own community, given their unique situations. Members of the Khayelitsha, South Africa community can learn from the successful strategies taking place in Colombo, Sri Lanka and vice-versa. This model of people-to-people learning through experience is one of the hallmarks of SDI, and it allows community members to see their peers, and not some distant Westernized NGO or government, as the experts of their own conditions (Shack/Slum Dwellers International 2014).

SDI's South Africa Alliance is a standout among the different country chapters, mostly for its sheer number of spin-off community-based programs under the umbrella of

SDI. For example, the Federation of the Urban Poor program works to mobilize a coalition of community members to make their voices as members of slum communities heard amidst the fray of development. The group seeks to incorporate the urban poor within the larger citywide communities and not keep slum residents on the margins. This bottom-up agglomeration of settlement-level mixed with national-level leadership ensures that slum residents are given priority in future development practices (South Africa SDI Alliance 2014). SDI programs incorporate the typical slum-upgrading procedures seen in other projects but within the context of community-driven choices and policies.

Conclusion

Sustainable development is one of the great challenges of our time, especially in regards to slum and informal settlement communities. There are merits and disadvantages to both top-down and bottom-up strategies, and each process has been able to bring different gains to slum communities looking to increase their livelihoods, have enough resources to survive, and empower themselves and others. A strong majority of authors surveyed acknowledge the necessity of putting the poor, in these cases slum dwellers, at the center of development. While it is necessary to account for the potential bias in research, it cannot be ignored that many academics and researchers see the necessity of putting slum residents in charge of their own development granted that they are given guidance and resources along the way to do so. Community involvement, based upon the relevant case studies examined, can be seen as a vital step in slum development if the function is for the work to be locally appropriate, effective and sustainable in the long term, as well as suitable according to human rights claims of self-determination and autonomy.

This idea is related back to Liberation Theology's idea of having a "preferential option for the poor" (Gutiérrez 1973). While founder of liberation theology Gustavo Gutiérrez delves into this idea from a theological standpoint, it can also be examined from a social perspective. To have a preferential option for the poor does not necessarily mean to assume them to be better people, but to consistently take their side against aggressors, oppressors, and factors that they cannot control. Implied through the UDHR (United Nations 1948), no human should be subjected to the conditions that many slum residents live in with such a dearth of resources, opportunity, and (seemingly) hope. However, in order to respect the dignity of slum residents, it is essential to put them at the center of their own development strategies, since nobody knows what it is that they need to improve their situation more acutely than they do. We, as outsiders, must be there to provide resources, guidance, and support.

About a half hour into our walk around the Baseco community, our supervisor brought us to a small, neatly constructed building painted blue, white, and yellow; the colors of Lingap. As we stepped inside the narrow doorway, the grim alleyways and dilapidated houses gave way to a dozen smiling faces of children being read to by their teacher. We stayed for only about twenty minutes, but in that time period, the hopelessness that I felt earlier seemed to be mildly assuaged. Lingap's early education school was the beacon of hope amidst the underdevelopment of the community, and assured me that not all hope was lost amidst the grime, the grit, and the chaos.

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4. The Fight against Human Trafficking

Alyssa Giammarella

"Human trafficking? I think I have heard of that before, but what is it exactly?"

"Oh, yes, it happens, but it doesn't happen here in the United States. It happens far away in other countries."

"Human trafficking is slavery? I thought slavery was abolished."

These are statements I hear time and time again. They are the responses I get when I talk about the club I have been involved with on campus since my freshman year and now currently lead. The club is called R.E.A.C.T., which stands for "Rallying Efforts against Contemporary Trafficking," and our mission is to raise awareness of the issue of human trafficking on campus. Inspired by the mission of the club to which I have devoted time and energy over the course of my college career, I have written this paper as a means of further raising awareness around an issue so little known or talked about.

Human trafficking is a crime whose magnitude and horror span the world, and it therefore requires global action to combat. Millions of people are trafficked every day, either moving within their own home country or moving across state borders. Statistics are difficult to obtain due to the underground nature of trafficking. One estimate that is widely accepted by NGOs and states reports that there are about 27 million slaves in the world, with nearly 24 million enslaved in Asia alone. Profits at the global level made from the exploitation of this trafficked labor are upwards of $31.7 million USD (UNODC 2008, 7).

At the heart of some of the policy debates discussed in this paper is the "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime." Right in the preamble, the mission of the protocol states that,

> Declaring that effecting action to prevent and combat trafficking in persons….requires a comprehensive international approach in the countries of origin, transit, and destination that includes measures to prevent such trafficking, to punish the traffickers, and to protect the victims of such

> trafficking, including by protecting their internationally recognized human rights (United Nations 2000).

This international convention is widely referenced in policies of regional institutions, and it ultimately sets the tone for an international criminal justice legal approach. In tracing a path of a trafficked person, there are countless places an individual can be trafficked to and from. There are origin countries a victim may be sourced from, countries where the victim is in transit, and ultimately the destination country. Sex trafficking flows tend to occur starting in the poorest countries and ending in relatively wealthy countries, with a notable "North-South" divide in terms of these origins and destinations (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 52). In the UNODC report on human trafficking, regions such as Central Europe and Southeast Asia are common areas for the origin of victims, whereas countries in Western Europe, West Asia and North America are reported frequently to be areas of destination (UNODC 2008, 11). Oftentimes, countries and regions overlap in terms of origin, transit, and destination.

In this paper I will examine the tactics and policies the global community has used to combat the issue of human trafficking, specifically sex trafficking, and the subsequent obstacles that have come up in the way of eradication. Due to the myriad of policies present in current scholarship, I have limited my research and organization of this paper to simply policies that I would consider to fall under the realm of an origin country and policies that fall under the realm of a destination country, as inspired by the mission set in the UN Protocol. I use the examples of policies occurring in countries of Asia, the United States, and Sweden. Since my research compiles different policies and different areas of the world into one comprehensive review, my hope is that combining all these policies in one source will show the wide range of approaches that can be taken so that further research that is done

can gauge the effectiveness of these efforts. While all the policies I examine have merit in their contribution towards the eradication of human trafficking, I conclude that legal policy is the most effective.

Origin Country Policy

Regional Institutions

Human trafficking is an offense that is transnational in nature, and therefore could necessitate an approach that encompasses efforts from a multitude of actors working beyond national boundaries. It is in this view that a policy of regional institutions comes into play. This policy is one in which many states collaborate to combat trafficking and thus create a more unified front. The example of regional institutions can be seen in efforts made in Southeast Asia.

In South Asia, many studies reveal that the trafficking of women and children is on the rise, with trafficking for commercial sex exploitation being the most active form. This occurs usually in the movement of young girls from these countries to brothels, either between or within countries, and movement to other external destinations (UNODC 2008, 8). Southeast Asia in particular is often reported to be a main origin area for trafficking into other Asian countries. (UNODC 2008, 9). These reports indicate the particularly heightened need for a response to combat human trafficking in this region.

The policy approach demonstrated by Asia is a policy of regional cooperation and multilateral institutions. Following the UN Protocol, countries of East Asia have set up regional institutions to strengthen the fight against trafficking in the area. ASEAN, or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, has adopted declarations and set up meetings for

the member countries to attend to "coordinate regional actions against transnational crime" (Emmers, Grenner-Barcham and Thomas 2006, 495). It has also developed the "Work Program to Implement the ASEAN Plan of Action to Combat Transnational Crime" to carry out a specific plan of action that focuses on an exchange of information between states regarding legal coordination, law enforcement, cooperation and enacting criminal laws against trafficking (Emmers, Grenner-Barcham and Thomas 2006, 496).

While this approach creates unity, there a quite a few obstacles states involved face, particularly in this example of Southeast Asia. First, it is difficult for many states to adequately allocate resources towards initiatives, calling the need for other actors such as specialist experts or extra-regional states and agencies (Emmers, Grenner-Barcham and Thomas 2006, 504). Second, the question of human trafficking is "politically sensitive," which has caused tensions among states. Some governments prefer to tackle crime within its borders; therefore the sensitivity on the issue can bring up disputes on jurisdiction and extradition laws. In the Asia Pacific region in particular, there has been a negative impact in bilateral relations between states. Finally, few states in the Asia pacific region have endorsed the UN conventions or protocols implemented on human trafficking. This means that it becomes more challenging to convert these treaties into actual strategies that reap tangible outcomes (Emmers, Grenner-Barcham and Thomas 2006, 505).

Institutions in Asia say they are working towards eradication through these regional coalitions; however an article called "Asia's Dirty Secret: Prostitution and Sex Trafficking in Southeast Asia" paints this fight in a different light. It addresses the fact that while Southeast Asian government policies officially prohibit prosecution, the government still acknowledges and legitimizes its existence as seen by police and local officials who use

bribery, corruption, and even participate as customers and purchase sex (Kuo 2000, 42). Additionally, since Asian governments officially prohibit the sex industry it ultimately drives the industry underground. Asian governments are aware and conscious of the growth and development the sex industry has contributed within their economies, and therefore are hesitant and neglect to enact policies to put an end to it (Kuo 2000, 43). Regional cooperation appears to be good in theory, but based on the emergence of this information it seems to be too idealistic to truly make efforts towards eradication of human trafficking.

Preventive Measures

Another tactic origin countries may use is one that focuses on the roots of the problem in terms of socioeconomic conditions and making victims vulnerable in the first place. The article "Beyond a Snapshot: Preventing Human Trafficking in the Global Economy" illustrates this approach and the difficulties surrounding it. This article addresses the fact that most legal frameworks consider trafficking to be an act of violence in which perpetrators need to be punished and victims should be helped, as stated by the UN Protocol, TVPA, and TIP report, all of which will be discussed later in the section of legal policy in destination countries. The article argues that this legal strategy overlooks the cause of the problem of human trafficking, which is the socioeconomic condition that is at its root and feeds victims into trafficking in the first place. Essentially, globalization has created a wide gap of wealth between the wealthy and the poor, which has created migrants who, desperate for work but facing strict borders in the wealthy destination countries, are vulnerable to traffickers and being trafficked. Furthermore, it argues that

aggressive criminal justice efforts have yet to see a reduction in the numbers of people being trafficked (Chuang 2006, 138). For anti-trafficking policy to be effective, Chuang argues that it must "target the underlying conditions that impel people to accept dangerous labor migration assignments in the first place" (Chuang 2006, 139). While Chuang proposes some ideas, they are brief and not well explicated.

This idea of addressing socioeconomic root causes can be extended to bringing in community-based initiatives and programs for anti-trafficking prevention on the ground in the areas victims are most vulnerable. An article by Vidyamali Samarasinghe and Barbara Burton elaborates on this tactic and argues that "while the state has an important role to play in initiating socio-economic policies to address the structural and systemic causes of trafficking … trafficking recruitment calls for more targeted intervention strategies for individuals and communities at risk" (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 53). They claim that non-governmental organizations (NGOs), whether community-based or international, play an important role in the design and implementation of preventive strategies, particularly at the grassroots level (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 53).

Situations that allow for women to be vulnerable to sex trafficking include the array of disadvantages women face in terms of poverty, education, and wage employment, all of which fall under the wealth inequality gap mentioned above that was created as a result of globalization. Since states mainly work in the prosecution arena, a gap is left at the community level where NGOs can work on preventive strategies in communities where potential victims may be sourced. Samarasinghe and Burton group different prevention initiatives under three categories: awareness raising and information distribution, community networking, and empowerment (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 55).

Raising awareness is a key tactic I mentioned in the introduction of this paper. This issue of lack of awareness is not just present among my college-educated peers; it is particularly entrenched among people living in the vulnerable communities that traffickers and the sex trafficking industry as a whole target. The main groups at risk are usually women and children between the ages of 5 and 25 years old, who live mostly in poor rural areas and have little education (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 55). That is not to say well-educated women are not also targets, as they are also trafficked across Europe and the United States, however groups of poor women and children are often located within the origin regions stated above, such as Southeast Asia. Therefore, many preventive initiatives focus on these populations. One example of an awareness campaign done in Thailand featured the use of mass media in the form of a song by a popular Thai singer, featuring the lyric, "Why take the risk, why take the shortcut," to try to bring awareness to issues of migration and trafficking (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 55). In Nepal, the NGO Maiti Nepal started a program that brought in high-school students, gave them awareness training on the dangers of trafficking, and then sent these student volunteers out into high-risk communities to further educate others and campaign against trafficking (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 56).

While these awareness campaigns, among many implemented in other regions, are creative and helpful, it is difficult to measure their impact, as they tend to be judged mainly on estimations of the number of people reached. In carrying out awareness campaigns, the goal is that viewing and learning the information will "sharpen awareness of the tragedy of female sex trafficking, alert people to the potential plight of innocent victims in their own communities, portray the cunning methods used by recruiters, and demonstrate the

illegality of the operations" (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 56). It is said that success could be determined by a reduction of the number of trafficked victims, however monitoring to follow up and evaluate the effectiveness of these campaigns is something that needs to be worked on as well (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 56).

Community-networking preventive measures serve to "elicit community-level monitoring of trafficking activity, to encourage private-sector responses…and to initiate new NGOs and to encourage existing NGOs to become more responsive" (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 57). For example, in Bangladesh there is a network of fifteen NGOs called the Action Against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation, which has worked to coordinate awareness campaigns in the vulnerable rural and border communities, as well as working with the government to improve protection, prosecution, and border monitoring (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 57). Many NGOs also work to empower these vulnerable women to develop their vocation and educational status and increase their individual incomes to prevent them from falling into the trap of sex trafficking. For instance, the Thai Women of Tomorrow (TWT) started a cash grant system to help keep girls in village communities in school, and thereby avoid being forced into the sex industry. The girls are given small cash grants to be used for their school needs and to empower them to disregard pressure from parents or others to drop out of school (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 58).

These NGOs and their initiatives are just some of many listed in the article and active in the world. Their main strength is that they have the "ability to interact with grassroots communities because of their relatively small size and their reliance on committed workers who are familiar with the local context" (Samarasinghe and Burton

2007, 60). However, NGO and community-based initiatives face many obstacles of their own. Most NGOs depend on foreign donors and have limited funds, thereby making possible only a short- to medium-term duration for most of their programs rather than staying more permanently. Additionally, because of their limited financial resources, they are unable to conduct follow-up studies to monitor the effectiveness of their projects (Samarasinghe and Burton 2007, 60). Nevertheless, NGOs play an important role in the fight against trafficking by doing essential groundwork with at-risk populations to try to prevent victims from being forced into the sex trafficking industry.

Destination Country Policy

Criminal Justice and Legal Policy

As mentioned earlier in this paper, victims caught in the flows of sex trafficking typically are sourced from poorer countries and end up in wealthy countries. Based on this assertion, I situate the issue of criminal justice legal policy in the category of 'destination country policy' because wealthier countries tend to be more equipped in this realm, meaning they have established laws and maintained efficient justice systems that can prosecute traffickers.

Official government research and reports appear to have created one area of consensus of a law-based criminal justice policy to prosecute the traffickers and provide relief to victims in the goal of ultimately preventing human trafficking. As stated earlier, the UN Protocol states the goal of implementing a criminal justice legal approach with all states working together to implement these laws. A global initiative arose out of this protocol to help implement these policies called the United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human

Trafficking (UN.GIFT). Through the work of UN GIFT and the UNODC, their published research report from 2008 supports the UN Protocol and its call for states to implement laws to criminalize trafficking; however the report also recognizes the challenges facing implementation of such policies. One of the obstacles in constructing national plans to be created and enforced by the state is the "need for widespread understanding of the definition of trafficking…[which] must then be reflected in national laws, which criminalize both internal and transnational trafficking…" This widespread understanding would give meaning to the law for both law enforcement officials and the vulnerable groups the law seeks to protect. Additionally, the report acknowledges the obstacles of the underlying vulnerabilities people face (e.g., unemployment, lack of opportunities, and social and economic disadvantages), addresses issues on the "supply" side which the international community should also address, and develops plans against the "demand" side of trafficking (UNODC 2008, 27).

Another key governmental report that is frequently referred to is the annual US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report (TIP). This report is meticulously informative, and it has also developed a rating system of countries based on their efforts to stop human trafficking. The TIP report claims, "for governments to properly assist victims, they must broadly and effectively implement a strong, modern, comprehensive anti-trafficking law," which must include criminal provisions that make human trafficking a serious offense for offenders as well as provisions to protect the victims and rehabilitate them (US Department of State 2014, 7). This emphasis on the government is referred to again when it claims that, "A government's obligation to confront modern slavery is tied to the fact that trafficking in persons is first and foremost a crime, and only governments can

prosecute suspects and incarcerate criminals" (US Department of state 2014, 13). This shows their commitment to government intervention and a criminal justice based focus for policy, following the UN Protocol.

One obstacle to this approach the TIP report highlights in relation to the UN Protocol is the problem of victim's consent when prosecuting cases. The UN Protocol is clear on the fact that a victim's consent to be trafficked "shall be irrelevant" if any coercive methods have been used. However, applying this concept in uniform practice across many countries is difficult. Cases have been thrown out in some countries because the prosecution was unable to prove that victims were coerced when they were recruited into work. In order for these cases to be successful in a court of law, they must have strong presentations and evidence. Therefore, efforts should be focused on this issue of consent to make sure victims are protected and to follow the UN Protocol (US Department of State 2014, 35).

In addition to this published report, the United States has implemented legal policies that focus on human trafficking and incorporate elements of the protocol such as the federal Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) and subsequent reauthorizations of the act in 2003, 2005, and 2008. *The Lawyer's Manual* points out inconsistencies and flaws with these laws. For example, the TVPA confines the definition of victims who fall in the means of trafficking to that which occurs by "force, fraud, and coercion," however this excludes victims as defined in the UN Protocol's definition "of deception, of the abuse of power, or of a position of vulnerability" (Bien-Aimé and Rutman 2013, 69). Therefore, this means that those who are enticed into trafficking through deception, traffickers' intelligent and "sophisticated tactics of power and control,"

and the overall inherent power imbalances are not victims and remain unprotected under the TVPA. Additionally, the TVPA allows the consent of the victim as a defense traffickers can use when being prosecuted (Bien-Aimé and Rutman 2013, 70). Despite these noted flaws, the TVPA has been successfully used to prosecute sex traffickers in the United States, and it goes beyond the minimum prevention and rehabilitation standards the UN Protocol recommends (Bien-Aimé and Rutman 2013, 70). These examples show that legal policy is strong and effective in working to combat human trafficking.

Incorporation of Prostitution

Another area of consensus for policy on sex trafficking is the integration of the debate of prostitution, however there are disagreements within this realm. These subsequent articles mention prostitution policy as co-existing with sex trafficking policy, and are usually an extension of the criminal justice policy approach. The integration of the prostitution debates also highlights a main obstacle in policy creation and enforcement.

In her article "From Bush to Obama: Rethinking Sex and Religion in the United States' Initiative to Combat Human Trafficking," Yvonne Zimmerman focuses mainly on how the Bush administration used religious language and overtones to highlight the need for anti-trafficking measures, which produced a counter-active effect to some extent. Prior to his administration, the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) was signed into law in 2000, which established human trafficking as a federal crime with a penalty of up to twenty years in prison (Zimmerman 2010, 81). During his administration Bush added to this act with the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA) of 2003, which included a "Prostitution Loyalty Oath." This oath meant that no funds would be given to

organizations that advocated for the legalization or practice of prostitution (Zimmerman 2010, 91). The article argues that this emphasis against prostitution utilizes a certain morality that centers on "marital sexual activity as the standard by which sex trafficking is defined [which] effectively displaces the tripartite standard of force, fraud, or coercion as the central criteria by which human trafficking is defined" (Zimmerman 2010, 94). This is just one of many ways that stances on prostitution hinder the effort on sex trafficking.

There are also criticisms of the methods the United States has taken. The TVPA also established a sanctions policy that "authorizes the US president to withdraw US non-trade related, non-humanitarian financial aid from countries who are not sufficiently compliant with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking as determined by the US," with the US TIP report providing countries with plans of action and definitions to follow. This also includes the Bush Administration's stance against legalizing prostitution, in which no US funds are granted to those governments who advocate for legalization (Lansink 2006, 52). The article argues that this threat of sanctions in the context of an abolitionist view on prostitution imposes "ideological understanding on other states [and] undermines the international law standards set out in the UN trafficking protocol (Lansink 2006, 53). Based on information from these articles, it can be determined that taking a stance on one side of the debate and incorporating an element of morality on prostitution can detract from the overall efforts towards fighting human trafficking.

Sweden has been lauded as an example for others, as their method of combatting sex trafficking "demonstrates highly effective means of protecting trafficking and protecting victims," obligations which come out of the UN Protocol. Sweden has decriminalized women exploited in the sex industry, particularly in prostitution,

criminalized the demand of sex, and forcefully prosecuted traffickers (Bien-Aimé and Rutman 2013, 71). Sweden's legislation does not make it a crime to sell sex, but rather makes the purchase of sex a crime. Research after the passage of this law shows a dramatic decrease of sex trafficking and prostitution in Sweden, with the number of prostituted women dropping by 40% in the five-year period after the implementation of the law in 1999. There are also reports that victims say that traffickers perceive Sweden as an "undesirable location to conduct trafficking because of the danger of being arrested and prosecuted under the Swedish law" (Bien-Aimé and Rutman 2013, 72).

The criminalization of the purchase of sex in Sweden is an example of the criminal justice focus on policy. This approach has been lauded by the Bush Administration to combat prostitution and trafficking. However, others dispute the fact that the law actually decreased the amount of women in prostitution because of claims that the law pushed the industry underground and made it more difficult to investigate and prosecute (Chuang 2010, 1719). On the other side of the debate, there are those who advocate for the legalization of prostitution. The article by David Feingold has a mixed approach about whether or not legalizing prostitution will actually harm efforts for eradication. He affirms the US government approach, as touched upon earlier with the Bush article, saying that the US State Department believes that if prostitution is legalized, then there is a greater demand and an increase of victims trafficked. However, Feingold points out that the Netherlands, Australia, and Germany have all legalized prostitution yet receive top tier ratings from the Bush Administration in the TIP report. Feingold also recognizes that giving sex work some measure of legitimacy could mitigate trafficking by opening up to

regulation, as done in Sweden and in Thailand with labor laws for sex workers (Feingold 2005, 28).

In the article "Slave Trade: Combatting Human Trafficking," the author discusses how prostitution is linked to sex trafficking, and argues that in reality efforts for legalization, regulation and normalization of prostitution actually "obscures the violence at its heart and ignores that prostitution is a magnet for more trafficking victims," essentially fueling the supply for victims. Since the organized crime groups do not register with the government, there is no way for the government to protect the prostitutes who work for them. Ultimately legalization makes it easier for them to "blend in with a purportedly regulated sex sector" and more difficult to be identified and helped (Miller 2006, 73).

In sum of this discussion of prostitution, its connection to policymaking arises in areas of morality and the debate of criminalization versus legalization of prostitution. The inclusion of morality of sex by the Bush administration, as discussed by Zimmerman, limits the definition of sex trafficking, which ultimately limits action and becomes a major obstacle to overcome. The inclusion of morality may limit the involvement of individuals based on their beliefs and of those countries not receiving aid from the US in the international community because of their views. Sweden is involved in the prostitution debate because it is considered to be a promising and effective example of the criminalization of prostitution and the subsequent decrease in those being trafficked, yet proponents of legalization of prostitution dispute its success.

Conclusion

There are countless ways the international community can work to eliminate and confront an issue as widespread and diverse as human trafficking. Regional institutions, community-based initiatives to counteract situations of vulnerability on the ground, and the criminal justice legal approach are just some tactics noted in scholarship being done by the international community. Regional institutions aim to promote cooperation among many different states of a region, however coordinating efforts *en masse* is simply a challenge in itself. Policies that address socioeconomic causes claim to get at the root of the problem of the inherent situations of poverty and vulnerability victims come from. This area of policy moves away from a top-down state approach of a criminal justice legal-based system towards a more grassroots approach where NGOs can get involved and work with communities.

Of these tactics, the most common policy that some would say is the most successful the legal policy, in which states create and enforce laws to prosecute traffickers and rehabilitate the victims. These laws are created in mind of the ultimate goal to prevent human trafficking. The UN Protocol establishes this international criminal legal approach, which I further extend by the example of the United States and Sweden and their laws and aggressive prosecution.

People have heard about human trafficking, but why exactly is this important to talk about? Many people think slavery ended hundreds of years ago at the end of the Civil War, however this is not the case. Human trafficking is crime that attacks basic human rights, as no human should be forced into the business of selling their body. People need to know about the issue and what exactly it is, for to start an effective campaign to fight back people

need to be aware and have basic knowledge of what is occurring. Education and awareness is the first step. The next step is spreading that knowledge to others to join the fight against this horrific and deviant industry.

Prominent Advocacy Campaigns in the United States

- Half the Sky Movement: http://www.halftheskymovement.org
  The Half the Sky Movement, led by acclaimed journalists Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn, aims to raise awareness of all women's issues including sex trafficking, and also provides concrete steps to fight these problems.

- GEMS: Girl Education and Mentoring Services: http://www.gems-girls.org
  GEMS is the only organization in New York state that provides services to young girls and women who have experienced sex trafficking and exploitation, and it bases its services on the needs and interests of these survivors.

- International Justice Mission: https://www.ijm.org
  IJM is a non-profit human rights organization based in the US that works all over the world to rescue victims of human trafficking and works in victim aftercare and structural reformation.

- Polaris Project: http://www.polarisproject.org
  One of the largest anti-trafficking organizations in the US, the Polaris Project is a non-profit NGO that works directly with victims, operates crisis hotlines, and works to offer solutions for victims and engage in grassroots community efforts.

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5. Corn, Quinoa, and Tef: Weeding Out the Deep Rooted Flaws of Industrial Agricultural Development

Alex Moscovitz

We walk down the cratered dirt road, passing row after row of green sugar cane stalks, and the sun beating down. We have been swallowed up into a different world of endless cane and dirt and sun. We reach the bateye, an island amidst an ocean of green, but it is no paradise. Rather, it is an abraded assortment of metal and concrete where the Haitian cane cutters live, separated from society by leagues and leagues of tall green grass. And the sun is beating down. I wonder, why are there no trees?

The first crop I ever became familiar with was Dominican sugar cane. Although it is not one of the crops being detailed in this chapter, it sparked my interest in industrial agriculture. I didn't understand how a landscape could exist that so plainly contradicted nature in its homogeneity.

Introduction

The current, widely-supported agricultural development model is considered effective for its ability to produce higher yields, but it does not account for externalities and negative impacts of its methods. Looking at three crops from around the world that are in different stages of development, we can see an abundance of negative impacts for farmers and producing countries. Corn, quinoa, and tef all started as main staples in indigenous diets and are now present in global markets on varying scales, representing different stages of agricultural development. US corn is representative of fully-developed industrialized agricultural production and illustrates the lengths that farmers and subsidy programs must go through to sustain it as well as the profound environmental and public health issues that arise from the system. Quinoa, a grain that has recently boomed on the international market, demonstrates the immediate impacts of industrial agricultural development. Tef is a grain from Africa that has barely made its entrance into the international market. The Ethiopian government's plans to develop tef show us that

industrializing is the accepted method of development. The goal of this chapter is to question current agricultural development strategies and reexamine what kind of growth we should be promoting.

Industrial Agriculture and Perennial Externalities

The prevailing agricultural system, industrial farming, has delivered tremendous gains in productivity and efficiency since the Green Revolution in the 1970s. Also known as conventional farming, the systems vary from farm to farm and from country to country. However, they share many characteristics, including: rapid technological innovation; large capital investments in order to apply production and management technology; large-scale farms; single crops/row crops grown continuously over many seasons; uniform high-yield hybrid crops; extensive use of pesticides, fertilizers, and external energy inputs; high labor efficiency; and dependency on agribusiness (USDA 2007). These innovations and engineering feats are credited with the rise of food production worldwide in the past 50 years; the World Bank estimates that between 70 percent and 90 percent of the recent increases in food production is the result of industrial agriculture rather than greater acreage under cultivation (USDA 2007). Industrial agricultural development focuses on specializing, routinizing, and mechanizing crop and animal production in order to achieve these yield gains. New technologies are designed to remove physical and biological constraints to production and, theoretically, make unlimited progress possible (Ikerd 2008).

The underlying assumption of the industrial model is that a higher quality of life can be derived from increases in income and consumption of goods and services. Jeffrey Sachs

defines “rising agricultural productivity” as “food production per farmer” and calls this a fundamental root of “modern economic growth” (Sachs 2008). Sachs praises this enhanced productivity per worker, plant, and animal, which is then linked, as inevitable aspects of development, to such things as the decline of the agricultural workforce, progressively cheaper food and its declining share within household expenditure (Sachs 2008). Around the world industrial agriculture development is the model that is undertaken to promote progress and growth. The development plans that small farms undergo typically include planting improved crop varieties that are usually manufactured, using fertilizer and pesticides, adopting the use of machines over manual labor, and separating plant and animal production (Bahiigwa 2005).

However, this model is inherently focused on short-term economic gains and does not take the long-term needs of farmers, consumers or the environment into consideration. The promises of more, cheaper and better food, along with an end to labor-intensive farm work, are “crucial aspects of the ideological justification for the myriad upheavals wrought by industrial capitalist agriculture, and its enduring inequalities and tensions” (Weis 2010, 316). The celebrated efficiency of industrial capitalist agriculture depends on an array of “un- and undervalued costs” that are ignored and externalized as to not pose threats to the logic of the system (Weis 2010). These externalities include: the contribution to chronic epidemiological problems such as cardiovascular disease and the extensive burden on healthcare systems; the costs of managing and responding to diseases associated with industrial agriculture; the diffuse impacts of fertilizer, chemical and other waste runoff from industrial monocultures and factory farms on terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems and human health; the associated costs of water treatment; workplace health concerns such as

stress; and chemical-laden environments (Weis 2010). There is also undervaluation of the damage associated with biophysical foundations of agriculture such as soil erosion and salinization, the overdraft of water, loss of biodiversity and crucial ecosystem services, and greenhouse gas emissions. Yet another example of an externality is the subsidies to cheap industrial food that enhance the competitiveness of industrial capitalist agriculture relative to more labor-intensive systems, reducing the prices earned by small farmers in many parts of the world (Weis 2010). Furthermore, the entire system is reliant on fossil fuels, from inputs of fertilizers to production and transportation, which are rising in cost and limited in supply.

Even while these accelerating biophysical contradictions of industrial capitalist agriculture persist, the system has been reinforced as demand pressures for industrial grains have increased, and dominant actors continue to manage the system through variations of technology, legislation, and more coercive labor regimes (Weis 2010). New issues are managed with stopgap technological solutions instead of restructuring a system built on unaccounted costs. Gains in yields and efficiency are seen as progress and development even as they diminish ecological sustainability and human wellbeing. But the theory that increased yields are tied to increased wellbeing pushes farmers and governments to mechanize and expand farming in unsustainable ways. Therefore, when small farmers are looking for increased income, they either scale up using the modern model or leave the farming sector (Weis 2010). Industrial agricultural development creates issues for countries of all economic circumstances, but it is illogical to use an inherently illogical uniform model across countries. Not all countries have the economic means to support their farmers with the investments that this model needs to be sustained, and in

countries with few employment opportunities beyond the agricultural sector industrial development is even more questionable.

United States Corn

US corn is the most globally demanded crop of the staples being presented in this paper. Currently 80 million acres of land are planted with corn, and most of this crop is used as the main energy ingredient in livestock feed (USDA 2014a). Corn is also processed into a multitude of food and industrial products including starch, sweeteners, corn oil, beverage, and fuel ethanol (USDA 2014a). The United States currently supplies more than 40% of the global production of corn making it by far the largest exporter of maize worldwide (Berry 2001). In the 1970s, US Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz introduced a subsidy program that rewarded high yields, so large farms received the largest subsidies and were encouraged to monocrop, or plant a single species on the entirety of their land. Large corn farms benefited the most from mechanization and chemical inputs and developed along with corporations that supplied the inputs and bought the outputs of factory farms, both eventually becoming highly industrialized (Albritton 2012).

Higher yields of corn in the United States are generated by technological innovations in production efficiency, such as seed varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery, irrigation and pest management (USDA 2014a). This highly input-intensive system requires huge government subsidies, $84.4 billion from 1995-2012. The subsidies encourage crop overproduction, producing a market that would otherwise not exist on such a large scale (EWG 2012). The input-intensive agriculture and drive to produce higher and higher yields exhaust and degrade environmental resources to the point that the soil

cannot support plants without chemical inputs. US corn production not only damages the environment, the lives of farmers, and public health in the United States, but also negatively effects small farmers in other countries.

One of the promises of industrial agriculture is that greater profit for farmers arises with the development of new technology. However, the "technology treadmill" described by Willard Cochrane shows how the adoption of new technologies can never lead to lasting profits for farmers (Levins 1996). Early adopters of the technology profit for a short while because of their lower unit production costs, but as more farmers adopt the technology, production goes up, prices go down, and profits are no longer possible. Average farmers are nonetheless forced by lower product processing costs to adopt the technology and lower their production costs if they are to survive at all. Those who don't adopt are lost in the price squeeze and must leave the sector, explaining why there are so few farmers managing immense portions of land. Farmers are chasing an unattainable goal of higher, lasting profits because they are caught in a never-ending cycle of purchasing new technologies. Meanwhile the government is supporting them with subsidies to maintain a system that is defective. Corn is one of the largest and most technological crops in the world, and the treadmill of pesticides, fertilizers, genetically modified seeds, and equipment for harvesting and processing is ceaseless. The technology treadmill is one facet of industrial development that illustrates the economic instability of farmers. It is not hard to see how this constant pursuit of stability could cause stress for farmers. This stress is a contributor to alarming rates of illness, injuries, and fatalities among farmers, farm workers, and their families in the United States (Thu 1998).

Health issues not only arise for corn farmers in this industrialized system, but also for Americans exposed to a market full of highly processed corn. The complex system of economic and political policies that lead to the overproduction of corn in the United States means that industry must find a way to incorporate it into traditionally corn-free products, such as processed foods and animal feeds. Only 12% of the US corn crop goes into food products (EPA 2013), with a third of that devoted to high fructose corn syrup (USDA 2014b). Intake of high fructose corn syrup in products like sweetened beverages is a significant contributor to weight gain and can lead to increased risk of type two diabetes mellitus and cardiovascular disease (Hu and Malik 2010). These processed corn products are cheap and prevalent in the market due to the overproduction of corn, which is related to the fact that over two-thirds of the American population is overweight and one-third is obese, with lower socioeconomic demographics more likely to be overweight (Hu and Malik 2010). Cattle are also facing health problems as a consequence of their high-corn diet. Evolutionarily, cattle have developed complex digestive systems adapted to a diet of grass, and when corn is added, it changes the chemistry of their digestive system and leads to serious illnesses (Graber 2012). Processed corn would not be fed to humans or cattle in such quantities if it were not overproduced due to industrialization.

The environmental impacts of industrial corn production are also numerous, partially because technologies are developed by large corporations and engineers who are removed from the ecological needs of the system, but nonetheless are determining the landscape of the countryside. The intensive cultivation practices encouraged by this model lead to the pollution of water, soil and air resources, and important natural pest and pollinator species. The development of new crop varieties that respond well to inorganic

fertilizers as well as pest, disease and weed control with chemicals increase corn crop yields. However, instead of chemical use decreasing with these varieties, such as herbicide tolerant corn, it has increased, since farmers can apply more without having to worry about the effect on the crop (Cherry 2010). In 2007, roughly 350 million pounds of active ingredients were applied to U.S corn cropland (USDA 2012). The main environmental effects from this increased use of chemicals include soil erosion, pollution of ground and surface waters, the destruction and disturbance of wildlife habitats, and adverse effects on rural landscapes (Edwards 1989). Additionally, the excessive use of pesticides has caused the development of resistant strains of pests and diseases, which leads to a treadmill of increased use of pesticides and increasing cost for pest control (Edwards 1989). Not only does ever increasing use of pesticides affect species of direct interest to the agricultural system such as pollinators and natural predators, but others in the ecosystem that support the functioning of the environment as a whole. There are also human health concerns, with malignancies linked to pesticides in case reports or case-control studies including leukemia, neuroblastoma, Wilms' tumor, soft-tissue sarcoma, Ewing's sarcoma, non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, and cancers of the brain, colorectum, and testes (Zahm and Ward 1998).

Corn fertilizers also account for 65 percent of the 8.7 million tons of nitrogen applied by farmers each year in the United States (USDA 2011). Synthetic fertilizers are produced from fossil fuels and mineral deposits and are designed to meet plants' nutrient needs for the short term, which allows farmers to ignore long term soil fertility and the process by which it is maintained (Gliessman 2000). The mineral components of fertilizers are easily leeched from the soils when applied in excess, as is the common practice, and

they cause health hazards for animals and humans. Industrial agricultural practices such as fertilizer application, transport, storage and processing that are highly dependent on fossil fuels. The system's reliance on and emissions from fossil fuels contributes largely to climate change, which has proven consequences for current and future generations. To explain them thoroughly would double the pages of this essay.

Industrialized corn not only affects farmers and the environment of the United States, but farmers across borders. Countries across the world are dependent on US corn imports and vulnerable to reduced food supply or increased prices. If anything should affect its production or use, such as a widespread disease or increased portions going to ethanol or feed, then countries across the world would feel the effects. Agricultural trade liberalization between Mexico and the United States under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) affected border prices and the relative profitability of small and large cash crop farmers. With respect to corn, import prices went down in Mexico causing in-country farmers to lose income due to the importation of cheaper US corn (Prina 2013). In a decade, as many as one million farmers may have abandoned their land under economic pressure from rising imports, low prices for maize and other traditional crops, weak local and regional demand, and large reductions in public sector support for agriculture (Wise 2007). Since NAFTA took effect, an estimated 1.5 million farmers have left farming, rural poverty has not improved, and there has been migration out of rural areas and out of maize farming (Wise 2007). Along with this economic loss, there are environmental concerns in the loss of traditional maize species. Documented loss of the agricultural biodiversity of which these farmers and their ancestors have been stewards for centuries can be

attributed to native maize fields being contaminated with transgenic maize varieties imported from the US (Wise 2007).

The impacts of the industrial system supporting corn production span into all the realms of our society. The industrialized production of corn creates a never-ending cycle of farmers adopting the use of environmentally degrading substances in the attempt to secure long-term profits, a prevalence of food that contains unhealthy substances such as corn syrup and pesticides, and a loss of biodiversity in countries beyond just the US. The industry also requires huge subsidies from the government to support it, a commitment that not all countries can undertake.

Bolivian Quinoa

Quinoa, a seed eaten like a grain, is grown in the high altitudes of the Andes in Bolivia and Peru. Production of quinoa boomed due to high demand from consumers in industrialized countries. Since then it has entered into the beginnings of industrial development to satisfy demand. Although it is not as industrialized as corn, the environmental and social impacts on the Andean region and its quinoa farmers are already visible.

With a population of 9.1 million, Bolivia is the poorest country in the Andean region. Agriculture contributes 15% to the GNP but employs a much larger part of the population. The majority of the population living in rural areas faces conditions of extreme poverty. Most of the rural sector is focused on subsistence farming or small-scale production for the domestic market. Income in these areas averages approximately $0.60 per day (Rajalahti, Janssen, and Pehu 2008). The crops in the Andes, like quinoa, are characterized by

exceptional environmental adaptation, specifically to mountain conditions with a tolerance to drought, frost, saline soils, and other abiotic and biotic factors (Jacobsen 2011). Traditionally, quinoa production in the Andean region took into account the slowness of biological process in high altitude environments. Long fallow periods allowed for soil moisture and nutrients to replenish and decreased the incidences of pests and diseases. The integration of llamas to fertilize soil was also a common practice, along with entirely manual ploughing and harvesting that prioritized building soil organic matter (Jacobsen 2011).

In 2002, the Bolivian System of Productivity and Competitiveness laid out a plan including the target of having 50% of the total quinoa production to be produced and managed by the peasant producer organizations to increase the welfare of their farmers by giving them access to a larger market (Effel 2012). This choice was based on a general belief that shifting from import-substituting industrialization strategies in favor of export-oriented initiatives would benefit the country as a whole (Effel 2012). However, the evolution of quinoa production paints a different picture. During this decade the volumes of quinoa production commercialized and reached significant levels, booming in 2006 due to a change in the preference of consumers in industrialized countries for quinoa (Effel 2012). Private firms from industrialized countries then entered the quinoa market looking to capitalize on the crop, displacing the monopoly that the peasant producer organizations had maintained until this point. The entrance of private firms such as manufacturers and pesticide companies introduced new forms of competition and caused a flow of farmers into that system (Effel 2012). These farmers became “wage-workers” whose prospects of

taking part on the distribution of profits became limited to the size and productivity of the land, causing them to move towards industrial practices.

Currently, the genetic diversity in the Andes is threatened by desertification, deforestation, and erosion as a result of the mechanization of agricultural production. Intensification to take advantage of increasing prices on the international market is causing quinoa's traditionally sustainable production to fade (Jacobsen 2011). Environmental impacts include land conversion for production, desertification, loss of biodiversity, increased erosion, increased use of tractors leading to degraded soil fertility, less natural pasture, llamas separated from quinoa cultivation so there is no natural manure contributing to soil fertility, and new pest niches (Jacobsen 2011). The organization *Agronomes et Vétérinaires sans Frontiéres* (Agronomists and Veterinarians without Borders) in Bolivia published a study that found that these changes to the Bolivian highland are causing the productivity per hectare to decrease despite increased inputs (Félix 2008).

These increasingly poor environmental conditions result in undesired impacts on the economic and social livelihood of the indigenous population. Farmers are losing control over their land and relinquishing a portion of the profits to private corporations. They are also shown to prefer to sell the quinoa and buy less nutritional food for their families, rather than consuming any of the quinoa they produce (Jacobsen 2011). While quinoa exports have increased since 2001, domestic consumption has decreased. The consumption of quinoa in Bolivia is only 2kg per person per year, whereas the same for rice and pasta (cheaper, less nutritious alternatives) is 25 kg. Compared to Peru, which exports less quinoa, consumption of quinoa is more than 20kg per person per year (Jacobsen 2011).

The traditional Andean staple is instead contributing its nutritional qualities to the diets of western populations and economically benefitting outside corporations.

The region may soon become uncultivable, and the farmers of the rural population will lose their only source of food production and income generation. By switching to this form of unsustainable, mechanized cultivation, this generation of farmers and future generations may lose their source of livelihood, a food that is important to their culture, and other uses of the land. This shows how the shortsightedness of industrial farming practices induced by high consumer demand is damaging socially and environmentally. In the short term such practices are economically beneficial, since prices are initially higher, but the technology treadmill has begun and this will not be the case forever. Unlike the United States, countries like Bolivia and others in the Andes do not have the economic resources to subsidize and support industrial production. With yields decreasing and the rapid degradation of the environment, quinoa production may have to rely completely on synthetic inputs in the future, as corn does, leading to the exiting of small farmers from the industry to be replaced by private corporations. This situation has been produced rapidly by increased demand and subsequent industrial agricultural development. Rather than creating sustainable gains for farmers, it has started a cycle of the recession of farmers' control over production, increasing displacement, and environmental degradation.

Ethiopian Tef

Tef is a wheat-like grain mostly grown in the Horn of Africa. It is a key part of the Ethiopia's heritage and a crucial food staple, much like quinoa has been seen in Bolivia ("TEFF: Ethiopia" 2014). Tef is the preferred grain of most Ethiopians and a vital

component to the health of their diet. It has the highest amount of protein among commonly consumed cereals in Ethiopia and a high-energy content and nutritional value (Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency 2013). The average urban Ethiopian derives 600 calories per day from tef, which is around 30% of their total daily caloric intake, whereas rural residents only eat around 200 calories per day (Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency 2013). It is versatile and can be grown in drought-prone and waterlogged areas in a variety of soils and climates types (Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency 2013). It is not yet prevalent in the diets of most western populations, but reports show that tef is gaining increased interest abroad among health aficionados seeking a nutritious, gluten-free alternative to wheat. It is even predicted to replace quinoa as the latest global "super-food" ("TEFF: Ethiopia" 2014). Tef is already becoming too expensive for the majority of Ethiopians, who earn less than two dollars per day, as demonstrated by the disparity between urban and rural consumption ("TEFF: Ethiopia" 2014). Reports show that the Ethiopian government is planning to develop the crop under an industrial model.

The Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency, part of the Government of Ethiopia, published a document detailing the development plans tef from 2013-2017. The planned interventions include the development and funding from the government of mass production, improved seed varieties, increasing mechanization, and increased use of herbicides and pesticides – showing that the planned development fits the industrial agriculture model (Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency 2013). This could lead to the same progression that quinoa production has undergone and the related social, environmental, and economic impacts.

Tef has not yet seen the entry of private industry or industrialization, but the government is planning to develop in that manner. Many academics say that access to markets is necessary to bring poor farmers out of poverty, but is there a better way to undertake agricultural development than the industrial capitalist route? Can the tef farmers in Ethiopia enjoy access to the world market without the social and environmental degradation that corn and quinoa farmers have experienced in the globalization of their crop?

Sustainable Agriculture and Consumer Responsibility

Vandana Shiva argues in "Soil Not Oil" that a new development system is possible, but it requires a widespread moral shift. She argues for real solutions that will come from "breaking free of the crippling world of mechanistic assumptions, industrial methods of producing goods with high energy and resource costs, and market mechanisms that make high-cost products appear cheap on supermarket shelves" (Shiva 2009, 19). This emotional discourse is moving ideologically, but it is reasonable to question its viability in our deeply mechanized agricultural system. However, academics are proving through research that a sustainable approach to agricultural development is possible and can satisfy more than just economic needs on a global scale.

John Ikerd explains that sustainable agriculture is based on a holistic model of development, which views production units as organisms that consist of many complex, interrelated elements. People are viewed as part of the organisms or systems from which they derive their wellbeing, and improved quality of life is considered to be a consequence of interrelationships among people and the other biological elements of their environment

(Ikerd 2008). He argues that a systems approach, which focuses on knowledge-based development of whole farms and communities, will be required to address the environmental, economic, and social challenges of the post-industrial era of agricultural sustainability. There is not one model of farming that is considered sustainable agriculture; rather it is a promotion of creative and integrated methods that internalizes ecological, social and economic values beyond efficiency. Environmentally, the guiding principles to sustainability include shifting the system to recycling nutrients and not degrading natural resources of soil, water, air and biodiversity. It also includes using more renewable, naturally occurring and local resources, managing pests ecologically and matching crops to the environment. Overall it means valuing long-term health and sustainability of the system rather than short-term yield gains. Socially-just food systems have a high quality of life for people who work in food production, fair wages and benefits, an equitable distribution of food, and a positive effect on people's health. It also means giving autonomy and support to the farmers, who have a connection and understanding of the land, rather than to distant corporate landowners. A sustainable system can be produced in a variety of ways, but what is important is that the systems are supported by national policies, so that farmers can come out of poverty by increasing productivity and not just by the industrial agriculture model.

A population of farmers is seeking to create biologically diverse agroecosystems that use non-destructive methods of building soil fertility, natural pest management, and provide healthy, local food in order to address the many issues of industrial agriculture outlined in this chapter. Fewer cultivations, more rotations, ground cover, and innovative cultural practices can lessen soil erosion considerably and lower inputs of chemicals and

fertilizers, resulting in greatly decreased contamination and minimization of other environmental effects. Small-scale organic farms in the northeastern United States are accomplishing this, maintaining sustainable practices through the model of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). This model consists of consumers purchasing a share of the harvest before the season, investing in the farmer and providing the capital a farmer needs to see his season through. This model fosters an understanding for the difficulties that farmer's experience, as CSA members share in the successes and failures of the harvest, as well as a greater appreciation for wholesome organic food.

This sustainable model can function on a more global scale. In a study on organic versus conventional food production Catherine Badgley disproves the principal objections to the proposition that organic agriculture can contribute significantly to the global food supply – low yields and insufficient quantities of organically acceptable fertilizers. The model estimates of the study indicate that organic methods could produce enough food on a global per capita basis to sustain the current human population, and potentially an even larger population, without increasing the agricultural land base (Badgley et al. 2007). They also found that certain cover crops could fix enough nitrogen to replace the amount of synthetic fertilizer currently in use (Badgley et al. 2007). These results indicate that organic agriculture has the potential to contribute quite substantially to the global food supply, while reducing the detrimental environmental impacts of conventional agriculture. Pretty et al. conducted a study on the possibilities of resource-conserving agriculture by looking at 286 recent interventions in 57 poor countries. He defines the idea of agricultural sustainability as centering on the need to develop technologies and practices that do not have adverse effects on environmental resources, and that lead to improvements in food

productivity (Pretty et al. 2005). In his research he found that more widespread adoption of resource-conserving technologies would contribute to increased agricultural productivity, particularly as evidence indicated that productivity can grow in many farming systems as natural, social, and human capital assets also grow, especially for poor households. (Pretty et al. 2005).

In order to make these shifts to sustainable agriculture, there must be high demands for sustainable production and products for consumers. Many citizens do not have the privilege to prioritize long-term health and environmental justice over short-term economics, much like the Bolivian quinoa farmers. Promoting consumer consciousness of the social, environmental, health and economic deficiencies of the current agricultural system is one step that can be made, but policy that inherently values the long term can be more effective. Shifts in education policy can ensure that curricula foster an appreciation for the environment and a better understanding of where food comes from to promote demand for sustainable products. Governments must also rescind support for systems that externalize so many costs in order for production methods that internalize these costs to be able to compete. Support for fair trade and small-farmers around the globe will also increase availability of wholesome food on the market.

Those with the privilege to supplement their nutrition with foods from around the world need to make sure they do so without taking advantage of producers. Fair trade is an alternative way of doing business that can fit into a model of sustainability by bringing together a diversity of producers, retailers, and customers in the global market. In a fair trade system, indigenous products can be commercialized through a process of product development that emanates from and honors cultural traditions. Production and trade can

transpire under socially responsible, non-exploitive conditions that provide a fair wage, maximize profits, and contribute to long-term socioeconomic benefits for producers and communities (Littrell and Dickson 1999). The more consumers demand ethically and sustainably produced food in an exchange where farmers are receiving a greater portion of the benefits over agribusiness corporations, the more the market will provide such products and support such systems.

Sustainable agriculture is based on minimal use of off-farm inputs and on management practices that restore, maintain, and enhance ecological harmony as well as economic and cultural wellbeing. It can be interpreted differently and represents a spectrum of practices that challenge the incomplete rationale of industrial agriculture. As consumers, it is important to realize that some agricultural and trade systems fundamentally disregard the environment and livelihoods of producers. Widespread adoption of these practices must come from the government shifting support away from systems that are inherently shortsighted and onto those that intrinsically value environmental and social welfare. It is the government's duty to make sure our systems produce food that is viable in the short term and not detrimental in the long term through subsidies, taxes, education and other policy that influences agricultural development in the United States and other countries.

Conclusion

The current genre of capitalist development is incapable of broadening the base of social welfare for a burgeoning global population or sustaining the ecological foundation upon which future social welfare will depend. Widespread negative environmental, social,

and economic impacts can be seen in the industrial development of crops such as corn, quinoa, and tef. These impacts are consequences of a method of development that exceeds the economic resources that most countries can provide. In the United States, we have the capital to support input intensive agricultural systems unlike Bolivia and Ethiopia, but the environmental and social issues that are found despite development status should not be disregarded as trivial. They are basic to the welfare of society today and in the future; they are fundamental to development. Finding means of lessening chemical and other energy-based inputs, such as cultivations, fertilizers and pesticides, as well as increasing consumer responsibility and ensuring fair trade can improve the degradation and cultural loss that come at the expense of the industrial agriculture model. Practicing sustainable agriculture can increase productivity and meet demand, but most importantly it can lead to sustainable development for all categories of countries.

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6. Gassy Cows: Beef Production's Effect on Climate and Health

Jessica Zuban

The day I finished *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, I dropped meat cold turkey, which ironically was the day after Thanksgiving five years ago. The author, Michael Pollan, doesn't advocate for radical vegetarianism, so don't let that deter you from picking up the book. Instead, Pollan advocates for eating responsibly. The best way to summarize the message of the book is in the author's own words:

> 'Eating is an agricultural act,' as Wendell Berry famously said. It is also an ecological act, and a political act, too. Though much has been done to obscure this simple fact, how and what we eat determines to a great extent the use we make of the world – and what is to become of it. To eat with a fuller consciousness of all that is at stake might sound like a burden, but in practice few things in life can afford quite as much satisfaction. By comparison, the pleasures of eating industrially, which is to say eating in ignorance, are fleeting. Many people today seem perfectly content eating at the end of an industrial food chain, without a thought in the world; this book is probably not for them (Pollan 2006, 11).

Pollan is targeting readers who want to know more about the food industry and what exactly they are eating. He says, "you are what what you eat eats" (2006, 84). Knowing what you eat, and what your food ate for that matter, is important because it has such broad-spectrum impacts on the environment and human health that we as the consumers are not often privy to. This is the omnivore's dilemma. A lot of the food we eat is processed, unsustainably grown, or environmentally harmful. And as much as we try to shape our diets around sustainable products, the industry has made it nearly impossible to trace where our food comes from, so we're stuck deciding between a locally grown $14 steak and $4 bargain at the supermarket. The choice for the average consumer is obvious. Old Bessie can't compete with big-farm beef.

The hamburger can be considered the poster-meal for the industrial food chain that Pollan mentions. Extraordinary amounts of resources like pesticides, fertilizer, and water are used to produce feed for these cows, while rivers and pasture land suffer from the effects of overpopulation and overgrazing. But unknown to many people is the fact that cows are one of the largest greenhouse gas emitters on the planet. Not only do cows pollute the environment, excessive beef consumption also contributes to the leading cause of death in humans, cardiovascular disease. After investigating different proposed methods to mitigate cows' effect on greenhouse gas emissions and researching the effect beef has on human health, I came to the conclusion that diets need to shift to lessen the total impact of the beef industry. This diet shift is two-fold: people in developed countries need to eat less beef, and cows need to eat healthy, natural grass and roughage instead of the corn-based ration forced on them.

Pollan spends a lot of time discussing the role of a cow in the industrial food chain. He goes so far as to purchase his own steer, affectionately called 534, and he follows him through his 14 months of life before he is sent off to slaughter. Reading about the life of Steer 534 raised some bigger questions. How sustainable is beef production at the macro-level and what is being done to make it more sustainable as the world population is growing? Where is all of this beef coming from, and who is it feeding? And, perhaps the most meaningful question for readers of this chapter, whose responsibility is it to care?

Why Should You Care?

If environmental activism doesn't perk your interest, there is another obvious reason why you should care about the effects of beef production. Eating is not just an

agricultural, ecological, and political act, as Pollan says. It is also fundamentally an individual act that greatly affects your health. What you put into your body determines your risk for diabetes, high blood pressure, heart disease, and even cancer. Even if you are "content eating at the end of an industrial food chain," you must realize that we are suffering from a "National Eating Disorder" in the United States (Pollan 2006, 11, 1). Sadly, one in three adults is obese and 70% of adults are overweight, which makes the United States the fattest country in the OECD (OECD 2014). Globally, obesity rates have doubled since 1980 due to higher intake of calorie rich, high fat foods and a decrease in physical activity (WHO 2014).

In this chapter, I'm going to take a closer look at beef production, what I believe to be one of the most harmful industries to human health and the environment. I think Pollan would agree that those calorie-rich, nutrient-poor foods in our happy meals are the problem. The food industry has distracted us with drive-ins, microwaveable dinners, and cheap cuts of meat, catering to what's really important to us: convenience and cost. But do we really know what we are eating? Or what that cow ate? Or are we "eating in ignorance," as Pollan says? Many consumers are content pushing 2-3-0 on their microwave and plopping in front of the TV to watch Wheel of Fortune after a long day at work, and I don't blame them. But, like I said before, eating is an individual act, and our health and the health of the environment are directly related to "eating in ignorance" (2006, 11). This ignorance is propagated by the industry because the nutrition label doesn't account for all of the ingredients that go into the production of just one hamburger. The real costs of that hamburger are hidden behind the affordable price and convenience, which we as consumers should try to unwrap.

The Real Cost of a Hamburger

To better understand the beef industry let's examine the life of a cow in a US feedlot. Cows are born on grassy farms called calf-cow operations, to mothers that are generally artificially inseminated with grade-A bull semen. After six months, the calves are weaned from their mothers, a very stressful process for both of them, to prepare them emotionally and physically for life on a concentrated animal feeding operation (CAFO). After they are separated, cows bellow for days in protest, and calves more easily become sick from the change in diet and anxiety caused by being apart from their mother (Pollan 2006, 71). But soon, the cow will be re-inseminated and the calf will be on its way to the CAFO.

Life for a cow on a CAFO is completely different than on the rolling pastures of their adolescence. Cows are constricted to small, fenced-in brown wastelands, where they stand or lie in mud and feces. Because of the nature of CAFOs there is a great amount of runoff that pollutes local water supplies, spreading deadly pathogens spread from fecal matter. On the CAFO, cows are fed mostly corn because it is cheap and abundant, along with protein supplements, molasses, liquefied fat, and urea, a form of synthetic nitrogen made from petroleum. They live here about 150 days until they reach slaughter weight of 1,100 pounds and are shipped off. This is progressively more efficient compared to 60 years ago, when it took two to three years for cows to reach 1,100 pounds, while now it only takes 14 to 16 months because of increases in calorie content of feed (Pollan 2006). You could say that farmers put cows on a McDonald's diet—high calorie, low nutrient feed—which helps them grow faster but at a cost to their health.

This type of corn-supplemented diet is extremely incompatible with cows' stomachs. Cows develop diseases such as diarrhea, bloat, rumenitis, and liver disease because of it. Meat from these cows is also unhealthy for consumers because it has more saturated fats and less omega-3 fatty acids than grass-fed beef. This is because corn doesn't have the same protein structures as traditional feed, and when added to the diet, the meat develops more intramuscular fat. In the deli, they refer to this as marbling, which consumers ironically look for in steaks because the USDA considers it high-grade meat (Pollan 2006). However, an influx of saturated fats, present in the marbleized steaks of corn-fed beef, leads to obesity, heart disease, and high blood pressure in humans.

Besides the negative health and environmental effects I discovered when reading Pollan's book, what I found most interesting was cows' effect on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Cows are ruminant animals, meaning they ferment food in their stomach, regurgitate it and chew it up again, prior to digesting it. This fermentation process emits methane gas through belching and flatus.[15] Methane is a potent GHG that contributes significantly to the greenhouse effect. Corn, especially, increases this production of methane in cows' bellies because ruminants are not designed to digest it. Cows also are one of the largest polluters of nitrous oxide, which is a byproduct of their manure. These two gases are some of the most potent GHGs, and managing their emission is vital to increasing the sustainability of beef production.

[15] Flatus is colloquially referred to as "farting."

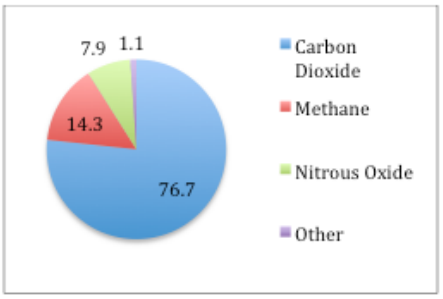
Greenhouse Gases, Flatulence, and Manure

It is important to get some background information to understand the extent that beef production affects GHG emissions. But first, a quick explanation of the greenhouse effect is helpful to put it into context. The US Environmental Protection Agency describes it like this:

> The Earth gets energy from the sun in the form of sunlight. The Earth's surface absorbs some of this energy and heats up. That's why the surface of a road can feel hot even after the sun has gone down—because it has absorbed a lot of energy from the sun. The Earth cools down by giving off a different form of energy, called infrared radiation. But before all this radiation can escape to outer space, greenhouse gases in the atmosphere absorb some of it, which makes the atmosphere warmer. As the atmosphere gets warmer, it makes the Earth's surface warmer, too. (2014b)

Gases like carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide essentially trap heat in the atmosphere. This is useful to an extent or the world would be freezing cold, but when there are a lot of these GHGs emitted into the air by humans or industry, then more and more warming occurs which explains the recent crisis called Climate Change.

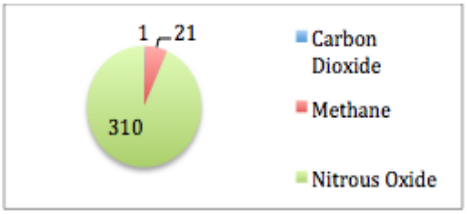
The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) breaks global anthropogenic GHG emissions, or human-caused emissions, into three major components as seen in Graph 1.a. They are carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide, which constitute about 99% of all anthropogenic emissions. Carbon dioxide contributes more than three quarters of the total, which most people are familiar with. It is produced through fossil fuel use, primarily driving cars, burning coal, deforestation, and decay of biomass (Rogner et al. 2007, 103). There are



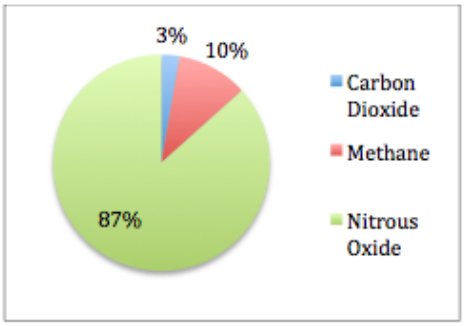
Graph 1.a: Global Anthropogenic Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2004
Source: (Rogner et al. 2007, 103)

websites and apps that track our carbon footprints, but what about the other quarter of emissions?

The other two main GHGs are methane and nitrous oxide, which are prominent by-products of beef production. Although these two gases only contribute about a quarter to total global emissions in terms of quantity, it is quality that really matters. Methane and nitrous oxide are more potent GHGs than carbon dioxide, and therefore, have a larger impact on the greenhouse effect. Methane has a Global Warming Potential (GWP) over 100 years of 21.[16] This means that methane is 21 times more potent than carbon dioxide over a 100-year time span and, therefore, has 21 times the potential to absorb radiation. Nitrous oxide is even more potent, having a GWP (100-years) of 300 as shown in Graph 1.b (USEPA 2014a). The gases' effect on atmospheric warming according to each gases' GWP (100-years) can be calculated from these numbers, which is depicted in Graph 1.c. This graph illustrates how although carbon dioxide comprised about three quarters of emissions in 2004, according to GWP (100-years), nitrous oxide had the largest effect on warming, causing almost 90% of the total, methane 10%, while carbon dioxide plays a very insignificant role.[17] Knowing this helps to



Graph 1.b: Global Warming Potential (100-years) of Carbon Dioxide, Methane, and Nitrous Oxide
Source: (Rogner et al. 2007, 103)



Graph 1.c: Carbon Dioxide, Methane, and Nitrous Oxide effect to Global Warming according to Global Warming Potential in 2004
Based on information from: (Rogner et al. 2007, 103)

[16] The global warming potential (GWP) is determined using carbon dioxide as the baseline over 100 years, meaning its GWP is 1.

[17] Nitrous oxide has the largest effect on global warming in terms of GWP (100-years) when compared to carbon dioxide and methane. Other GHGs not mentioned here have varying GWPs (100-years), but contribute only a portion of 1.1% of total emissions by volume.

better understand that emissions from the beef industry are significant factors in the perpetuation of global warming.

When talking about beef production, we are looking at the agricultural sector, and according to the IPCC, agriculture contributes overwhelmingly to the production of methane and nitrous oxide. In terms of global anthropogenic emissions by volume emitted, agriculture represents about 10-12% of the total, but includes about half of global emissions from methane and nitrous oxide (Smith et al. 2007, 503). Therefore, referring back to Graph 1.c, we can see that according to its warming potential, or the actual effect on the earth's ability to absorb radiation and cause temperatures to rise, the agriculture sector contributes over 50% of the global anthropogenic emissions.[18] This should startle you because, unfortunately, this fact is often overlooked. Consumers are encouraged to drive less instead of being encouraged to eat local, sustainably raised foods, even though the latter is exceptionally more harmful to the environment.

So you can understand how cows really do hurt the environment more than your neighbor's 16-MPG SUV, let's look at the numbers. Two types of agricultural emissions can be attributed to beef production: enteric fermentation and manure production. Enteric fermentation produces methane, as discussed earlier, through belching or flatus in ruminant animals such as cows, sheep, goats, and buffalo. The FAO found that enteric fermentation, or animals' digestive processes, from all ruminant animals contributes to 40% to the total agricultural emissions. Cattle contributed 74% of this total (Gerber 2014, 29). Manure is the other major source of nitrous oxide and methane production, and on

[18] Agricultural emissions account for over 50% of the total GHG contribution to global warming by GWP (100-years) of methane, nitrous oxide, and carbon dioxide. By multiplying 47% of global emissions of methane and 58% nitrous oxide by the percent of methane and nitrous oxide respectively, found in Graph 1.c, the result is that Agriculture produces over 50% of GHGs by GWP (100-years).

average a cow excretes 120 pounds of manure a day (US EPA 2012). Manure production contributes 26% of the total agricultural emissions (Gerber et al. 2014, 22).[19] Cattle, independent from other livestock, contribute about 50% of this total (Gerber et al. 2014, 32, 39, 42). Combined, cows' total effect on emissions from enteric fermentation and manure is about 45% of total global agricultural emissions.[20] After all of these dense calculations, we can see that cows produce almost one quarter of total global greenhouse gas emissions.[21]

Again, cows, not your car, produce nearly 25% of all GHGs. To provide a concrete example of the real environmental cost of beef production in terms of a carbon footprint, the Center for Investigative Reporting calculated that cutting out one hamburger a week would remove as many GHGs as driving a car 350 miles (Ching, Jones, and Terry-Cobo, 2012). Because the beef industry creates so many GHGs, the sustainability of the expanding market is in question. There have been a number of scholars that recognize this tremendous source of environmental pollution, and have proposed solutions on how to mitigate the GHG emissions caused by beef production.

[19] Manure production refers to manure management, manure left on pasture, and manure applied to pasture as cited in Gerber et al. 2013.
[20] Calculations were made based on data produced by Gerber et al. 2013.
[21] The agriculture sector contributes 50% of global emissions, and beef production comprises 45% of emissions from the agricultural sector. Multiplying 50% by 45% shows how cattle produce 22.5% of global anthropogenic emissions, nearly a quarter. Specifically, this speaks to emissions from cows based on data on manure management, manure left on pasture, manure applied to pasture, and enteric fermentation. This does not include GHGs emitted during the production and processing of feed for cows, the conversion of land-use to support livestock, or the fossil fuels used in the production process in terms of transportation of cattle and meat to consumers.

Sustainably Sustaining a Growing Population

The current debate breaks down into two categories of mitigation strategies: demand-side and supply-side. The demand-side advocates for a cut in beef consumption, while the supply-side argues that improved feeding and land-use change can eliminate enough GHGs to make the industry more sustainable to accommodate future growth. Both types of mitigation strategies are valid, but the question remains: which is more feasible and will have a bigger effect on GHG reduction?

Increasing Efficiency: Supply-Side Mitigation

The proponents for supply-side strategies are quick to recognize the economic and nutritional benefits of livestock products. Despite all of the resources it uses, Mario Herrero et al. (2013a) mention that the livestock sector provides income for 1.3 billion people and nourishment for 800 million food-insecure people. Responding to this, demand-side proponents argue that the energy-input to protein-output ratio for beef is inefficient (Pimentel 1997). David Pimentel (1997) determined that the energy-input to protein-output ratio for beef cattle is 54:1 while chicken meat is just 4:1. He calculates that in 1997, 800 million people could have been fed for one year with the grain used to feed livestock.

However, a study by M. Gill, P. Smith, and J. M. Wilkinson (2009) documents how beef production is not as unsustainable as we are told to believe. Their findings demonstrate how beef production is less efficient in terms of total energy consumed, but in terms of human-edible return, outputs exceed inputs. Cows, globally, mostly eat grass and forage crop, which is inedible by humans, and the human-edible portion of their diet is

exceeded by the outputs of beef production. However, this does not account for the different livestock production systems in developed versus developing countries.[22] For instance, I wonder if edible inputs exceed inedible inputs in the concentrated animal feeding operations in the US where cows are fed mostly corn. Overall Herrero et al. (2013a) agree that feed management is essential to mitigating GHG emissions, while structural change in the livestock sector is needed to improve efficiency.

Petr Havlík et al. (2014) address the need for structural change through what they call livestock production system transitions (LPSTs). They believe the most efficient way to combat GHG emissions is through land-use change. Havlík et al. (2014) demonstrate how transitioning from low-input, low-output systems (i.e., grassland and rangeland systems) to efficient and productive systems (i.e., mixed crop-livestock and industrial livestock systems) would produce a great abatement in GHG emissions mostly through land-use change and improved feeding (Havlík et al. 2014).[23] This shift that Havlík et al. talk about is what the developed world has done – switched from traditional grazing systems to concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs) to increase efficiency. However, increased beef production in this way yields another slew of environmental effects mentioned above which Havlík et al. (2014) did not consider.

Similarly, Avery Cohn et al. (2014) analyzed an incentivized method of transitioning to more efficient beef production in Brazil. They measured the effects of cattle ranching intensification, concluding that Brazil could prevent substantial deforestation with

[22] Developed regions include Europe and Russia, Oceania, and North America and developing regions. include Southeast Asia, Eastern Asia, South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East-North Africa as defined by Herrero et al. 2013a.

[23] Industrial livestock systems can be considered CAFOs discussed earlier. Mixed crop-livestock systems are systems where crops and animals are rotated on certain plots of land.

concurrent abatement of GHGs by imposing a tax on cattle ranching on conventional pasture land and subsidizing semi-intensive pasture. This system is less intensive than an industrial livestock system would be, and by saving the rainforest, it can be said less environmental harm was done in Brazil by slightly intensifying production compared to in the United States.

From a more technical approach, Havlík et al. (2014) mention how improved breeding, reproductive efficiency, and health intervention can increase productivity and lead to land saving. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United States (FAO) produced a report on the technical options that exist to mitigate GHG emissions including animal husbandry and reproductive management (Gerber et al. 2013). A prime example of reproductive management is Pollan's steer, 534, born to mother 9534 and Gar Precision 1680, whose semen came in a 15-dollar mail-order package. Gill et al. (2010) also acknowledge that better breeding and fertility can decrease the number of livestock needed per unit product and argue that investment in new technology to limit methane production among other things is essential to improving efficiency in beef production.

Other scientists are focusing on the science of feed efficiency. For example, the Victorian Department of Primary Industries in Australia is experimenting with a variety of feed to find which help to reduce GHG emissions. They determined that adding grape marc, a by-product of wine production, to feed could reduce methane emissions by 20% and decrease nitrogen in manure. Grape marc is beneficial to cows' digestive systems and contains good fatty acids associated with improved heart health and cancer resistance (VDEPI 2012). In 2009, 15 Vermont farms began feeding cattle more flaxseed and alfalfa instead of corn and soy. This diet is healthier for cows because the stomach can properly

digest this fodder, and the experiment has resulted in an 18% reduction in methane and 30% reduction for the same program in France. Known as the Stonyfield Farm experiment, it is said to be plausible to adapt to the whole of the US, but the government would have to shift support to flax instead of corn and soy (Kaufman 2009).

Decreasing Consumption: Demand-Side Mitigation

Both sides of the mitigation argument believe that impacts from livestock on climate change and human health are unprecedented. The demand-side scholars believe it is people's responsibility to change the status quo. Scholars across the board agree that the growing human population will increase the demand for meat products, which will also increase GHG emissions. The FAO projects that the demand for meat will increase 73% by 2050 from 2010 levels due to growing demand from an emerging middle class (Gerber et al. 2013, 1). There is a consensus that the human diet plays a crucial role in the perpetuation and growth of the livestock sector. Scholars have proposed targeting diets by addressing consumer health, the food industry, and government policy in order to incentivize people to eat less red meat.

Some demand-side proponents advocate for urgent dietary shifts on the basis of human health and the unsustainability of beef production in order to make an impact on the industrial food chain. Scholars Talia Raphaely, Dora Marinova, George Crisp, and Jordan Panayotov (2013) propose "flexitarianism," a dietary shift to combat the increasing demand for meat. Acknowledging that a complete shift from a meat-based diet to a plant-based diet would fundamentally change nutrition habits, "flexitarianism" is defined as flexible or part-time vegetarianism that allows a person to determine their level of meat

reduction. They encourage switching the occasional meat to a plant-based alternative like beans or tofu. Their intention is that this diet is flexible enough to appeal to all consumers.

Another scholar, Eric Davidson (2012) developed a study that analyzed nitrous oxide emissions to demonstrate the magnitude of improvement needed to successfully mitigate GHG emissions. The study concluded that along with a 50% reduction in emission factors from existing technology, a 50% reduction in meat consumption per capita in developed regions would allow us to meet the most aggressive IPCC Fifth Assessment Report target, which would put us on track to stop global warming. A study done by Siwa Msangi and Mark W. Rosegrant (2011) predicts that a 50% decrease in meat consumption by 2030 in high-income countries would be beneficial to the developing world. This is based on their calculation that world meat prices would decrease 12-22% which would boost meat consumption in developing countries by 7%. However, Davidson (2012) also recognized that overcoming the social, economic, and political barriers toward reaching this goal of reduced meat consumption will be a challenge. Responding to this challenge, Davidson (2012) puts forth the example of smoking in the United States, and how it was culturally engrained in society. Through public health initiatives smoking has become greatly reduced in past years, which suggests that a major shift in social behavior is possible in a short period; therefore, Davidson (2012) concludes it may be possible to combat obesity through reduced per capita meat consumption within the same time frame.

Like Davidson (2012), Goodland and Anhang (2009) also realize that a shift away from current high meat consumption will be difficult to accomplish. They propose that the food-industry should take the reins on leading consumers away from meat products and toward meat analogs, or soy or gluten-based substitutes like tofu and seitan. Goodland and

Anhang (2012) propose that a fast food chain with meat analogs like tofu could be the solution to affordable protein. They note that analogs are already cheaper, and when cooked right they can taste just like chicken. This idea may not be so far-fetched, considering how currently most people know the meat in their chicken nuggets isn't grade-A anyway. This parallels what Raphaely et al. (2013) concluded, namely that a more plant-based diet is healthier for the consumer because meat consumption has been linked to a number of diseases such as cancer, diabetes, heart disease, stroke, lupus, and osteoporosis among others.

From another perspective, Goodland and Anhang (2009) suggest that the government should introduce a carbon tax on meat products. This tax could motivate the food industry to innovate new methods of sustainable production, while incentivizing consumers to purchase other more affordable sources of protein. Popp, Lotze-Campen, and Bodirsky (2009) likewise propose a tax on GHG emissions. They believe that a tax will promote new technological development that will aid in lessening GHG emissions as well as increase consumer prices to control levels of demand (Popp, Lotze-Campen, and Bodirsky, 2009).

While recognizing that moderating demand is important, Popp, Lotze-Campen, and Bodirsky (2009) believe that supply also plays role in mitigating the environmental costs of beef production. They designed a study where they developed a global land use model, customized to assess anthropogenic non-CO2 GHG emissions. They analyzed four different scenarios of varying levels of food consumption and diet shifts and technological mitigation to find the optimal scenario with the largest decrease in GHG emissions. They concluded that reducing GHG emissions through a combination of decreased meat consumption and

increased technological mitigation was the most effective GHG mitigation strategy (Popp, Lotze-Campen, and Bodirsky 2009). Similarly, Stehfest et al. (2008) performed a study that demonstrated that a global shift toward less meat would have a dramatic effect on land-use. Using their assessment model, they determined that switching to a plant-based diet would allow billions of hectares of land to be spared and vegetation to regrow, which would result in the removal of GHGs from the atmosphere.

The Skinny Cow: Dieting for Cows and People

After reading all of these studies, I realized that both the supply-side and the demand-side proponents rarely or ever mention the effect of diet on both cows and humans. The supply-side aimed to find a way for the beef industry to continue to grow exponentially, while the demand-side did not address the industry's effect on cow health. Eating, after all, is an individual act, so it is necessary to consider human health when talking about beef consumption. And from an environmental standpoint it is equally important to talk about cow health, because what they eat affects GHG emissions. The most comprehensive strategy then must address human health and cow health, which is why dieting for both species is the answer.

Burgers or Tofu: Beef and Human Health

Globally, beef ranks third in per capita consumption of all meats except fish, accounting for more than 20% of meat protein consumed (Davis and Lin 2005, 2). This rate of consumption varies greatly between regions. Looking at beef production from the perspective of a developed country versus from a developing country can demonstrate the

extent of its role in society. Overall meat consumption in southern Africa and the US illustrate this point—Americans eat 117.6 kg/year while people in southern Africa don't even eat half as much, 55.5 kg/year. Even more shockingly, an American consumes 37 kg of beef annually while in southern Africa a person on average only consumes 7.2 kg (FAOSTAT 2015). Broken down weekly, this means an average American eats nearly three hamburgers per week, while a person in southern Africa eats one quarter-pounder every two weeks. That's a 6:1 ratio.[24]

From a public health standpoint, the amount of beef one should consume is commonly unmet or exceeded depending on where you live. Beef is a high-protein source but excess consumption can deteriorate health. The amount of beef humans consume is directly correlated with non-communicable diseases such as hypertension, diabetes, or cardiovascular disease (Raphaely et al. 2013). When thinking about developing regions though, beef consumption can help an undernourished person transcend the line to adequate nourishment. However, these diseases are not only affecting people in developed countries, but also people in developing countries.

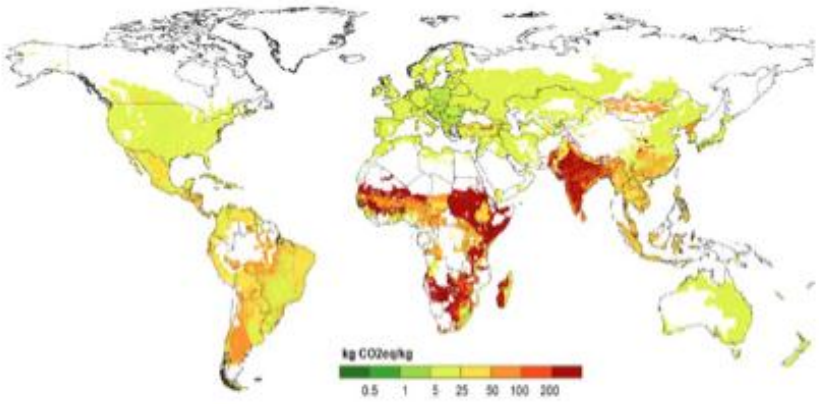
The burden of disease for these diet-related ailments is actually higher in developing countries than in developed countries. Cardiovascular disease is the number one cause of death globally, causing 30% of total deaths (Skolnik 2012, 280). In 2001, 16.4 million deaths occurred from cardiovascular disease (Skolnik 2012, 280). Surprisingly though, 80% of these deaths occurred in low and middle-income countries (Skolnik 2012, 281). Eighty percent of deaths due to diabetes also occurred in low and middle-income countries as well (Skolnik 2012, 282). These two diseases aren't often associated with

[24] Calculations were based on data gathered by FAOSTAT in a study ending in 2011.

developing countries, but as high saturated, fatty processed food overwhelm the market, many people in developing countries are turning to these cheaper, calorie rich, nutrient poor alternatives.

Grass or Corn: Feed Emergency

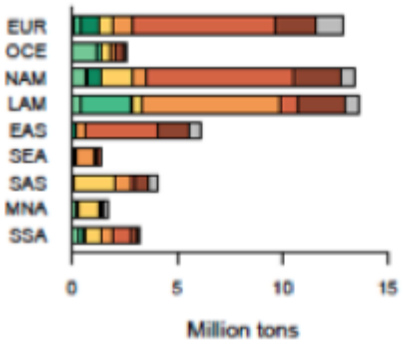
All of the negative health effects related to corn-fed beef seem to point to grass-fed beef as the solution, but this method of cattle farming also has its shortcomings, in terms of feed efficiency and GHG production. It is estimated that the developed and the developing regions each produce 50% of the world's beef (Swanepoel, Stroebel, and Moyo 2010, 6). However, greenhouse gas emissions are not produced equally between regions, as you would imagine. The developing world actually contributes about three-quarters of the global total.[25] Graph 2.a shows a world map of the GHG efficiency of beef production in 2000. The main reason that the developing world produces more GHGs from meat production is because of the type of feed the animals eat (Herrero et al. 2013a).



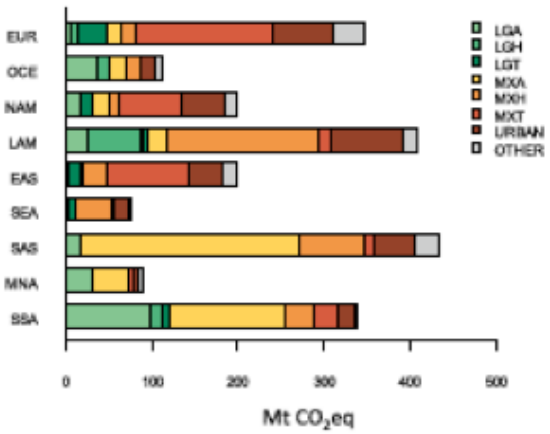
Graph 2.a: Greenhouse Gas Efficiency of Beef Production. Shown in kilograms of carbon dioxide equivalent per kilogram beef.
Source: (Herrero et al. 2013b, 28)

[25] GHGs include those produced through biomass use, measured by diet quality and feed-use efficiency, along with enteric fermentation, and manure management as documented in the study by Herrero et al. 2013a.

Herrero et al. (2013a) analyze the quality of the feed in developed and developing regions and its corresponding efficiency by collecting data from 28 regions around the world on biomass use, production, feed efficiency, and GHG emissions. They discover that the developing world utilizes mostly poor quality feed, which results in inefficient production and excessive GHG emissions. Graph 2.b shows the global beef output by production system in each region. We are mainly concerned with grazing and mixed crop-livestock systems because they are the two most predominant worldwide.[26] Herrero et al. (2013a) calculated that livestock in developing regions consume about three-quarters of the total amount of grass consumed by livestock globally; however, as shown in

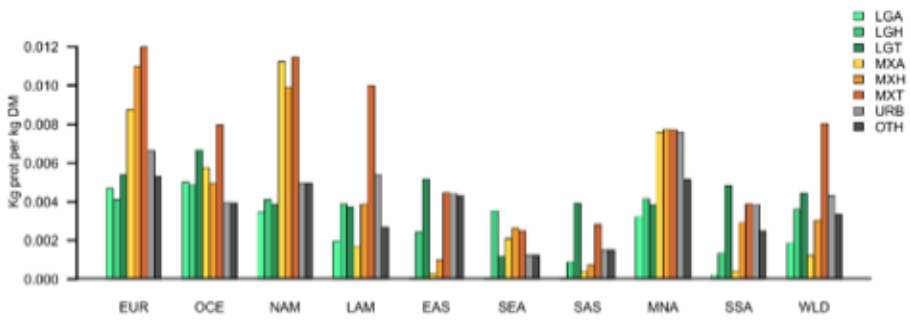


Graph 2.b: Global production of beef by region and production system. LGA, livestock grazing arid; LGH, livestock grazing humid; LGT, livestock grazing temperate; MXA, mixed arid; MXH, mixed humid; MXT, mixed temperate; OTHER, other systems; URBAN, urban systems. Developed Regions: Europe and Russia (EUR), Oceania (OCE), and North America (NAM); Developing Regions: Southeast Asia (SEA), Eastern Asia (EAS), South Asia (SAS), Latin America and the Caribbean (LAM), sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and the Middle East-North Africa (MNA).
Source: (Herrero et al. 2013a, 20889)



Graph 2.c: Non-CO2 GHG emissions from global ruminant livestock (cattle, sheep, and goats) by production system and region.
Source: (Herrero et al. 2013, 20892)

[26] Grazing systems refer to farms where more than ten percent of dry matter fed to the cows is produced on the farm. Mixed crop-livestock systems refer to farms where more than ten percent of feed comes from stubble or crop byproducts (Herrero et al. 2013a).



Graph 2.d: Kilograms of Protein Produced per Kilogram of Feed for Beef. DM, feed. Source: (Herrero et al. 2013b, 37)

Graph 2.b, the majority of meat produced comes from mixed crop-livestock systems. Graph 2.c shows that GHG emissions from grazing systems in all regions are much greater than other systems when compared to their production levels in Graph 2.b. According to Herrero et al (2013a), in terms of feed productivity, mixed crop-livestock systems are the most productive feed system, as seen in Graph 2.d. These mixed-crop livestock systems include those CAFOs mentioned before, where cows are fed a corn-based diet.

This raises an interesting question: Are free-range, grazing cattle that consume inferior roughage and produce higher levels of GHGs or concentrated animal feeding operations that deteriorate cattle health and produce subpar meat for consumers more sustainable? While I am conscious that this is a generalization of livestock production systems in developing versus developed countries, the question inspires an interesting debate. Which method of production should we move toward in the future? Which is more sustainable in terms of GHG emissions and healthier for consumers?

Try This On For Size: A Real Serving Size

If cows and humans shifted their diets, then cows would belch less, and humans would consume less, but more nutritious meat. The result would be happier cows, fewer emissions, and healthier humans. Being a concerned consumer is beneficial to both the

environment and your health. From an environmental standpoint, there is no clear-cut line telling you to choose grass-fed beef versus corn-fed beef. Grass-fed beef can produce higher greenhouse gas emissions, use more land and resources over a cow's lifetime, and has resulted in the destruction of forest area to create grazing land, especially in Latin America (Cohn 2014). Corn-fed beef, raised in concentrated animal feeding operations (CAFOs), produces its own environmental harms including water pollution, soil erosion, and the spread of pathogens (Raphaely et al. 2013). From a public health standpoint, the choice is obvious. Grass-fed beef is a much healthier option than corn-fed beef. However, I want to encourage you to make a different choice: eat less meat, but when you do eat meat, eat local and know where it's from. Eating less red meat is healthier for you, and eating locally is healthier for the environment because even though I said cars are less significant emitters, transporting food still produces a ton of GHGs. Knowing where your food comes from is the kicker – stop "eating in ignorance," and cure yourself from the "National Eating Disorder" (Pollan 2006, 11).

A practical way you can achieve environmental sustainability while improving your health outcome is by hopping off the industrial food chain and becoming a flexitarian. In order to do this it is important to know how much protein you should be consuming and how much of that can be red meat. The familiar food pyramid has evolved into a food plate. MyPlate, released in 2011, is the US Department of Agriculture's recommendation for daily portions of vegetables, fruits, grains, dairy, and protein foods (USDA 2014).

Unlike the food pyramid, the food plate doesn't recommend that people eat "meat," but instead "protein foods." Protein foods include meat, poultry, eggs, seafood, beans and peas, processed soy products, and nuts and seeds (USDA 2014). Interestingly an article

published by National Public Radio (NPR) says in regards to the 2011 revised nutrition guidelines that we need to read between the lines and ask, "Why don't they just say steer clear of red meat?" (2011). NPR's answer is that "[t]he reality is, USDA will probably never come out and tell Americans to stop eating high fat, calorie-dense meat. That's because USDA is not just a regulatory agency – it also promotes the country's vast livestock industry, from cattle to chicken" (2011). Even though the USDA didn't explicitly say to avoid high-fat red meat, it did provide numerous recommendations for eating healthy.

The USDA recommends that per day, an average person should consume 5.5 ounces of protein.[27] The USDA details the daily amount of protein suggested and the vegetarian

Food Category	USDA Food Pattern	Lacto-ovo Adaptation	Vegan Adaptation
Meats (e.g., beef, pork, lamb)	1.8 oz-eq[a]	0 oz-eq	0 oz-eq
Poultry (e.g., chicken, turkey)	1.5 oz-eq	0 oz-eq	0 oz-eq
Seafood	1.2 oz-eq	0 oz-eq	0 oz-eq
Eggs	0.4 oz-eq	0.6 oz-eq	0 oz-eq
Beans and peas[b]	N/A	1.4 oz-eq	1.9 oz-eq
Processed soy products	<0.1 oz-eq	1.6 oz-eq	1.4 oz-eq
Nuts and seeds[c]	0.5 oz-eq	1.9 oz-eq	2.2 oz-eq
Total per day	**5.5 oz-eq**	**5.5 oz-eq**	**5.5 oz-eq**

[a] Amounts shown in ounce-equivalents (oz-eq) per day. These are average recommended amounts to consume over time.
[b] Beans and peas are included in the USDA Food Patterns as a vegetable subgroup rather than in the protein foods group. Amounts shown here in the vegetarian patterns are additional beans and peas, in ounce-equivalents. One ounce-equivalent of beans and peas is 1/4 cup, cooked. These amounts do not include about 1 1/2 cups per week of beans and peas recommended as a vegetable in all of the 2,000 calorie patterns.
[c] Each ounce-equivalent of nuts is 1/2 ounce of nuts, so on a weekly basis, the 2,000 calorie patterns contain from 2 ounces to 8 ounces of total nuts.

Table 1: USDA Average Daily Recommendations for Protein Foods Based on a 2000 Calorie Diet with Vegetarian and Vegan Alternatives
Source: (USDA 2010)

and vegan alternatives to this diet in Table 1. From this, daily red meat consumption, including pork and lamb, shouldn't exceed 1.8 ounces. In one year that adds up to be

[27] This is based on a 2000 calorie diet, where people are getting about 30 minutes of exercise a day or less (USDA 2010).

18.6kg of red meat.[28] I said before that a person in the US eats 37kg of beef a year, not including pork or lamb, which means Americans are eating more than twice as much red meat as recommended by the USDA. This is extremely taxing on the environment and human health.

An example of a daily protein serving includes: 1 egg, ½ cup of white beans, and 2 ounces of ground beef (USDA 2014).[29] This doesn't seem like much, does it? That is most likely because like the majority of Americans, you may be eating too much protein on average. If you make the flexitarian shift away from red meat, you could replace those two ounces of ground beef with chicken or any bean, pea, nut, seed, or soy-product equivalent portion. In general, 1 ounce of red meat is equal to 1 ounce of poultry or fish, ¼ cup cooked beans, 1 egg, 1 tablespoon of peanut butter, or ½ ounce of nuts or seeds (USDA 2014). These alternatives are just as healthy for you and are definitely healthier for the environment.

Goal: Eat Half As Much Beef

Dieting for cows and humans will lessen the burden of the beef industry on the environment. Guy Choiniere, a farmer in the Vermont Stonyfield Farm experiment, said about his cows, "They are healthier and happier" (Kaufman 2009). Healthier feeds will make healthier cows and healthier beef for consumers. Eating an excess of red meat is culturally engrained in many societies like in the US. Most people laugh at me when I tell them I am a vegetarian, saying they could never do that. But, the truth is, you can.

[28] Calculations based on USDA recommendation of 1.8 ounces of red meat per day.
[29] Sample menus for a 2000-calorie diet can be found on ChooseMyPlate.gov.

A relevant comparison to reducing beef consumption is quitting smoking. When scientists discovered that it causes lung cancer, people decided that the short-term benefit from smoking was no longer worth the long-term cost. The same goes for excessive beef consumption. If in the future, you risk a heart attack that can end in major surgery or worse, which will demand a lifestyle change afterwards anyway. Isn't now as good a time as any to cut back? Try to eat one less hamburger or equivalent red meat serving a week. If you do eat that hamburger, it won't hurt today, but ten or twenty years from now, your heart won't be nearly as healthy as it deserves to be. So when you're at the supermarket, next time go for plant-based alternatives like beans, lentils, or nuts. Reducing your beef consumption is the only way to improve your health while simultaneously impacting the quantity, and quality, of greenhouse gases that are emitted into the environment.

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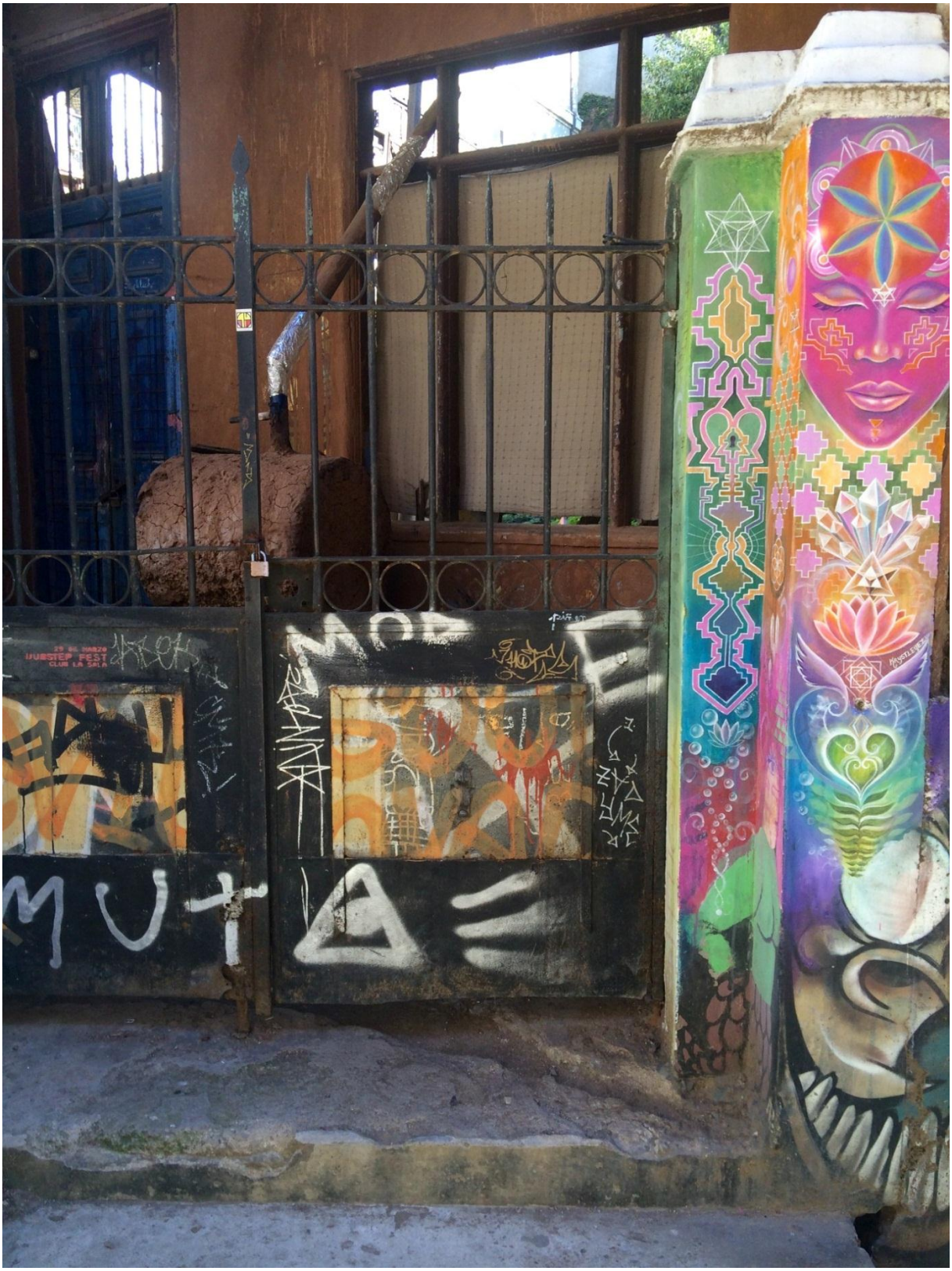

Photo by Stephanie Hardy-Tondreau. Valparaíso, Chile, August 2014.

Photo by Jessica Zuban, “Esperanza y Color,” Valparaíso, Chile, 2012.

Photo by Alex Gaynor, Calatagan, Philippines, 2014.

Photo by Alex Gaynor, Xela, Guatemala, 2013.

Photo by Alex Gaynor, Xela, Guatemala, 2013.

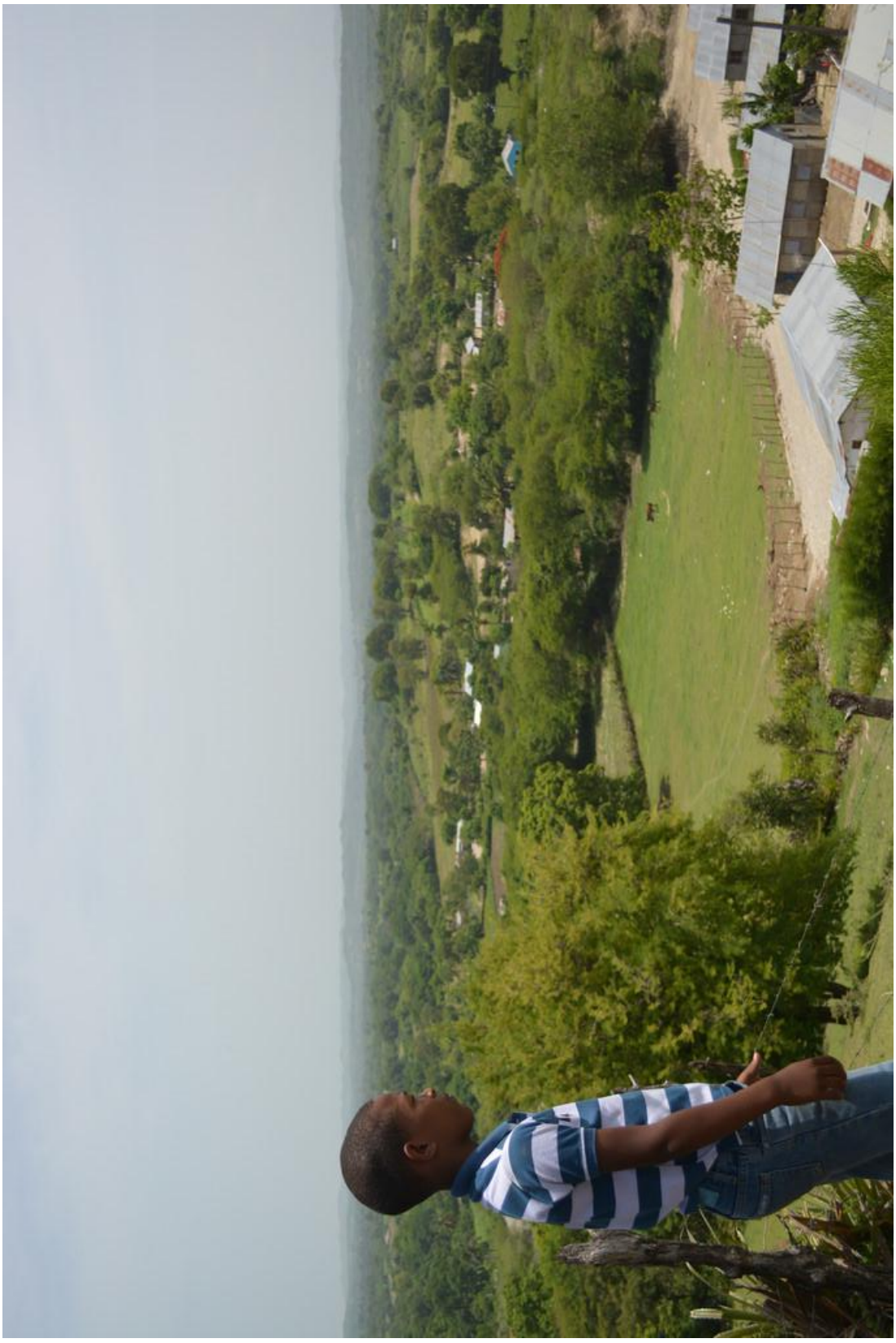

Photo by Yanyi Weng, Elias Pina, Dominican Republic, 2014.

7. Social Outcomes of Neoliberal Economic Reforms in Chile, 1973-Present

Stephanie Hardy-Tondreau

"Son Pinochetistas," said Guillermo, a former professor who now currently resides at Hogar de Cristo homeless men's shelter in Santiago, Chile. Guillermo was speaking about the upper-class elite of Chile and referred to them as supporters of General Augusto Pinochet, Chilean dictator from 1973-1990. This was the first of my experiences with the social tensions between the rich and poor of Chile.

While in Santiago, I stayed with a warm and welcoming host family in Las Condes, an upper-class area of the city. It was immediately apparent that I was of privileged status—I was a foreigner from the United States and was experiencing what it was like to live like a "wealthy" person in Chile (this was completely new to me, as I come from a low-income background in the U.S.). I was enrolled in a service-learning course that allowed me to serve at Hogar de Cristo, a homeless men's shelter on the other side of the city. This area was different. It was run-down; the sidewalks were often unpaved, there were stray dogs sleeping in the littered streets, and several homeless men sat in the plaza across from the shelter, holding onto all of the possessions they owned and the plastic bottles that they would redeem for income.

Upon arriving at the shelter each afternoon, the men greeted us with smiles and kisses on our cheeks (a common display of affection in Chile). In our conversations, they often asked where we were staying in Santiago. When we responded with "Las Condes," their facial expressions instantly changed. Only one man had responded, "Ahh, Las Condes, that area is so nice!" Others maintained expressions of what appeared to be of strong distaste or dislike; sometimes we were even disregarded altogether. In our political discussions, many of the men spoke about how they fled Chile or went into hiding after being accused of being a communist during the Pinochet regime. Many men, like Guillermo, also referred to the rich of Chile as "Pinochetistas." They expressed that only the elite benefitted from the "Chilean Miracle," the economic boom that resulted from Pinochet's governance.

On the other hand, I also witnessed my host family refer to the poor as lazy and unwilling to work. These statements baffled me because, to me, they were far from the truth. They were stereotypes that were generalized to whole populations. The tensions between social classes resulting from a large income inequality in Chile were nothing short of obvious, even beyond my experiences inside my homestay and the homeless shelter. I continuously grappled with the stories of the men at Hogar de Cristo and the images that remain imprinted on my mind from this part of the city. I desired to understand why a country with the strongest economy in Latin America and capital that resembled New York City was also the home of a large impoverished population. I wanted to learn why Chile's economic growth only managed to benefit some and not others.

Introduction: Neoliberalism

What is neoliberalism? According to Hall and Lamont (2013), it has four separate meanings in different contexts, i.e. "neoliberalism as economic theory, neoliberalism as

political ideology, neoliberalism as policy paradigm, and neoliberalism as social imaginary" (38). This paper will focus mainly on neoliberalism as an economic theory and a policy paradigm. The neoliberal school of thought tends to dominate the economic policies and decision-making process of many countries in the world. A key feature of neoliberalism is essentially "the abolition of all barriers to the free functioning of markets" (Schatan 2001, 61). Neoliberal models aim to spur economic growth via liberalization[30] of the labor markets, financial markets, and trade (Paus 1994). They favor deregulation of the economy, privatization of state enterprises[31], and imply commodification[32] of social services like education, health care and social security (Aalbers 2013).

The term "neoliberalism" is often used in the context of those who are opposed to the neoliberal paradigm. This paper does not aim to serve as an opposing force to neoliberalism, but rather to provide an overview and analysis of the social outcomes of neoliberal economic reforms by using the country of Chile as a case study. Highlighting the social outcomes of neoliberalism can help improve and formulate the economic policy that informs development strategies, and therefore, can mitigate potential social costs in the future.

[30] Liberalization, here, refers to deregulation or decreased governmental intervention in the role of markets.

[31] Privatization of state enterprises refers to the selling off of government enterprises to private owners; the state then loses a source of revenue.

[32] Commodification refers to the process of treating something like a commodity, or good, that can be consumed. In the example of commodification of education, education becomes a commodity under privatization of the system, as opposed to a being a human right guaranteed by the state.

Historical Context

In 1973, the Allende administration in Chile was overthrown by a coup led by General Augusto Pinochet and other military leaders. While there were several reasons for why the coup took place, one of the main reasons was a fear of communist influence in Chile and the toll it would take on the Chilean economy (Kornbluh 2003). President Salvador Allende was a socialist candidate who had been democratically elected to the presidency. Much of his support relied heavily on the socialist political parties and the parties of the far left, i.e. communist parties. Allende's administration turned out to have more communist influence than he initially intended. Some of the policies under President Allende included nationalization of U.S. copper companies, nationalization of 90 percent of the banking system, expropriation of large and mid-sized farms, expansion of the state sector of the economy and curtailment of the private sector via administrative takeover of factories (Goldberg 1975). These policies severely damaged the private sector in Chile and created a growing resentment from the Chilean and foreign elite who had economic interests in these sectors. Moreover, outcomes like high inflation and a supply of goods that failed to meet growing demands continued to ring the alarms of those who were concerned for Chile's economy.

After the coup took place, General Pinochet came to power under an authoritarian rule, and his regime lasted from 1973-1990. He was forced out of the "presidential" office via a voter referendum that called for a restoration of the democracy, and then remained a life-long appointed senator until he was arrested by the British government. Pinochet's governance consisted of severe human rights abuses and systematic oppression. There were mass disappearances, tortures, and murders. "In the aftermath of the bloody military

takeover, some 1,500 people were murdered by the military in the ensuing weeks…" (Kornbluh 2003, 19). And it did not stop there, as death toll numbers kept rising. The CIA Station reported somewhere between 2,000 and 10,000 civilians killed (Kornbluh 2013). Those who were persecuted were mainly among the politically active Chileans from leftist opposing parties, but also included others who were suspected of holding opposing views.

Furthermore, under Pinochet's rule, the Chilean economy was turned on its head and all of Allende's economic policies had been eliminated. Chile had become a breeding ground for a great economic experiment. The Chicago Boys, a group of Chilean economists who received their doctoral degrees from the University of Chicago under the training of Milton Friedman, stood ready alongside the military coup leaders and the U.S. government with their plan for a new free-market Chilean economy (Sigmund 1983). Chile, a traditionally socialist country, became the center of neoliberalism in Latin America during this period. These neoliberal economic policies will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

When Pinochet's authoritarian rule came to a close in 1990, the Chilean democracy was restored. Although Pinochet was now out of power, his economic policies remained largely intact, and many of these policies are still currently in place. However, these policies have taken a different form since the Pinochet regime and are now complemented with a variety of socialist policies and programs. Still, under both forms of government, neoliberal reforms have resulted in substantial unemployment, income inequality, poverty, exploitation of workers, and educational inequality.

Neoliberalism in Chile 1973-Present

When General Augusto Pinochet took over the Chilean government in 1973, the neoliberal political philosophy and economic system was adopted with the assistance of the Chicago Boys. This included price liberalization, import liberalization, financial sector liberalization, and labor market liberalization (Paus 1994). Price liberalization was made possible with the elimination of all price controls that were implemented by the Allende administration (Paus 1994). The market would now determine prices, and protection against high prices of goods and services for the poor were nonexistent. Tariff[33] reductions and elimination allowed for import liberalization to occur (Paus 1994). Chile was then able to play a greater role in global markets; it gained access to more goods and services produced by other countries. General Pinochet also re-privatized much of the banking system that had been nationalized under Allende; this contributed to the financial sector liberalization. Furthermore, labor market liberalization took place when Pinochet disempowered and prohibited labor unions. The market was now able to determine wages as well, and the insurance of a minimum wage was no longer a concern. Chile had ultimately followed the advice of the International Monetary Fund's stabilization program:

> The basic components are the following: 1. Abolition or liberalization of foreign exchange and import controls. 2. Greater hospitality to foreign investment. 3. Domestic anti-inflationary[34] programmes, including: (a) control of bank credit: higher interest rates and sometimes higher reserve requirements; (b) control of government deficit: curbs on spending; increases in taxes and in prices charged by public enterprises; abolition of consumer subsidies; (c) control of salary raises (within the maximum force that is possible from a political point of view); (d) dismantling of price controls…Such fundamental recommendations are in complete contradiction and the well-being in the majority of the populations in the nations concerned (Schatan 2001, 62).

[33] A tariff is a tax on international trade (imports/ exports).

[34] Inflation refers to an increase in the overall level price of goods.

These neoliberal reforms continued to prevail in the democratic governments under the Concertación.[35] Pinochet's successor, Patricio Aylwin, was elected president in 1992, and the restoration of the democracy began to unfold (Paus 1994).

> [Aylwin's] government has maintained free market policies, even pressing on further in some areas, as evidenced by the pursuit of a free trade agreement with the United States. In explicit contrast to its predecessor, though, the Aylwin government criticized and rejected the exclusionary nature of the past neoliberal era, and instead embraced growth *with* equity as its goal (Paus 1994, 43).

Later Concertación governments sustained the neoliberal tradition as well. The democratic governments were more than willing to do whatever it took to ensure a regime of democratic stability, especially with the continued influence from the military elite and life-long appointed senators from the Pinochet era (Posner 2007). The democratic parties, therefore, increased the role of the market and decreased the state's involvement in regulating the economy (Posner 2007). At the same time, they also restored social policies and programs to the state. These policies and programs, however, have not quite achieved the desired level of social welfare that had been severely damaged during the Pinochet era.

Social Outcomes of Neoliberalism

Advocates for neoliberal policies make the claim that, "in the long run, their strategy will lead to higher economic growth, higher employment growth, an increase in real wages[36], and a reduction in poverty" (Paus 1994). Chile is renowned for its economic growth during the Pinochet years and the years that follow up to the present day. Many refer to it as the model economy for Latin America. Gross domestic product (GDP), among

[35] The Concertación is the coalition of center-left political parties in Chile that governed from 1990-2010 (Bicentario Congreso Nacional de Chile 2010).

[36] Real wages refer to wages adjusted for inflation over a particular time period.

other 'good' economic indicators, has risen substantially, allowing for the raising of overall living standards and level of wealth in the country. Nevertheless, the negative consequences of such tremendous growth cannot be overlooked. "Equity and equal opportunities are only slogans in Chile, because evidence shows that social inequalities are reproduced generation after generation" (Cabalin 2012, 226). Since the Pinochet regime, the Concertación democratic governments have continued to maintain its neoliberal economic policies and have failed to fully remedy the effects of the Pinochet era. Existing literature show that negative social outcomes include troubling *unemployment rates, a large gap in the distribution of incomes between the rich and the poor,* alarming *poverty rates, exploitation of workers,* and *educational inequalities*. These social costs, however, are not solely unique to Chile. Neoliberal policies in other countries, like the United States and South Korea, also have shown to produce inequality in income distributions and other negative social outcomes (Lim 2006).

Unemployment

Between 1973 and 1989, data shows that GDP saw a growth rate of 3.4 percent (Paus 1994). However, this growth rate fails to show that Chile experienced two damaging recessions, one in 1974-75 and the other in 1982-83 (Paus 1994). Contraction of the economy during the recessions coupled with growth in the financial and import sectors left unemployment rates remarkably high. According to the National Institute of Statistics, unemployment rates doubled by the 1990s (Schatan 2001). These figures are also noted to be much smaller than the ones from other outlets and studies (Schatan 2001). With an unemployment rate at nearly 30%, the early 1980s recession called for government

intervention in the market in order to correct for some of the past mistakes and implications of neoliberal policies (Schatan 2001, Paus 1994). Since then, Chile has greatly reduced its unemployment rate; in 2009, it stood at 7% (Brandt 2012). Conversely, though unemployment has decreased dramatically, temporary work accounts for 28% of the labor market and employment without social security accounts for more than 20% (Brandt 2012). Temporary employment and unprotected jobs, in turn, leave individuals extremely vulnerable to job loss and falling into poverty.

Income Inequality

Not only did unemployment figures rise during Pinochet era, but socio-economic inequality measures rose as well. Data from 1988 shows that the poorest fifth of the population only held 3.1% of personal income while the wealthiest fifth held 64.2% (Trumper and Phillips 1997). When the Concertación governments came into power, instead of trying to halt the transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich, they prolonged it with more privatization, regressive consumption taxes, and large tax breaks for the rich (Bresnahan 2003). In recent years, while unemployment in Chile is relatively low compared to the rest of Latin America, income inequality has grown significantly. According to 2009 data, Chile is the most inequitable society of all OECD[37] countries with a Gini coefficient[38] of 0.5 (Brandt 2012). In 1996, the Ministry of Planning released that "the average per capita income of the top 5% was about 100 times larger than the average for

[37] OECD refers to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD countries are considered "developed" countries (non-OECD countries are developing countries).

[38] The Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality in income distributions. It is used to compare inequality rates across nations.

the poorest 5%" (Schatan 2001, 67). Contreras (2009) also notes that Chile has a large income inequality, being among the 50% of Latin American countries with a high level (376).

Poverty

In terms of poverty rates, in the 1980s, about 45% of Chileans were considered poor (Schatan 2001). Taylor (2002) reports that, "In 1989, poverty stood at 42.2%, with 14.9% living in conditions of indigence" (56). Though these numbers have declined, the percent of Chileans living in poverty in 1998 was still 20% (Schatan 2001). More recent data also show that "46% of people who were poor in 2001 were not poor in 1996 and that the newly poor in 2001 were drawn from all deciles, although only 14% had fallen within the top half of the income distribution in 1996" (Contreras 2009, 378). These data further provide evidence for how the Concertación governments also allowed for the perpetuation of poverty. Even as late as between 2006 and 2009 during the Bachelet administration, poverty had increased from 13.7% to 15.9% (Davis-Hamel 92). Overall, Chile has continued to produce ups and downs in terms of growth, poverty and unemployment rates.

Exploitation of Workers

With regard to labor market liberalization, which Paus (1994) believes to be at the heart of neoliberal restructuring, the workers are economically exploited. According to Paus (1994), "real wage reduction is a necessary element in the neoliberal model. The need for a real devaluation combined with the intense pressures of international competition requires a decline in real wages in the short run…" (34). In the long run, it is expected that

real wages will rise, along with an increase in competitiveness, growth, and employment (Paus 1994).

In Chile during the decade of the 1990s, productivity was shown to increase by more than 4.8% while wages lagged behind at 3.6% (Taylor 2002). Note that this figure for wages does not reflect how wages changed within distinct socio-economic groups, but rather accounts for how they changed across all groups; wages of the very poor likely experienced little increase or even decreases (Taylor 2002). These outcomes are consistent with the neoliberal model in that real wages see a decline in the short run. However, this lag in wages helps to contribute to both the aforementioned poverty rates and income inequalities. This, in turn, raises concern about who is actually benefitting from the system. Classical economic theory shows that when productivity is increased, it is likely that firm profits increase, leaving the elite to benefit while workers continue to receive low wages.

The exploitation of the labor force was left unremedied even in the prevailing administration under President Aylwin and the other Concertación governments that came after Pinochet (Paus 1994, Posner 2007). While poverty reduction from the Pinochet era was a primary goal, there were no real efforts made to undo the "dramatic decline in labor's bargaining position" (Paus 1994, 43). Other scholars argue that changes in the labor code under the Concertación have exacerbated growing economic inequities (Posner 2007). This dilemma, too, continued on into recent years when, in 2007, a rebellion occurred from the new-aged workers (Ruiz 2012). Beginning with copper workers and expanding into other industries, these new-aged workers pursued "intercompany negotiations" that had been banned under the Pinochet regime (Ruiz 2012). These issues reemerged in 2010 as well, since these conditions had still not improved (Ruiz 2012).

Educational Inequality

One of the main current issues that Chile faces with regard to its neoliberal economic policies is its large educational gap. "Neoliberal reforms have entailed the reduction of public funding and the increase of private providers in education, expanding access, but neglecting social justice. Chile does not escape from this framework" (Cabalin 2012, 221). According to the article, *Neoliberal Education and Student Movements in Chile: Inequalities and Malaise*, neoliberalism "promotes the continued privatization of the educational sector, which values the right of school choice over the right to an equitable education, and also presents education as a commodity, where schools are presented as a product to buy and sell" (Cabalin 2012, 219). This way of viewing education as a commodity has pushed out the traditionally held belief of a fundamental right to education, i.e. public education provided by the state (Cabalin 2012). It is found that, although neoliberal policies have increased the overall quantity of students receiving an education, they have still failed to improve the quality of education. Furthermore, they have worsened educational inequality at all levels of education between privileged and disadvantaged people (Cabalin 2012).

Though the Concertación governments made significant strides to increase funding for public education, the government also expanded the private sector of education at the same time (Cabalin 2012). Moreover, a competitive voucher system was implemented that allowed for private schools to compete for funding with public schools based on the number of students it enrolled (Cabalin 2012). This only furthered the inequality between the public and private schools as well as between the privileged and the poor, since the

poor are unable to afford a private education. The policy that serves as the foundation of the education system, which was implemented by Pinochet, is known as The Organic Constitutional Law of Education (Cabalin 2012). This law became the target of a student movement during the first Bachelet administration, as it was the reason for the existence of educational inequalities in Chile. While President Bachelet replaced this law and signed the General Education Law into effect, it still failed to reform the structure of Chilean education (Cabalin 2012). Student movements, such as the "Penguino Movement" in 2006 and the "Chilean Winter Movement" from 2011-2013, only further shed light on the severity of the educational inequalities, such that thousands of students are organizing across the country demanding a better educational system.

There is also data from The System for Measuring the Quality of Education that shows that

> in languages (secondary level) the average score was 227 in the low socioeconomic group, while the high socioeconomic group scored 306… In mathematics, the difference is equally large. Students from low socioeconomic backgrounds scored an average of 216 points, and their upper-class peers obtained an average of 325 points (Cabalin 2012, 222).

Additionally, these gaps in education have ties to other social costs suffered by the Chilean people, including socioeconomic and geographic segregation, which thereby also contribute to unemployment & poverty rates and income inequalities as well as other domino effects.

Conclusion and Considerations

Critics of the neoliberal model argue that the social costs, i.e. the flaws of market fundamentalism[39], are unacceptable on moral grounds and unnecessary with regard to economic grounds (Paus 1994). Some propose that a more gradual implementation of liberalization lessens the harsh short-term impacts (Paus 1994). Other methods to help reduce social costs require some sort of government intervention that allows for a more equitable distribution of wealth (Paus 1994). There is evidence that shows that economic growth leads to a reduction in poverty, however, government policies in Chile have shown to have a "more direct and deliberate" effect on reducing poverty in contrast to the "trickle-down"[40] approach (Paus 1994, 51). The Chilean government has implemented various measures since the Pinochet years to help reduce the social impacts of its neoliberal reforms, but it is clear that there is still much more to be done. Using Chile as a case study, we learn that our current development strategies have not entirely lived up to their goals, as they are sometimes more detrimental than beneficial, and may depend on which sector of the population is being considered. We also learn that government intervention and neoliberal policies are in tension with one another; governments often vacillate between the two and are forced to sacrifice one over the other. Economic growth under our current development strategies fails to protect vulnerable populations, while social policy, on the other hand, has the potential to inhibit economic growth. There is a clear need for researchers and policymakers to find a way to reconcile these two schools of thought.

[39] Market fundamentalism refers to the concept that is in favor of a "free market" economy, i.e. the foundation for neoliberalism.

[40] "Trickle-down" economic theory refers to the concept that wealth generated by enterprises will also benefit the poorer members of society, given that the economy as a whole improves.

Finally and more importantly, I believe that this matter further highlights an even greater challenge: that is, as a global society, we ultimately need to examine where our values lie with respect to the wellbeing of human beings and our economic interests.

Moving Forward: What does this mean for you?

This paper calls upon the average person to become a more informed citizen and voter. Though most of us do not have degrees in economics, we are still able to utilize a variety of information outlets to learn about the implications of economic policies. How will they impact me? How will they impact disadvantaged persons? Will this make society as a whole better off? For example, if the government decides to raise taxes, look into their reasoning and try to follow where the tax revenues are going. Will the funds contribute to job creation or improving school systems?

Furthermore, challenge your own beliefs associated with different socioeconomic classes. Try to gain more knowledge about bigger systemic issues that perpetuate economic injustices—perhaps dig into economic and political history or have a conversation with someone outside of your socioeconomic class. Was there some form of oppression of certain groups or of entire populations? What were the goals of the individuals in power? Are poor people poor because of their own actions or are there other forces at play? Or is it both?

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8. Who Runs the World? Analysis of IMF and World Bank

Lakeisha St Joy

As a fundamental basis of our society power determines the role we play in society, whether we are the decision-making leaders or the followers. Power structures exist everywhere we go and in everything we do. In the living age of globalization, the existing power structures are grounded in the economy. It is our economic standing that determines how much power we are delegated. It determines the criteria of who is labelled a "developing" or "developed"[41] country. With global economies becoming more and more interconnected, this chapter seeks to pursue the following: *what is the nature of power relations between the Global North and Global South[42] as framed via economic relations through structures such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank? How have these power relations come to be, how are they maintained, and what do they tell us of current global relationships?*

Background

Prior to my experience abroad in South Africa, I had only come in contact with the terms IMF and World Bank in an attempt to understand the economic situation of countries in Latin America such as Nicaragua and Mexico. However, as a sociology major, the numbers and the heavy economic-based explanation of the relationship between the IMF and World Bank and Latin American countries completely discouraged me from truly understanding the depth to which these relationships exist. It was in my 'Culture and Social

[41] "Developing" and "developed" are used for lack of better terms. They are problematic because the criteria by which one is labeled with these terms are pre-determined by colonization.
[42] Used interchangeably with developing and developed country

Life in the 21st Century' sociology lecture at the University of Cape Town that my professor began to discuss globalization and the changing relationships between the Global South and Global North. She showed a video that gave an explanation, in layman's terms, of how the IMF and World Bank play an influential role in globalization today. "Banked into Submission,"[43] a short YouTube clip of kittens explaining world economic relations, sparked my interest in truly learning more about the economic and power relationships between Global South and Global North countries and how one influences the other. The course introduced to me a sociological understanding of why Global South countries are what we consider "developing" countries. I began to understand the detrimental role of the IMF and World Bank policies on the economies of Global South countries. It is an amazing feeling to begin to make sense of a concept that once seemed foreign. When the opportunity was presented to me to do research on a global issue of interest, it was the perfect moment to embark on and further engage myself in understanding the relationship that exists between Global South and Global North countries through the IMF and World Bank.

The term neo-colonialism[44] is an idea that was also presented to me in South Africa, which should be of no surprise given the country's recent history and battle with colonization and apartheid.[45] During my time there, South Africa's politically charged atmosphere was heightened, being that it was election season. The phrase was thrown around numerous times by radical political activists; however, I never understood what it

[43] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_3K1PCZHE0
[44] Coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana as an independent country.

[45] Apartheid, lasting from to 1930s until 1994, consisted of the oppression and exploitation of Black South Africans at the hands of the Dutch and British, who over time have become White South Africans.

meant until I researched it myself. In 1965, Nkrumah framed neo-colonialism as the colonizing country "'giving' independence to its former subjects, to be followed by 'aid' for their development. Under [the] cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism" (Nkrumah 1965). Essentially, it is the sum of modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while simultaneously talking about 'freedom.' After I came to know its definition, it provided a new context from which I would understand economic relationships between the IMF and World Bank and Global North and Global South countries. By linking the economic relationships with a neo-colonialist framework, this research looks to either prove or disprove this radical theory of neo-colonialism.

Despite South Africa being the place that awoke a political, economic and sociological interest in me, Haiti will be this research's country of focus because of my personal and cultural connections there. As the birthplace of my parents, the birthplace of the food I eat and country of the second language I speak, I was enticed to use Haiti as my empirical research subject. It is the country where my roots lay, the first freed Black republic in the Western hemisphere, and its current economic standing will provide an interesting insight to the neo-colonial argument, as Haiti is currently the poorest country in the Western hemisphere.

Historical Context

Both the IMF and World Bank are programs that were conceived at the Bretton Woods Conference to establish an international economic system that contributed to the potential growth of a global economy and an individualized country's growth. The IMF and

World Bank are known for their economic development and poverty reduction strategies for countries in need, however "in the original conceptions of Keynes and White, the development of the less developed countries was not on the agenda. Both the twins[46] were to operate, nearly exclusively, in the interest of the developed countries alone" (Dasgupta 1997, 1091). This did not remain the case, as overtime the programs' roles shifted into a primary focus on less developed countries once rich countries were no longer in need of these programs' services.

> Their importance has grown more than proportionately in the economic life of the less developed countries. The conditionalities accompanying their loans now shape the economic policies of the recipient countries. At the same time, the poor, borrowing countries, have virtually no influence over the decision making process of these international bodies… based on an informal arrangement, from which the less developed countries are excluded, the presidentship of World Bank and the post of managing director are rooted between the United States and Europe (Dasgupta 1997, 1092).

At this moment, at the relatively early stages of both programs, the imbalance of power relations is introduced. This set the tone for future relationships of domination between developed and developing countries, being that power already sits in the hands of those considered developed [rich] countries since both institutions were created to intentionally protect the rich. What solidifies power dynamic is crisis. In the 1970s, the crisis began as the price of oil rose and developed countries sought to save themselves. Structural adjustment programs were put in place to aid the debt of oil providers that did not gain any of the wealth from the oil they generated to developed countries. When Arab oil companies called an oil embargo on the countries funding Israel during the six day war against Arab countries, it caused the price of oil to shoot up, resulting in economic turmoil for Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and Japan, all of whom are a part of the minority that

[46] Referring to both the IMF and World Bank, as they were both Bretton Woods organizations.

makes us the Global North. As Dasgupta explains (1997, 1094), "initially, the idea of 'structural adjustment' was not meant for the less developed countries at all. The objective was to restructure the economy of the OECD[47] countries, the most developed countries in the world, following the oil crisis." However, this did not remain the case as for a second time it was revealed that the developing countries do not have a real role in the economic sphere, except to provide buffer space for the rich countries as they find new ways to save and accumulate wealth. The real agenda, according to Dasgupta, of interactions between rich and poor countries is that "their actions in the less developed countries [are] motivated by rational self-interested behavior, [to] further the economic interests for the rich countries" (Dasgupta 1997, 2085) thus providing a political and economic basis of structural adjustment programs (SAPs). SAPs include trade liberalization, devaluation of currency, completely free and open markets, removal of government control of subsidies and price controls, privatization of majority public sectors, and increased interest rates (Logie 1993, 42). Although intended to help countries pay loans from IMF and World Bank, SAPs often resulted only in more debt.

The Powers

Today, the IMF and World Bank, programs of the United Nations, share the mandate of "raising living standards in their member countries. Their approaches to this goal are complementary, with the IMF focusing on macroeconomic issues and the World Bank concentrating on long-term economic development and poverty reductions"(IMF 2015). Although inclusive of all member countries of the United Nations, the executive and board

[47] Organization for Economic Co-operation and the World of Bank

of directors for both institutions fall in the hands of five specific nations: United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, and France, all who have large numbers of shares and hold immense voting power, thus creating an imbalance of power between these five and the rest of the world. In the IMF, the United States holds about 17% total voting power, the largest share out of all five. The rest of the executive powers hold between 4-6%, which is generally the voting percentage of entire regions. For the World Bank, voting power is determined by how high of a share a country holds in the capital stock – the five countries mentioned above hold the largest shares. Because both institutions used a weighted voting system, these five countries become the ruling class, to which the dominant programs and ideas adhere, with their voting power.

A link to neocolonialism begins to form because these executive powers all have a history of colonization. Modern colonialism began as Europeans began their quest for a new world and Indian spices. As they came and "discovered" land unknown to them, they began to build homes and trading centers. They became permanent settlers who used the land and its people in an exploitive manner to benefit the mother country, to which they remained loyal. Many of the indigenous peoples of these lands were forced into slavery, becoming virtually less than human in their own lands. These "newly discovered lands" were places like the island of Hispaniola, Africa, Asia,[48] and the Americas. Decolonization takes place after World War II, as many great powers are weakened and colonized countries begin demanding independence. Neo-colonialism is colonialism by other means that maintains the dominance and control that colonial powers had over their former colonies. This chapter will further explore this theory to discover the extent to which

[48] Japan has made its way as a great power as it became more westernized and European, eventually associating with the great powers.

neocolonialism is applicable or irrelevant as I delve into the economic power relations between Global South and Global North countries.

What's the Problem?

"Development means a capacity for self-sustaining growth. It means that an economy must register advances which in turn will promote further progress."
-Walter Rodney

Many critiques of the IMF and World Bank begin with the fact that they are not beneficial to the countries that are receiving their assistance. The proven lack of success to be generated from developing countries where programs of both institutions are implemented forms the argument for neo-colonialism. Even when there are programs initiated to combat the negative criticisms and outcomes of these programs, both still yield ineffective results.

Again and again, evidence shows that SAPs do quite the opposite of economic development and prevent growth rather than encourage it. The only winning party in this game is the developed country, who then receives economic benefits off the debts of the developing country. Records show that "during the 1980's, the IMF had taken more money back from them [developing countries] than it had made available in terms of new loans… a measure of success, from the point of view of the economies of the United States and some other western countries" (Dasgupta 1997, 1094). Dasgupta's work heavily suggests that the poor are feeding the rich via programs that are supposed to help the poor. Studies explain this issue as a reverse resource drain, referring to the "result of the build up of massive debts, high interest rates, and the drying up of new credit, the direction of the resources flow has reversed. In a perversion of economics and ethics, the Third World is now

transferring resources to industrial nations" (Feinberg 1987, 49). It is through this drain that we begin to see the dimensions of power that play into this economic relationship. Rich countries use their powers to exploit the power of the poor countries by capitalizing off the deception of profiting weaker market economies.

Economist William Easterly questioned the effectiveness of loans by SAPs regarding the fact that countries often have to get multiple loans. Easterly used empirical research to gauge an understanding of what specifically structural adjustment programs actually adjust if they must be given on multiple occasions to the same country. He proposed the possibility that this situation was, "a multistage process that required multiple loans to be completed" (Easterly 2005, 4). He even goes so far as to suggest that "it could be that governments failed to follow through with the conditions of each loan…and so additional programs became necessary" (Easterly 2005, 4). This is made in direct connection to the analogy of a very sick patient taking multiple trips to the doctor's office because one visit does not cure a serious illness. What he found was that despite having received 14, 26, 17, and 18 loans the countries that received them (Zambia, Pakistan, Ghana, and Cote d'Ivorie, respectively) still suffer negative growth, high inflation and high black market appearances.[49] Even Eastern European countries that were given repeated loans from the IMF had very poor results. Interestingly enough, in both his findings he concluded that, despite negative outcomes, if there were no loans countries would be worse off. He seemingly ignores what is really going on: these loans are ineffective in accomplishing economic growth. He did, however, notice the "IMF and World Bank practice of 'filling the financing gap' with new loans, which creates perverse incentives for countries to borrow

[49] Informal markets that sell goods at cheaper prices.

anew rather than make the macro adjustments necessary to service the old debt" (Easterly 2005, 10). Thus he insinuates the idea that there may be hidden incentives for IMF and World Bank creditors to continuously replace one loan with another since the loans in themselves seem counterproductive.

Though I may disagree with his initial finding that countries would be worse off without any loans, in relation to my research, he presents a clear issue of the formation of dependence that arises after a country is forced into taking a loan. His overall findings recognize an imbalance of power, as developed countries hand out loans to developing Global South countries that require more loans to rid the initial loan. Dasgupta explains that (1997,1097) a perennial problem with IMF or World Bank assistance is that once dependence begins it seldom ends. One program is directly followed by another, making it difficult for low-income countries to disengage themselves from these so-called aid-assisting bodies of funding. The dependency that forms often appears in the form of aid, which proves to be ineffective because it is a loan disguised as aid, thus revealing how connected global economies are related in an exploitive manner. The issue of dependency is something we run into again, when we look at the relationship between the IMF and Haiti.

The relationship between Haiti and the United States presents a strong example of the role and effects IMF and World Bank have in a developing Global South country. Although not a strong contender in the global economy, Haiti's agriculture played an immense role in Haiti's economy. However, U.S.-led intervention in 1994 made Haiti a symbol of the failed state phenomenon in Washington foreign-policy making (Shilliam 2008, 779). Even before 1994, the United States has played a colonizing role in Haiti by

forcing or "heavily encouraging" Haiti to open up her markets to American and foreign companies. After destroying Haitian agriculture in the 1940s and refusing to provide assistance to restore this damage after a failed program to begin rubber productions, "the Truman administration [refused] loans to Haiti in its efforts to 'free itself from American financial imperialism'" (Von Eschen 1997, 106). The United States has completely altered the course of Haiti's economic development by destroying their agricultural labor force and creating a heavy dependency on US food produce, in which "Haiti now imports at least 50% of its food, mostly from the US" (Haiti Grassroots Watch 2013). In the case of Haiti it is clearly seen how the US is a major player in the IMF/ World Bank game because they are the ones who forced all these debilitating conditions on Haiti that parallel the dependency conditions of IMF loans. As a result, "Haiti went from being recently largely self-sufficient in food to using most of its export earnings to buy foreign food, mostly from the U.S." (Haiti Grassroots Watch 2013). Gros writes, "Systematically, the Haitian diet was being Americanized" (Gros 2010, 983). As time progressed, rice and poultry in Haiti was heavily imported from America, imported to such an extent that it became the base of Haitian diet although traditionally rice and chicken were special dishes. This created dominance of US food in Haiti reveals the imbalance of power relations because America destroyed Haiti's agricultural base. This destruction greatly affects GDP because it forced Haitians to buy US food in order to feed the hungry people, who had their jobs stolen from them because of unwanted US presence.

Haiti was subjected to SAP conditions in an attempt to revamp their economy after the United States destroyed its agricultural economy. In short, the United States introduced Haiti to the IMF and World Bank. While adhering to the SAP conditions, Haiti's rural

development took an astonishing blow. With reduction of farmer support and a blow to a dominant aspect of the economy, it is no surprise that a reverse resource drain occurs as Haiti begins to flow money into America for imported food because of trade liberalization, government subsidies of imported food, and farmers forced off their land because it can no longer produce enough food to feed the people.

In 2010, the earthquake that hit Haiti had a damaging effect on agriculture not because it destroyed the land but because the migration of people from city to rural areas led to financial loss for farmers, as they had to use their few seeds to feed their family. Shamsie finds that (2012, 145) "80 percent of Haitian households say they cannot adequately satisfy their food needs (Government of Haiti 2010,8)." It is in this struggle for food that discrepancy between food security and food sovereignty came about. Food security is food in the moment provided via aid and imported food while food sovereignty is "rethinking agriculture so that it incorporates questions of social and ecological sustainability; more specifically, it emphasizes 'regional and local democratic control over agriculture and food systems" (Shamsie 2012, 145). These two approaches to Haiti's A&RD[50] is important because food security is what donors promote, as it continuously generates trade liberalization, and food sovereignty is what Haitians call for. The reasoning behind this need for sovereignty over security highlights an acknowledged issue of dependency and a rejection of SAP conditionalities. Doudou Pierre Festil, on the committee of the National Haitian Network for Food Sovereignty and Food Security stated,

> We're not in favor just of food security, which is a neoliberal idea. With food security, as long as you eat, it's good. But we only produce 43 percent of our food; 57 percent is imported. We need food sovereignty, which means

[50] Agriculture and Rural Development

> everyone can eat, we produce it here at home. We could produce here at least 80 percent of what we eat." (quoted in Shamsie 2012, 145).

This is an important declaration because it calls for an attempt for Haiti to reclaim its power in order to be a majority self-reliant rather than dependent, completely going against all that developed country donors want from Haiti.

What is interesting about Haiti's situation is that privatization was something that did not sit well with the people; the government and the IMF were consistently criticized and demonstrated against. Haitian rejection to open up its food markets without reaping any benefits for its agricultural economy challenges the uneven relationship between Haiti, the United States, and the IMF/ World Bank conditions. As a result the government had to work slowly to implement privatization policies, which was then reprimanded by the IMF by withholding millions of dollars in aid from Haitians because of the slow implementation. Haitians heavily criticized IMF policies: "Haitians emphasized that neo-liberalization plan had not worked in Latin America, and they saw no reason why it should work any better in Haiti" (Spyros 2002, 534). Taking a deeper look at Haiti's relationship with the IMF – their policies and the countries that rule them – provides the perspective that even though there is an imbalance of economic power, it does not stop the resistance that happens socially in order to prevent these devastating policies that can ruin a country, exemplifying the same resilience that won Haiti's independence against the French.

Are there possible solutions?

Despite the critique of dependency created by unsuccessful loans, there have been steps taken to reform the issues of loans that chain global south countries to debt. Debt relief has been a forward initiative of the IMF and World Bank to ease the heavy debt of

poor countries. Strongly influenced by the U.S., the IMF "approved a plan to forgive $4.8 billion in debts of qualifying poor countries" (American Journal of International Law 2006, 472) with money generated from donor contributions. What this highlights is the acknowledgment by greater power countries of the economic struggle of poor countries drenched in debt, presenting a more positive aspect of IMF and World Bank motives as they try to combat extreme debt. This challenges part of neo-colonialism's case because it refutes the idea that dominance of developed countries is being used to create dependency, but rather improve it by attempting to eliminate forms of it. However, it is noteworthy to realize that this debt relief plan was passed by the IMF shortly after the U.S. highly suggested it, given the percentage of voting power the U.S has. This suggests the dominant influence on ideals by a ruling country, for the mere reason that it was only permitted following a US stamp of approval.

Part of the debt relief agenda includes Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiatives composed of two functions: multilateral-grants that come from a separate budget and bilateral relief, debt relief without the use of a separate budget (Cassimon and Van Camenhout 2007, 751). This program is commendable because "removal of debt overhang through debt relief may lead to a number of different fiscal response effects, such as an increase in public investment, and over time, through the impact on private investment and ultimately on higher economic growth, may lead to increased domestic revenue mobilization in absolute terms" (Cassimon and Van Campenhout 2007, 745). To countries with excessive debt, this is a helpful component because it allows money that would originally go to debt funding to extend to another form of government spending and

allows for a level of sustainability. Twenty-two countries[51] successfully made it through the HIPC process. Findings reveal that there has been increase in social spending: "the first year following the shock in debt relief, government investment reduces, but from the next year onward, there is a positive effect, and the effects are fairly large" (Cassimon and Van Campenhout 2007, 758). Of these 22 countries, in a 2006 IMF/World Bank report on Africa, "countries implementing sustained economic reforms such as Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda will register stronger growth in 2007, says the IMF" (African Research Bulletin 2006, 17151), reinforcing the positivity of these kinds of programs.

In addition to economic reform measures, the World Bank has begun transitioning to tackle the social issues under what is called the "social investment paradigm." This marks a policy shift to advocacy for human capacities beginning with child development that goes "beyond the brute neo-liberal prescription of welfare cuts and structural adjustment" (Mahon 2010, 172). To take a new stance on adjustment via the human body in the form of children and women reveals a positive attempt of the World Bank to be the "good guys." An overarching goal of the World Bank is to work towards the eradication of poverty. This new social paradigm focused on children and women works towards poverty reduction because it breaks the cycle of poverty once these two main groups rise out of it, as they are the most vulnerable positions in society. Mahon explains Amartya Sen's argument "that 'the capabilities that adults enjoy are deeply conditional on their experience as children' and that 'a securely preparatory childhood can augment our skill in living a good life'… from this perspective, structural adjustment measures need to be

[51] Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guyana, Honduras, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sao Tomé and Principe, Sierra- Leone, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia (Cassimon and Van Campenhout 2007, 746).

supplemented with investments in early child development to break the 'inter-generational poverty cycle'" (Mahon 2010, 177). In the past one of the criticisms of debt relief stated that the money from debt relief is spent on relieving other debt rather than social programs, even though the intention of debt relief is to increase money towards social spending. A main reason for this is because social programs do not generate economic growth. If only health and education spending boosted economic growth it would thus generate future tax revenues to service debt. Economist Easterly (2001, 22) argues against the false positivity of debt relief because "[u]nfortunately, there is little evidence that higher health and education spending is associated with faster economic growth." However, the World Bank's transition to child development is important because it increases the chance of a broken cycle of poverty, which does not directly equate to economic growth, but has more people contributing to the economy. This new social paradigm based on human capabilities appears to be progressive because it "invests in the people" over the economy, because it is the people who ultimately shape the economy and shifts away from neo-liberal policies.

The social investment program and HIPC initiatives exemplify progressive actions towards a new paradigm that seek to present a newer and positive image of these institutions. However, both still face critiques that ultimately discredit the two systems despite their efforts to present themselves in an improved light. My critique of both programs is that they are reform[52] tactics that try to fix a broken system without addressing why it is broken in the first place. As Cassimon and Van Campenhout explain (2007, 743),

[52] Reform in this context refers to the idea of working around the issue to improve it, rather than bluntly addressing it.

> [D]ebt relief initiatives fit nicely into the new aid architecture and the aid effectiveness debate: since debt is relief to low-income countries is almost exclusively for debt owed to official creditors, these creditors are the same as those that provide [traditional forms of] aid to those countries.

What debt relief fails to do is address the question of why. Why is it that if debt forgiveness comes from lending countries, poor countries remain so heavily indebted in the first place? What is it about lending countries that cause HIPCs to keep coming to them for loans? Although trying to combat negative results by structural adjustment programs, these programs and the conditionalities that come with SAPs are never wrestled with, though they are often the source of limitations to debt relief programs. It has reached a point where even "broad IMF conditionality (including the specific completion point triggers) has shown to be potentially restrictive in effectively using the fiscal space created" (Cassimon and Van Campenhout 2007, 748). It is quite contradictory that IMF and World Bank programs want to remove one road block only to have countries stopped by another that was created by them.

The World Bank's new point of view based on human capacity was easily influenced by UNICEF since "their message … did not challenge the need for structural adjustment" (Mahon 2010, 175), though a UNICEF study pointed out earlier that adjustment measures burdened mothers to accomplish daily duties as household workers and parents, limiting their and their children's capacity. Furthermore, "like adjustment with a human face, the new organizational discourse in no way involved a rejection of the need for structural adjustment" (Mahon 2010, 178). The fact that, though it is clear that their conditionalities cause limitations of debt relief programs to yield positive results, there is no rejection of SAPS proves that these reforms are counterproductive unless they tackle the bigger issue: SAPs. In addition, the World Bank pushes for community-based programs in its new human

capacity social investment paradigm to offer women more opportunities for formal employment. However, these programs have generally failed across the board. For example, "the World Bank's advice to the Brazilian government has moreover resulted in the informalization of care work, undoing years of effort to integrate daycare and preschools in a unified ECEC system. In this sense, the World Bank's preference for such community based solutions builds on, and contributes to, the expanding informal labour market, which its original adjustment policies helped to fuel," (Mahon 2010, 181). Overall, regardless of how pleasing these initiatives sound, they do not undo the root issues caused by SAP conditions, which end up capping the potential they can accomplish.

The Theory: Neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism is exhibited via the IMF structural adjustment programs by how the executive powers that rule these two institutions happen to be countries that have an intense colonial and imperial background. It is no surprise that the poorer countries, that happen to be old colonies, are being coerced into signing conditional contract of loans made in their interest but written by these former colonial powers that are now the rich and "developed" countries calling the shots. For example, "In the 1940s, journalists had critically documented the exploitation of Haiti's land, resources and people by the American government and Wall Street" and "had analyzed the history of U.S. military invasions of Haiti and the role of the American government in propping up an anti-democratic but pro-American political and financial elite" (Von Eschen 1997, 163-4). Documenting the beginning of the Haitian experience with America, this embodies neo-colonialism for the fact that is completely defines colonialism in the sense of a greater

power exploiting another country for its own means. Exploitation is noted by the "economic dislocation caused by the failure of the U.S. government rubber program" in Haiti, damaging agriculture. Coercion can be noted, well after this economic experiment failed and led to a political revolt, in that "Haitian Ambassador Joseph D. Charles charged that the Haitian government had to submit to political and financial control by the American government" (Von Eschen 1997, 106). Coercion, whether publicly acknowledged or not, is often applied to make a country accept what, in the opinion of the country is not in its interest. "Needless to say, this coercion, an inherent element in a conditionality package, undermines ownership… and permits them ["developing" countries] no sense of ownership" (Dasgupta 1997, 1095). Coercion is what solidifies the neo-colonial argument, the loss of ownership of country mirrors that loss of ownership of indigenous land that was lost to colonial powers, which in the same sense were coerced and forced into being colonized.

As social formations change, there is growing argument that neo-colonialism is no longer relevant: "dependence needs to be re-conceptualized as unequal relations between classes rather than countries" (Shaw 1982, 241). This moves from the distinction that country-to-country relationships are the only ways a country can be exploited by higher powers. There is a new dimension that has gone unnoticed, "the indigenous social forces." Nkrumah "failed to recognize that the division of these separate countries into social classes also facilitated exploitation" (Shaw 1982, 249). It is no longer the foreign capital that is benefitting from a lower income country's struggle, but "an alliance of feudalism, local capitalism and imperialism [that] holds sway over the Third World; and here lies the root of unequal exchange… the three classes are the joint exploiters of the people of the

Third World; and this is what sustains neo-colonialism today" (Shaw 1982, 250). Even when we bring in the discussion of World Bank programs, we find that "[t]he World Bank did not mean public investments for all people," so when thinking about ways to reform this and refute the old argument of neo-colonialism, "social expenditure should be restructured, eliminating 'subsides for the elite'" (Mahon 2010, 178). With this new dimension of a bourgeoisie class that does indeed exist within these structures that do benefit from the policies implemented by IMF and World Bank loans, they challenge the idea of neo-colonialism in a way that innovates it by adding a new dimension to it, but never denies that it was applicable to the issues at hand. When one delves deeper into the future, as Shaw describes it,

> it seems that the neo-colonial variant is the one that will be the quickest to disappear. The neo-colonial variant exists where a local bourgeoisie did not have a chance to develop… but… a local bourgeoisie is bound to appear… and to present itself more and more insistently as a partner and/or a substitute foreign capital, thus gradually transforming the regime into dependent liberal capitalism (Shaw 1982, 252).

Showing evidence that this new bourgeoisie class serves as replacement for the neo-colonial theory, it is no surprise that "poor nations suffer poverty not because of high debt burdens but because spendthrift governments constantly seek to redistribute the existing economic pie to privileged political elites rather than try to make the pie grow larger" (Easterly 2001, 22).

Final Remarks

Power structures inform much of how our society functions. They shape how we think and interact with people, ideas and social structures. It is important that we understand how and why they are set up as they are, especially on a global scale. This

chapter grapples with economics as the basis of power structures in a globalized society. The analysis that results is how economies of the Global South and Global North are bound together through structures like the IMF and World Bank. This is important to understand because it indirectly affects us. An example is the way that “developed” and “developing” have become normalized labels for countries, disregarding the historical context of why these labels are still part of our daily language.

The IMF and World Bank are two institutions that are quite fascinating to understand. To see how they interact, through sociological and political lenses, with other countries is both fascinating and upsetting. When I first came in contact with these institutions, I dismissed them and their importance because I could not understand them. Today I dismiss them because though they keep our global economies connected, the manner by which they do so, to me, is ineffective. However, I do not dismiss the importance of how they keep economies chained to each other. If you look back at the programs orientated towards positive outcomes, you see that they all work around IMF and World Bank conditions, when these are the very conditions that create the limitations barring effective change. If there is to be an honest true change in the imbalance of power and economic relationships between the global south and global north countries, programs such as the IMF and World Bank need to be revolutionized, completely uprooted in order to rebuild a more inclusive and equitable system.

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9. A Comparative Analysis of United States Foster Care and the Romanian Institutionalized Child Care Systems

Daiva Siliunas
Bridget Manning

A glimpse into Daiva's experience…

It was my second week of living and serving at Pamusis Children's Home in rural Lithuania. I had finally started to see the real personalities and interactions of the children residing there. The behavior of Deivydas, the ten year old "troublemaker" among the boys, truly confused me. My first impression was formed mostly by his noteworthy aggressiveness. This young boy was strong, intense, and had no fear of yelling or hitting another child. However, I soon realized he was the first one to run and comfort another crying child. Similarly, when two new children were brought to the orphanage, Deivydas was the first to take their hands, show them around, and introduce them to everyone else. It seemed like the most two-sided personality I had ever encountered.

I finally decided to ask the head supervisor, an overworked social worker dedicating her life to mothering the thirty children, about her opinion of Deivydas' behavior. Upon my inquiry, her immediate reaction was, "that poor boy needs to be adopted as soon as possible. He has so much potential, but lacks attention, security, and stability." She explained that from the age of five, Deivydas had been independently taking care of himself and his brother. Before being removed from his alcoholic parents, he collected recyclable bottles to exchange for money. Upon receiving his small profit, he would ask the local grocer to set aside that specific monetary equivalent of bread for him and his brother. Deivydas knew if he came home with money, his parents would take it from him. The grocer protected Deivydas' daily source of food. As a result, the social worker explained to me, Deivydas has developed a very aggressive and intense defense mechanism with a very short fuse. He will not tolerate anyone messing with or disrespecting him. He does not trust many people. However, these tendencies can be channeled positively. Deivydas has always been the protector of his little brother. He has an instinct to stand up for and help those who he recognizes as weaker than him. Since Deivydas was only ten years old, the social worker still believed that with proper attention and care, his personally and behavioral disorders could be managed and improved.

A glimpse into Bridget's experience…

While walking around and living in a cooperative community and orphanage in rural Romania, I saw so many different types of relationships. These children were lacking parents, and somehow had to make new connections. Five-year-old Robert was a lone wolf. He seemed to butt heads with most of the kids, got in a lot of trouble (probably for the attention he then received), and formed a habit of yelling my name and running away. Andrea, on the other hand, would grab my hand whenever I walked by, and it would take minutes or hours to pry her hands away from mine. Most of the kids had the utmost respect for the caretakers, or maybe it was just fear, but they didn't want to spend one-on-one time with them. Watching these children making and breaking connections with caregivers, with volunteers, and even with their brothers and sisters, made me reflect on attachment and love. I saw two brothers

who wouldn't even speak to each other. If they don't have each other as family, who do they have?

Although these kids are surrounded with peers and siblings, do they really feel the love and attention? I feel as though most of these kids feel lonely and isolated. I wonder if it would be better for them in a different type of setting. More kids, more fun, right? I guess that is not always the case.

Introduction

Throughout the world, there are children lacking stable, secure familial living conditions. These children are often not provided food, shelter, education and other living necessities. As a result, countries worldwide have implemented various systems to address the need for out-of-home childcare.

Out-of-home care can be defined as guardianship for children who, for one reason or another, are unable to live with their parents (McDonald et al. 1996, Section 2). As a result, they are forced to reside in an out-of-home setting. This report addresses two forms of out-of-home care, foster care and institutional group-care. The U.S. government defines foster care as "twenty-four hour substitute care for children placed away from their parents or guardians and for whom the State agency has placement and care responsibility" (Johnson 2004, par.3). This definition includes, but is not limited to, placements in foster family homes and into the homes of relatives. Foster children are normally placed into a family resembling a typical biological family, with adult guardians who may have several other children.

Conversely, institutional care settings, often called orphanages, refer to large group homes in which children live full-time. In Romania, the children are overseen by rotating caregivers who theoretically act as the parental figures and disciplinarians. Often the ratio

of caregivers-to-children is significantly greater than in a normal familial setting, about 12 to 15 children per adult (Nelson, Fox and Zeanah 2014, 1017).

It is important to note that stability, resources, and caregiver ratios are not consistent across either system. Contrary to popular beliefs and assumptions, there are children in foster care who are constantly moved from one home to the other or are placed into inadequate families. Similarly, there can exist institutions with low caregiver-to-child ratios, plentiful resources, and healthy environments. It should not be assumed that foster care is a better choice for the children simply because it is the system preferred by the United States.

This chapter is a comparative study of the foster and institutionalized care systems. It will specifically compare the physical, mental, behavioral and intellectual characteristics of children in the foster care system of the United States with those in institutionalized care in Romania. In more general terms, is a child expected to fare better in the U.S. foster care system or in a Romanian group-care setting? This report concludes that the U.S. foster care system better ensures the overall well-being of children, as measured by physical, mental, behavioral and intellectual outcomes.

Historical Background

While looking at current models of out-of-home care in both the United States and Romania, it is important to understand the historical background in which they exist and from which they have developed. The state of out-of-home care in both countries has been shaped by social, cultural, political, and economic factors. First, while examining Romania and its developed institutionalized care, it is important to reference the timeline.

After World War II, much of Eastern Europe was isolated by the "Iron Curtain" of the Soviet Union. From then until the end of the 1980s, most of the Eastern European countries remained under communist rule. In the 1990s, the fall of communist rule unraveled and reshaped the economic and political environments in the affected countries (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 64). After the breakdown of communism, many different social groups emerged with new freedom but also a lack of assistance and resources, one group being children deprived of parental care (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 65). Not only were unacknowledged social issues surfacing, government intervention was largely unsuccessful (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 66). The institutional care in Romania is one example of an out-of-home care system in a post-soviet Eastern European country that has been significantly impacted by its past.

Historically, population growth was highly encouraged by government policies in Romania. Throughout the time of industrialization, it was believed that the greater the population, the more laborers there were available to increase production, increase profit, and strengthen the economy. Beginning in the 1960s, the state encouraged population growth through propaganda, economic incentives for additional children, prohibition of contraceptives and abortion, and tax penalties for childless persons (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 64). Amidst economic difficulties, the increase in children resulting from these pro-childbirth policies made it very difficult for parents to deal with childrearing and forced them to place their children in state-run residential care centers (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 64). All of these policies created an atmosphere that portrayed children as the state's responsibility. This mentality still prevails today (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 65). A pediatrician who also happens to be a high-ranking official in a NGO involved in child

protection is quoted saying, “child abandonment now is a main consequence of the mentality created during communism, that the state is responsible for raising all children” (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 65). Commenting on the state of state-run institutions historically, another pediatrician explained that, “although by the time of their placement many children were suffering no, or only minor, retardation (i.e., undernourishment, ‘hairlip’), the institutional environment was turning them into severely disabled persons” (Tomescu-Dubrow 2005, 65). This historical background is significant today, in that it has been quite difficult to shake the mentality of state-reared children and child abandonment that was created during the communist rule of Romania. Romania is a more extreme example, but the communist rule of other Eastern European countries also continues to have an effect on the system of out-of-home care that prevails today.

Turning to the United States out-of-home care system, a 2014 report by the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS), provides data regarding the childcare system in the United States. The mean age for the children in the system is 8.9 years old, while the median is 8.2 years old. When evaluating the placement of the children, 28% of the total 402,378 children were in a foster family home of a relative. Another 47% of the children were in a foster family home of a non-relative. Six percent of the children were in a group home, while eight percent were in an institutional setting (US Department of Health and Human Services 2014, 1). These numbers illustrate that the foster care system is the dominant system in the United States but also shed light on the fact that children’s homes still exist in the United States.

Out-of-home care in the United States began in the mid-1800s with an aim to protect the greater community by removing delinquent children (often from the cities) and

placing them far away in rural areas, completely separating them from familial ties (McDonald et al. 1996, 7). About 30 years later the mindset began to change, shifting the focus onto the needs of the child. The new orientation of the system was to create a foster-parent to foster-child relationship, resembling the biological family structure (McDonald et al. 1996, 10). There has always been a debate on the use of institutional settings versus family settings for these children. It is clear, however, that all out-of-home care was not ideal, and was thought of as a temporary placement. If it became more permanent, it was seen as a failure (McDonald et al. 1996, 13). This greatly differed from the attitudes in Romania, where it was much more widely accepted, and sometimes even expected, for the state to take care of the children. In the United States, in addition to the prevalence of the foster care system, there was and continues to be, an increase in programs that aim to preserve the family. The United States is tackling the childcare issue from many angles, differing from those of Romania.

Importance of Lags

Many studies show that behavioral, physical, mental and intellectual deficiencies in children in out-of -home care can be reconciled. With proper care, attention and circumstantial improvement, children can reduce their shortcomings, and compensate for other factors that can negatively impact children, such as poverty (Harden 2004, 33). This must be considered when evaluating studies that measure the mentioned deficiencies. The problems that are noted are not permanent and can worsen or improve during the length of a child's stay in either system (Harden 2004, 31-33).

Physical Effects

Physical health and well-being of children is often impacted greatly by the foster or institutionalized care environments. Children can be impacted physically depending on their length of stay in either type of care environment as well as the type of environment itself. According to Groze and Ileana (1996, 542), most studies indicate that early institutionalized care leads to difficulty with attachment to caregivers and peers, as well as delaying emotional, social, and *physical* development. Groze and Ileana maintain that children raised in institutional care settings are more likely to develop health difficulties (1996, 543). The great number of children in close quarters makes infectious illness transmission more likely. Another reason for increased likelihood of developing certain diseases is that oftentimes those in institutionalized care are less likely to receive adequate health care services (Judge 2003, 50).

One reason behind the lag in physical development that can be caused in institutional care is that there is often a lack of physical stimulation necessary for healthy development (Groze and Ileana 1996, 543). In fact, "while low weight was the indirect result of lack of individual attention, unlike earlier American institutions, the children in Romanian institutions were also deprived of proper nutrition" (Groze & Ileana 1996, 547). This malnutrition not only negatively affects physical development, it also depresses "mental performance if combined with a lack of social and intellectual stimulation" (Groze and Ileana 1996, 547). This is more evident historically in Romanian orphanages as perhaps it is now in the present. The children were largely left alone, dependent on

themselves and each other for stimulation. There was a huge lack in proper hygiene and malnutrition ran rampant (Groze and Ileana 1996, 545). Although the former Romanian institutions were more outwardly horrible and the cause-and-effect was clearer, the reason for examining Romanian institutional care now and comparing it to foster care in the United States is that the institutions in Romania are still operating within a similar framework and have a hard time shaking off their history.

While examining children in North America who had been adopted from Romania, Groze and Ileana came up with some interesting information concerning the physical effects of institutionalized care. Almost all of the children that were adopted had been living in an institutional care setting in Romania. Sixty percent of the children were below normal weight and forty nine percent were below normal height (Groze and Ileana 1996, 552). This supports the idea that institutional care settings can lead to a lack of proper physical development. They found that about twenty-eight percent of these children had delayed fine motor skills and twenty-one percent of them had delayed gross motor skills (Groze and Ileana 1996, 553).

While comparing the physical impact of institutionalized care and foster care, there seems to be a clear difference. One environmental factor that can account for this difference is the fact that in foster care there are usually less children. Because there are fewer children in the same place in the foster care system, the caregiver-to-child ratio is much better. Thus there is the possibility of more specialized care by the caregiver, both as monitoring and actual health attention. With fewer children and people there is also less risk of spreading infectious diseases than in institutionalized care. Also with the increased ability to monitor children, children are more likely to be treated for any medical or health

issue they may have. That being said, while comparing foster care children with children living with their biological families in the United States, foster children are more likely to have untreated health problems or growth abnormalities (Harden 2004, 33). This observation, however, does not hold when comparing these foster families to impoverished biological households (Harden 2004, 33).

The connection between stability and health is made clear in Harden's work. She says that "children who have consistent and positive relationships with parents are more likely to have positive health behaviors and lower levels of illness" (Harden 2004). She refers to the ideal family situation as one with the consistent and positive presence of parents. While highlighting the importance of stability, we look to both the foster care and institutional systems, both of which have the ability to be stable in different ways. In a stable foster care situation, with a consistent placement and parental figures, children are more likely to be healthy. In institutional care, caregivers are less likely to be stable which may negatively affect health outcomes of children. On the other hand, if a child is moving around from foster family to foster family, there would also be a lack of stability and decrease in positive health outcomes. Harden goes on to say that "with regard to accessing health services, stable families are more likely to obtain well-child care and the appropriate immunizations for their children" (2004, 33).

Mental Effects

Closely tied together are the mental and behavioral effects of both the foster care and institutional care systems. While behavioral effects may be more evident outwardly, mental effects can be considered to be more inwardly directed. Some examples of mental

effects of either system would be depression and anxiety. It can get a little bit entangled when we acknowledge that some outward behavioral effects can be a manifestation of inward mental effects. While looking at institutional care in Romania, "as predicted by attachment theory, serious disturbances of attachment are the rule rather than the exception in children raised in the relatively socially deprived context of contemporary institutions for young children in Romania" (Zeanah et al. 2005, 1023). These disturbances of attachment have a great impact on these children's reactive behavior. They can become very emotionally withdrawn and inhibited, or indiscriminately social and disinhibited (Zeanah et al. 2005, 1023). This lack of attachment comes from the fact that the ratio of caregivers to children in Romanian institutions is 1 to 12 (Zeanah et al. 2005, 1017).

Mental and psychological development itself is debated in many circles. The importance of psychological development of experiences in the first two years of life is a highly-discussed topic, with some maintaining that they have a lasting impact and others arguing that infants have a limited ability to process and thus be affected by these experiences (Rutter and ERA 1998, 465). Conclusions as to which out-of-home system is more beneficial for children depend upon which side of the debate is used as a lens while looking at early childhood out-of-home care.

Mental health and mental impacts are difficult to measure as it may be difficult to determine if these children were predisposed to mental issues or they may have existed before entrance into an out-of-home care system or environment. While comparing foster care children with non-foster care children, Harden points to the theory that a majority of foster children have mental health difficulties: "They have higher rates of depression, poorer social skills, lower adaptive functioning" (Harden 2004, 38). This clearly shows the

negative mental effects of foster care. There are also negative mental effects of institutional care on children. Berrick et al., while looking at a study conducted by Hodges and Tizard found that the mean "mental age" of a group of infants that had been placed in residential nurseries at two years old was about two months below the norm (Berrick et al. 1997, 260).

Turning to the Unites States, the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being reports on many different topics concerning the children of the country. Its report entitled "Instability and Early Life Changes among Children in the Child Welfare System" describes the impact of different types of disruptions in children's living situation – disruptions that could lead to foster or group care – including inadequate caregivers. The importance of attachment is made evident in this report, as it focuses on the trauma created by the disruption of children's attachment with primary caregivers. Primary caregivers do not always provide secure attachments, and these inadequate caregivers are often the reason why these children enter into the foster care system. Insecure attachment with caregivers is associated with emotional and internalized problems and often impacts subsequent attachment relationships as these children are more likely to exhibit avoidance behavior. This cycle of detachment increases negative mental health effects in these children in the foster care system.

Stress is a common occurrence amongst children who experience a change in childcare situation (Casanueva et al. 2012, 5). There are different levels of stress, such as 'tolerable stress' and 'toxic stress' depending on frequency of detachment and lack of adequate adult support (Casanueva et al. 2012, 5). This report cites other studies that link childhood traumatic events to depression, anxiety, schizophrenia, post-traumatic stress

disorder, acute stress disorder, and personality disorders (Casanueva et al. 2012, 5). Instability in a child's life, such as being in group care or foster care, can lead to such mental or psychological effects. We can see that both types of childcare can potentially have negative mental or psychological effects. However, due to the connection between attachment theory and negative psychological effects, there is a greater likelihood that this attachment (or lack thereof) will impact institutionalized children in Romania than foster care children in the United States. Romanian institutions have less personalized care and more detachment.

Behavioral Effects

Children in out-of-home care have been found to not necessarily have more behavioral issues than children raised with biological parents but rather different types of problems. Additionally, the problems tend to be more prevalent in older children due to longer amounts of time spent without a stable family and higher chances of having endured neglect or abuse (Berry and Barth 1989, 21). According to Berry and Barth (1989, 22), the most commonly identified behavioral problems of children in out-of-home care were the inability to concentrate, demanding attention, acting too young for their age, impulsivity, stubbornness, temper tantrums, poor school work, and lack of guilt after misbehavior. The concluding question is whether or not the intensity of these issues is influenced by the type of out-of-home care to which the child is subjected. Do foster care and institutionalized care improve, worsen or not affect the behavior of children?

Child behavior in out-of-home care systems can be altered by endless factors categorized as either background or environmental. The background factors are comprised

of the child's intrinsic personality characteristics, as well as any formative experiences the child endured prior to placement in out-of-home care. For example, data shows that children with a history of sexual abuse had a tendency to show excessive externalizing behavior, clinical aggressiveness and delinquency (Berry and Barth 1989, 29). Conversely, environmental factors are situational circumstances that influence a child's behavior. For example, a general lack of attention or privacy can affect how a child interacts with his or her peers (Harden 2004, 33). When examining children in out-of-home care, it can be difficult to differentiate between these two categories of factors. However, researchers have tried to mitigate baseline differentiation to allow for valid comparisons of environmental effects of the foster and group care settings on child behavior.

The major environmental factor affecting child behavior in the foster care system is the existence or lack of stability. Brenda Harden (2004, 33) explains that children experiencing stability have caretakers who are constant, consistent, connected, mentally healthy and engaged in appropriate parenting techniques. However, Rubin et al. (2007, 337) explain that baseline issues often influence the stability of foster children. The study conducted by Newton, Litrownick, and Landsverk (2000, 1366-1369) supports this notion through its findings that foster children with greater placement volatility were more likely to have both internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems. Unfortunately, the instability becomes a self-perpetuating cycle. Disruptive children are more likely to be moved from one placement to another as a result of their actions. According to Rubin et al. (2007, 337) foster children finding stability within 45 days of entering the system were significantly more likely to have normal baseline behavior. In the foster care system, the faster stability is achieved, the greater the likelihood of a child having normal behavior.

However, finding stability can be difficult for children with disruptive histories (Rubin et al. 2007, 337).

The main behavioral problems identified in children from Romanian institutionalized care are inattention, overactivity, and impulsivity (Stevens et al. 2007, 385). Environmentally, the main factor influencing this behavior is the lack of identification with parental figures (Golfarb, n.d., 446-447). Without a feeling of attachment, love, and desire to impress one's parents, children in institutionalized systems do not develop an initial form of goal-oriented motivation. Goldfarb states, "It is the child's identification with his parents which ordinarily most strongly motivates his willingness to mold his own personality in accord with the educative influences of infancy" (1994, 446-447). Without that motivation, a child lacks a reason to withhold momentary pleasure-seeking drives. Conversely, the child acts only out of impulsive, immediate interest.

Goldfarb's study is closely related to the attachment theory, a situational phenomenon that affects both institutionalized and foster children (Harden 2004, 34). Attachment can be defined as the enduring emotional bond formed between a child and a caregiver. The caregiver is the child's security blanket, allowing the child to explore his or her surroundings and find comfort when distressed. Since children in out-of-home care often feel a sense of uncertainty and insecurity about their relationships with caregivers, they are less confident in themselves and their ability to explore their surroundings. As a result, many children in out-of-home care develop disordered attachments. Some of these children purposely distance themselves, showing no attachment to any adult, while others yearn for some sort of adult attention and approval, becoming overly compliant to each and every authority figure. Data shows that foster children are more likely than non-foster

children to have disordered attachments. However, this is largely influenced by the characteristics of their foster families, and the child's ability to feel secure with his or her new parents. Similarly, institutionalized children with multiple caregivers are more likely to have insecure attachments. Particularly in Romanian institutionalized care, where child-to-caregiver ratios are significantly skewed, disordered attachment is very common (Zeanah et al. 2005, 1015-1017).

Additionally, research from William Goldfarb's (1994, 444) direct study of personality differences between institutionalized and foster children shows that another behavioral difference between the two groups is a greater lack of control in institutionalized children. They are more likely to act thoughtlessly and without a sense of goal-orientation. Similarly, the institutionalized children are less likely to attempt to solve a problem or to attain recognition. These differences and deficiencies are expected to be results of the previously listed environmental factors differing in the two types of care systems.

In regard to behavioral problems, the United States foster system appears to be the superior system for children in out-of-home care. Unless foster children are excessively moved from one home to another, they appear to exhibit mostly normal child behavior. However, Romanian institutionalized children have been shown to develop impulsiveness, overactivity, and a lack of control and attention. These are effects of the environment of the Romanian institutionalized system.

Intellectual Effects

Due to the variations in school systems and academic measurements, it is difficult to specifically compare the intellectual abilities of U.S. and Romanian children. However, research has shown that the major components needed for proper intellectual development are cognitive stimulation and motivation (Harden 2004, 33). Using this information, the foster care system of the U.S. and institutionalized care of Romania can be compared through an evaluation of their ability to promote intellectual development.

Children with stable relationships and constant caregivers tend to perform better academically and are less likely to repeat a grade or drop out of school (Harden 2004, 33). In the United States, children in foster care have had higher academic achievements than institutionalized children, which is believed to be a result of better caregiver relationships (*Adoption USA* 2007). More specifically, comparing only the foster children with the normal population, the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-being (NSCAW) documented that most U.S. foster children scored in a normal range of cognitive and academic measures, but a higher than normal proportion showed signs of delayed cognitive development and compromised academic functioning (Harden 2004, 36). For the foster children, it is believed that the greater incidence of deprivation is largely a result of pre-foster care neglect, abuse, or deprivation. Within the environment of foster care, children without great delay were able to catch up or stay on par with the normal population (Harden 2004, 37-38). For this reason, the foster care system in the United States appears to appropriately encourage intellectual development.

Unlike in the United States foster system, Romanian institutionalized children tend to have sub-par academic performances (Sparling et al. 2005, 127-141). The main causal

reasons are a lack of motivation and stimulus deprivation (Goldfarb, 444-447). It has been shown that on average, poorer countries including Romania, lack the desired resources for child development (van IJzendoorn, Luijk, and Juffer 2008, 343). Particularly in the historically under-resourced Romanian system, young children are often left to find their own forms stimulus and entertainment. Cognitive stimulation in the form of play materials has shown to decrease developmental delays in children adopted from orphanages (van IJzendoorn, Luijk and Juffer 2008, 343). Additionally, the high child-to-caregiver ratio has been proven to detrimentally affect children's educational achievement. Without constant encouragement and assistance, it is difficult for a child to perform as well academically and to remain strongly self-motivated (Sparling et al. 2005, 141). Similar to the baseline delays of foster children, institutionalized children have also been known to face a preliminary disadvantage. However, the difference lies in the institutional inability to compensate for the lag (Stevens et al. 2007, 395).

The foster care system of the United States would be clearly preferred for intellectual outcomes. Whereas Romanian group-care settings tend to produce children with lower academic achievement, in the U.S. foster care system children have kept up with, or caught up to, the normal achievement levels. A lack of some of the characteristics identified as necessary for child academic achievement, cognitive stimulation and motivation, seem to be the major reasons for the lag in the Romanian system.

Conclusion

It is important to note that many assumptions and generalizations are present in this comparative evaluation. As previously noted, this analysis was conducted based on the

average expectations from both settings, but should not be assumed to apply to all foster and group care facilities.

When evaluating all of the factors affecting the physical, mental, and intellectual characteristics of children, the U.S. foster care system appears to be superior to Romanian institutionalized care. A lack of physical stimuli and malnutrition, factors that can lead to poor physical health and adverse conditions, are more likely found in institutionalized care settings in Romania than foster care settings in the United States. Additionally, living with a large number of children in small quarters can also negatively impact health, as there is a greater risk of the spread of disease. Mentally, children in both foster care situations and institutional care situations are more likely than their peers to be affected by some sort of mental health issue. Change in living and familial conditions can cause severe stress and psychological issues or disorders. Behaviorally, issues may differ or increase among children in out-of-home care compared to children raised in their biological family. Stability and attachment are highlighted as important factors in children's' behavior. Besides the possible effects of instability and baseline personality, foster care does not appear to worsen a child's behavior. However, institutionalization has been shown to cause several behavioral problems. Intellectually, it is clear that children placed in out-of-home care experience delays in intellectual development. Whereas foster care tends to make up for the lag, in institutional care, this lag in intellectual development has been shown to progressively worsen academic outcomes.

In summary, the foster care system in the United States, when executed appropriately, will better ensure proper child health and development than the institutionalized care system in Romania. Each system, rooted in its history, with its

respective childrearing ideologies, has very tangible effects on behavior, psychological health, intellectual achievement, and physical development for its children.

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10. Childcare and Early Education Across Cultural Contexts: Do Universal Standards Exist?

Elizabeth A. Blesson

Unexpected International Challenges

For as long as I can remember, I have always loved working with children. While this may have manifested itself with a simple affinity toward spending time with my younger cousins, primarily because I thought they were cute and kind of funny, it grew into a true appreciation and real fascination for how young children think, learn, and develop. Throughout my high school years I had the opportunity to serve various child-focused organizations such as the Boys and Girls Club and other groups associated with my local church. Furthermore I was the go-to local babysitter for my numerous younger cousins and neighbors. By the time I was ready to decide where I wanted to go to college, I knew that the Boston College Lynch School of Education was the right place for me to pursue my interests in education and working with children.

As I began my undergraduate career, the material I was exposed to in my classes about the best practices regarding the social, emotional, and academic growth of children captivated me from the start. I was aware of the fact that I had access to and was learning from some of the finest educators in the nation with years of profound experiences and expertise in the fields of Human Development and Education. From their teachings and guidance, along with my two years of experience working with Jumpstart, a national non-profit focused on early childhood academic and social-emotional development, I was confident in my abilities working with children and thought that I could successfully face challenges presented to me across many different kinds of contexts. By the time junior year rolled around, I felt like I was well versed in the pedagogy (for a twenty year old) but also had some valuable hands-on experience working with children. I felt prepared for a new challenge. With this background, I was confident when I decided to embark on a six-month journey to Buenos Aires, Argentina to not only explore Argentine culture but also to experience service with children in an international context.

During these six months, I spent six hours a week serving in a local children's home near downtown Buenos Aires in a barrio called Once. The home was small—it had about 30 children living there between the ages of one and eighteen years old, making it quite crowded as well. While there were many children who called this place home, there were not nearly enough adults present to give them the necessary attention I thought they deserved and needed. In my courses about child development that I had taken back at BC, we were taught how important adult-child interactions were for children from a young age, and what I was seeing at this home was nothing like what I had learned about in my own experience. Though it was obvious that the adult workers in the home loved and cared for the children they looked after, the way they spoke to the children seemed so harsh to me—much more direct and cold compared to the way I was used to speaking to children in Jumpstart. Even the degree of freedom granted to the children in the home was something that struck me as a bit alarming. I often saw young children that were no more than three or four years old left to explore the house with barely any supervision. Children would climb high up the shelves on the wall in

order to turn on the television and often playfully wrestle on the couch as a form of entertainment. What I found more unsettling than witnessing these potentially very dangerous actions that were so commonplace for the children was the fact that the staff of the home seemed completely unperturbed by them. In fact, on a variety of occasions during my tenure at the home I tried to put a stop to certain actions I viewed as inappropriate and was met with resistance from the staff, insinuating that I was being too controlling and coddling of the children's behavior. Being confronted with this resistance was a challenge I faced in my service abroad that I felt completely unprepared for, despite all of my prior training and experience. I felt confused as to why the staff did not agree with my approach to working with the children because at that point, as far as I was concerned, I was adhering to the best practices that were passed down from the childcare and education experts at BC and Jumpstart. I never thought to explore the possibility that perhaps there could be more than one appropriate way to raise and educate children, different from what was taught by my professors and colleagues in the United States.

A Globalizing World and Increased Cross-Cultural Exposure

Considering the conflict that I encountered at my service placement abroad, this chapter will focus on certain aspects of childcare and early education across different cultures and how universal standards may or may not be applicable to each. The studies that will be discussed attest to the notion that, while a loose framework of what is appropriate may exist, cultural relativity does in fact play a large role in what is considered legitimate and developmentally appropriate in different parts of the world. This topic is relevant not only in the context of international service but more generally because the interconnectedness of today's globalized world has increased society's exposure to cultural diversity from a variety of different angles. To give an example from the United States, over the last decade the landscape of publicly funded US early childhood education has changed significantly. In 11 states, culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) children are now the majority among their peers. In fact, CLD children will become the majority nationally by 2023 (Brown and Lee 2012, 332). Interestingly, not only is cultural diversity diffusing into the United States' borders at increased rates, but also US citizens are progressively making

centrifugal moves into the rest of the world. In 2011, the State Department released the number of American citizens (not associated with the government or military) living abroad — the highest released to date — of close to 6.32 million people (AARO 2011). Taking into consideration that, more than ever, people are exposed to cultures unlike their own, whether domestically or internationally, it is important for individuals to understand and develop a type of cultural sensitivity to help them navigate these differences when they arise. This is crucial because certain traditional/cultural practices and viewpoints that one might encounter can seem extremely different and at times challenge one's own point of view, as seen in the aforementioned personal anecdote. While cultural diversity is generally accepted as a positive notion, it can also cause conflict between opposing schools of thought, particularly in the fields of childcare and early education (van Schaik, Leseman, and Huijbregts 2014, 369).

NAEYC and Developmentally Appropriate Practice

In the United States, the vast majority of teachers are white, English-speaking, and members of the middle class (Teitler 2009, 6). It is also said that people who engage in volunteer or service activities in the United States or abroad are also more likely to be white and of higher socio-economic status (McBride and Lough 2008, 3). Both teachers and volunteers tend to be quite culturally distinct from the groups they work with within classrooms and in other local or global contexts (Teitler 2009, 3). This chapter looks to further examine what conflicts populations of predominantly white, English- speaking, middle class, Americans might encounter when interacting in environments that are culturally distinct from their own. The research question aims to explore the concept of

"developmentally appropriate practice" (DAP) in childcare, a concept that is derived in an American context, and whether this is a universal concept or one that should be applied relatively to different cultures.

The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) construct of appropriate early education practices represents the "current consensus of opinion on the status of current knowledge and thinking in the field of early education and in many preschools and kindergarten programs in the U.S." (Tadesse 2008, 4). Developmentally appropriate practice, as defined in the NAEYC position statements, is based on a child-centered developmental perspective as opposed to the frequently implemented teacher-centered approach (NAEYC 2011). DAP is based on concepts from John Dewey, known as one of the most progressive educational reformers in America, and the developmental theories of Jean Piaget, a Swiss genetic epistemologist; Erik Erikson, a German-American psychoanalyst; Lev Vygotsky, a Russian developmental psychologist; Bowlby, a British psychoanalyst; Bronfenbrenner, an American human ecologist; and Gardner, an American developmental psychologist. Therefore, DAP combines these western thinkers' constructivist, psychoanalytic, ecologist, contextualist, and multiple intelligences views of development to create standards that are meant to be applicable universally (Copple and Bredekamp 2009, 36).

In order to explore this topic in depth, this section will first discuss the prevailing two schools of thought — universal standards and cultural relativism —which will then help to inform an analysis on various case studies where these two schools of thought differ regarding aspects of childcare and early education in the context of three different cultural sections: Taiwanese, certain African cultures (specifically Ethiopian, Liberian,

Sudanese and Somali), and certain Latin American cultures (Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean cultures). In addition, conclusions and future implications of these comparisons will be discussed.

Two Schools of Thought: Universal Standards vs. Cultural Relativism

NAEYC represents the school of thought centered on the idea that universal standards of childcare exist and are necessary to follow because they come from professional opinion and proven research. According to this philosophy, there are ways to organize classrooms, plan curriculums, and interact with children that are considered best practice and in line with DAP standards. That is not to say that NAEYC as an organization believes in completely ignoring cultural differences, but simply that there is a framework that must be followed when engaging with and developing children (Copple and Bredekamp 2009, 36). Though the idea of human rights and developmentally appropriate practices are different, they are connected in the sense that they both address the notion of a universal standard aimed at creating optimally beneficial outcomes for all people. Given this comparison, and taking it one step further, the idea of universal developmentally appropriate practice at a more fundamental, human rights level, argues that using a culturally relative model, is often "exploited by states to justify repressive internal practices and to shield themselves from justifiable criticism" (Harris-Short 2003, 132). Furthermore, according to some proponents of this view, frequent appeals to "cultural distinctiveness" are often lacking in any legitimate cultural basis — another major critique of the theory of cultural relativism (Harris-Short 2003, 132).

The opposing school of thought however, believes in more of a culturally relative

approach to childcare and teaching. Cultural relativism refers to the belief that human activity must be understood in the context of an individual's culture (Lubeck 1998). The first school of thought relies heavily on generalized knowledge whereas the second approach emphasizes keeping the conversation regarding these debates in education and childcare fluid and open to discussion (Lubeck 1998). Harris-Short explains the difficulty in universalizing any type of standard under this philosophy for the following reason: a standard cannot be truly universal if all that are affected by that standard do not agree on it. If the people of a certain culture do not accept a universal standard as "culturally legitimate" or "as theirs" the system is more likely to be rendered ineffective. If an imposed standard violates a culture's worldview then the state essentially must force its constituents to comply with rules that they never agreed on and had no part in creating. Harris-Short describes the act of imposing a culturally irrelevant international set of standards for human rights, or in this case developmentally appropriate practices, as "the tool of the imperialist" (Harris-Short 2003, 180). A possible inference that can be made about the culturally relative model is that it might consider the idea of "universalizing" to have a meaning closer to "Americanizing" or "westernizing" than actually being a philosophy that all people agree on.

An interesting note to be made in this discussion is that often times, particularly in regard to universal standards related to children's rights, most national governments are keen on embracing universal rights. The difficulty arises in trying to implement these standards at the local level. Harris-Short explains that "the difficulty is thus presented as one of implementation: of how best to convince the local population to accept human rights as relevant and appropriate to their particular situation and to persuade them to adhere to

the standards that the state has willingly accepted" (2003, 164).

Distinct in their fundamentals, these two schools of thought should be considered in the following cross cultural analysis of DAP. Aspects of the Taiwanese culture, Ethiopian, Liberian, Sudanese and Somali cultures, and of Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean cultures will be compared and contrasted with American DAP. The rationale for choosing these particular case studies is that they represent a range of cultures from around the world and demonstrate how the American perception of DAP can be interpreted and implemented in a variety of manners.

Taiwanese Culture

Certain aspects of the Taiwanese culture offer interesting points of comparison to American DAP. From the American perspective, DAP at the early education level is considered to be a non-academic approach that promotes young children's positive development. It is much more focused on social-emotional development that fosters positive interpersonal relationships (NAEYC 2011). However, a 2009 study conducted on Taiwanese parents and their perceptions of DAP reveal that in Taiwanese culture, strong academic experiences for young children are an essential part of healthy development. This is largely due to the emphasis on Confucian philosophy that is considered so culturally relevant and essential throughout this region that places a high value on education. Taiwanese parents often believe education and a college degree are important aspects of their children's accomplishments and are necessary for their future financial and career success, so starting as young as possible in this academic training is beneficial (Yen 2009, 17). Confucianism is centered on a social hierarchy in which people of lower status, such as

employees, are expected to respect and submit to those of a higher status, such as their employers. Taiwanese education has applied this same hierarchical system. Therefore, teachers wield the highest power and authority, a great contrast to the American DAP standard of child-centered teaching and learning. Students are expected to never challenge their teachers, but rather show them obedience and respect (Yen 2009, 13).

Given that Taiwanese parents do generally accept western educational views and due to Taiwan's changing social structure, the growth of the economy, changes in family size, and technological advancements, the influence of western DAP and its support in Taiwanese culture is steadily increasing. However, interestingly enough, it remains that their belief in the importance of education along with the highly competitive and hierarchical nature of Taiwanese society has led to a slower change and adoption of western views regarding matters of promoting strong academics at a young age to their children (Yen 2009, 17). This example highlights how although distinct cultures might generally accept the same DAP standards, there can exist certain outstanding characteristics of one culture that cannot be muted due to their deep philosophical roots in society, causing a conflict cross-culturally.

Ethiopian, Liberian, Sudanese and Somali Cultures

In a 2005 study conducted by Tadesse (2008, 148), African refugee parents from Ethiopia, Liberia, the Sudan and Somalia were interviewed to gauge their perspectives on western DAP in early childhood education. Parent interviews clearly supported parents' bias for the traditional approach as opposed to the western DAP "child-centered" approach. This was true across all the African nationalities represented. Refugee parents tended to

give weaker support to child-centered activities such as child-invented spelling and learning through exploration and much preferred the traditional educational approach that emphasized teacher-directed instruction. Other than this, most other western DAP standards were embraced by the African parents, just perhaps not in the same way that NAEYC had intended them to be understood. For example, the study found that health and safety issues have a significant meaning to the refugee parents. Tadesse cites previous studies that conclude that refugee families, due to their past traumatic life, often worry about the physical and mental health of their children and tend to be overprotective (Tadesse 2008, 149). Another example of a western DAP that African refugee parents accept but interpret differently is the concept of parent involvement. In the American context, parent involvement is linked to active participation in the classroom. However in these particular cultures, the same concept is seen more along the lines of helping a child with homework and other support out of school hours. This makes an interesting connection across many cultures in the sense that parent involvement, perhaps to varying degrees, can be seen as an underlying universal DAP.

While these particular African cultures differ in perspectives toward American DAP, there exist many differences between these cultures themselves. For example, interviews with parents suggest that there are some distinct value differences between the Somali, the Sudanese, and the Ethiopians. Shouting, yelling, and fighting appear acceptable forms of communication for a child of Somali origin. On the other hand, Ethiopian, Sudanese, and Liberian parents supported reserved behavior, quietness, and avoidance of conflict. This suggests that preschool teachers might need to use different lenses while assessing the social and communication skills of African refugee children in their classrooms (Tadesse

2008, 149). It also is an example of how DAP can differ between sub-cultures and not just between western and non-western cultures — in this case, cultures of the African continent.

The example of African refugee parents offers another view of DAP as a concept that is influenced heavily by parental beliefs and experiences, which vary not only from region to region, but from person to person.

Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean Cultures

A 2014 study conducted by Koury and Votruba-Drzal used Bronfenbrenner's bio-ecological model to show how children are "nested" within a series of contextual layers, all of which influence how that particular child is raised and educated. The closest of these layers is the microsystem. Within the microsystem are the child's immediate relationships and surroundings (i.e., parents, teachers, childcare, and neighborhood). Structures and relationships within the microsystem exist within the larger societal contexts of the exosystem (e.g., parent's workplace) and macrosystem (e.g., cultural beliefs, laws) (Koury and Votruba-Drzal 2014, 269). This study paid particular attention to how these different systems affected the interpretation and implementation of American DAP in Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean Cultures. The study found that, in contrast to the aforementioned Taiwanese and American perceptions of DAP, Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean cultures tended to "emphasize family connectedness, warmth, and decorum over early literacy activities or the direct teaching of academic skills" (Koury and Votruba-Drzal 2014, 270). The early academic disadvantages exhibited by children in the US with Mexican and Central American/Spanish Caribbean parents may also

be partially attributed to differences in these early childhood parental socialization goals. Koury and Votruba-Drzal suggest that Mexican parents generally tend to view schools as responsible for providing formal early education in math and literacy. If these socialization goals and beliefs shape parental interactions with their children and their schooling, then early academic skills may vary in ways that reflect these goals and beliefs (Koury and Votruba-Drzal 2014, 270). This offers an interesting contrast to the above mentioned speculation that perhaps parent involvement is not considered a universal DAP, for in this case of Latin American culture, formal academic training is the sole responsibility of the school institution, not of the parents. The parents are more responsible for the socialization of the child from an early age than for academics. This example highlights that not only do different perceptions of DAP exist between western and non-western cultures (US and certain Latin American cultures) but also between two non-western cultures (Taiwanese and Latin American cultures).

Conclusion and Implications

Based on the literature from the multiple aforementioned cultural case studies in comparison to American developmentally appropriate practice philosophy, it is clear that what is considered "developmentally appropriate" is extremely hard to define across cultures. As evidenced in the case studies, some cultures vary slightly from American DAP in their views on what is developmentally appropriate, such as Taiwanese culture, while some others are definitively different, as seen in aspects of certain Latin American and African cultures. While it is possible that they exist, it is difficult to find any standards of childcare and education that are considered relevant *in the same way* to all cultures, definitely making this a field for researchers to continue their explorations. For example,

the case studies above each recognized the importance of parent involvement in the lives of children, however, how parents got involved varied from culture to culture. Without drawing erroneous conclusions, this could suggest that perhaps some basic framework of what is best for children does exist, but the implementation can vary greatly — another point of exploration that research can focus on in future studies. An important gap to address is in regard to a lack of longitudinal studies from other cultures to show how effective or ineffective their own practices are. It may be more effective to compare the actual outcomes of these practices rather than the practices themselves. Ultimately while the debate between the two schools of thought is an interesting one, perhaps it is more fundamentally important to recognize these differences and understand what the underlying causes of these differences are, rather than trying to mitigate differences.

Referring back to the personal anecdote at the beginning of this section, the issues that arose during my time at the children's home were due to my American perception of what is developmentally appropriate being challenged by this particular Argentine subculture's way of raising and educating children. Though I am not concluding that that justifies all actions that were taken in the children's home, I believe that if I had been more culturally aware and questioned why these practices were taking place, I might have been able to find some more common ground between my way and theirs. To take steps towards cultural sensitivity, recognizing that these divergences are usually a culmination of cultural values, past experiences of caretakers, structural impediments and practicalities, and ancient traditional views of childcare rather than an outright neglect to follow what is considered developmentally appropriate is extremely valuable (McMullen et al. 2005). While a very loose DAP framework might be helpful to evaluate practices, it is important to

consider the cultural biases that exist even within the frameworks and evaluations themselves. Rather than use this framework as a tool to confine childcare practices to existing knowledge, researchers should begin to focus on where the gaps exist in DAP across cultures and use these as points for further exploration. Referring more generally to the aforementioned discussion on how our world is becoming increasingly diverse, these findings can relate directly to almost anyone who might come in contact with someone of a different cultural background — the conversation need not be limited to US teachers or Americans volunteering abroad. Rather than immediately pegging others as straying from the norm or the standards of a particular culture, it is important to consider what another's norms might be and how they inform an individual's life decisions. Furthermore, it is of value for individuals to consider their own culture and exhibit a self-awareness of what biases they may present in a given situation. I believe that if people take the time to ask questions, reflect, and explore differences rather than simply trying to get rid of them, it can foster more genuine relationships and reduce power imbalances that often exist between distinct cultures.

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11. Children in South African Townships Pursuing Higher Education

Ericka Cruz

In July of 2013, I embarked on my study abroad journey to Grahamstown, South Africa where I lived for the next five months. I attended Rhodes University, located on the Eastern Cape of South Africa. It was in these five months that I was able to serve at both an afterschool program, Jabez Health AIDS Centre and Little Flower Pre-School.

It was through my service in the Eastern Cape of South Africa that I was truly able to leave the comforts of the university experience in Grahamstown and spend time in the local township, Joza. Rhodes runs a program called RUCE, the Rhodes University Community Engagement program. RUCE sends university students to Joza on a weekly and consistent basis for service. I had an extremely positive experience in serving though RUCE at both Jabez and Little Flower. I got to experience what it was like for young children in the township to attend pre-school, assist the teachers with whatever they needed and also what it was like for older students to come to Jabez after their academic days were over and assist in facilitating some soccer games, or makeshift obstacle courses.

Jabez Health AIDS Centre challenged me in a way that service never has in the past. As volunteers we had more autonomy than I expected. This was in part due to the fact that the two staff members there only spoke Xhosa. Because most of the children also only spoke Xhosa, communicating was extremely difficult. Some spoke some basic words in English, but not enough to carry a conversation. These children ranged in ages from about 2-14. They would all come after school, uniforms and all, most coming from different schools within the townships. They would stay at Jabez all afternoon until either a parent came to pick them up or they were ready to walk home.

Being able to serve in the townships helped give me perspective on topics I had only been able to speculate about in the past. I had extremely positive experiences at Little Flower Pre-school. Here the teachers seemed to be so caring and loving about all of their young students. The teachers spoke English to me, and to the children in Xhosa, the local language, but were also in the process of teaching their students how to speak basics in the English language as well. The school was not extravagant by any means, but the teachers worked with the supplies that they had and helped to foster a safe and encouraging environment for their students.

My positive experiences at both Jabez and Little Flower set off many questions in my head about the South African education system, especially how the system plays out in townships, such as Joza. The children at Little Flower pre-school seemed so eager and motivated to learn. The teachers were supportive, and caring of their students. They wanted the absolute best for their students, and this was evident in their daily demeanor. The children at Jabez came after their school day was over, trying to receive an education, learn how to speak English, etc. Because these students were provided with encouraging educational settings, it was clear that to an extent they were academically supported. Therefore, this led me to question, how many of the children in the township actually pursue higher education? How likely is that little Zanande, a 3 year old I worked closely with at Little Flower, would get into Rhodes University? Was the idea of attending university even on her radar? Could it ever be?

Sitting in Eden Grove lecture hall at Rhodes University, it can be hard to simply look around and be able to tell what students in the room came from the townships. In fact, it is nearly impossible to do so. However, I was very curious to see how many students actually

leave the townships and pursue higher education in the twenty-three universities and technical schools that South Africa offers. I wanted to do more research on the historical circumstances that have set the tone for students getting into university, how the South African government regulates public education, and how financing university was possible, especially because of the high costs of such a pursuit. My service in Joza led me to question a lot about the South African government and history that I was unfamiliar with, but extremely curious to find out about.

In 2011, South Africa had the highest Gini coefficient in the entire world. The Gini coefficient measures income inequality in a nation, and gives it a numerical value between 0, perfect equality, to 1, perfect inequality. South Africa had a rank of 63.6% (Hodgson 2012, 2). South Africa's tumultuous past in dealing with colonialism followed by the apartheid era is partially to blame for such a large income inequality. This income inequality is reflected in all facets of life in South Africa, inlcuding healthcare, availability of jobs, and access to food, water, shelter, and education. Apartheid officially ended in 1994. It is important to keep in mind just how recent this era was when analyzing South Africa's education shortcomings.

Post apartheid there were many efforts made to help strive for equality in the nation, especially in regard to equality in level of education provided. The government has taken steps to ensure that children in the townships, the most rural and poorest parts of South Africa are receiving a type of formal education. During the apartheid era, there was forced removal of black South Africans from their homes in cities and towns, and into the townships. Children from the townships are still an incredibly underrepresented population of students in universities. My research will revolve around the question of why

children from the townships are not pursuing higher education. What is hindering them from being able to go to university? Is the federal government doing enough to assist these students? How does the historical context still play a role in the education for those living in the townships? Children from the townships in South Africa are not attending university because of the long-lasting repercussions of the apartheid era. Not enough has been done by the government in terms of policy to assist and meet the needs of the high numbers of students being served in the South African township schools. There are multiple problems within the education system. There have been some changes to improve the system, but more needs to be done to further strengthen it.

To understand why the current education system in South Africa is failing the township children, it is important to understand the historical context of South Africa. In 1941, schooling was made compulsory by a law passed by the African government (Low 1958, 13). Children were not required to attend these schools provided by the government. Therefore, parents who could see no true benefit to formal education could keep their children at home and use them to help with labor at home. Fortunately, post-apartheid, this rule has changed, and children are required to attend school, and also are now able to choose to go to an institution that gives lessons on the language of their choice. Language choice is critical because parents no longer are obliged to send their children to a school where they will be forced to learn Afrikaans, the language of white South Africans.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was an apartheid law that legally separated the native blacks, the Bantus, from whites in schools. The Bantus were legally obligated to go to a separate school than the whites and the "coloureds" a term used in South Africa to refer to people of mixed race. The Bantus were taught the religion of the European settlers, the

Christian faith. They were also forced to learn Afrikaans in school and their local native language at home, and then later on in schooling also learn English (Shepard 1955, 140). Furthermore, their curriculum focused on teaching them basics of how to tend to the land, how to use an ox-drawn plow — not any type of artisanal, skilled labor. The limit in exposure and education essentially ensured the subjugation of the black Africans indefinitely in South Africa, especially for those living in the townships.

The Bantu Education Act can be compared, to an extent, to the American version of Plessy v. Ferguson, stating that separate is equal and allowed. This set the tone for education policies and practices to follow in South Africa. At this time, children from the townships were not pursuing university careers because they could not, and so their lives were limited to the township that they found themselves in. To reiterate, because this was only twenty years ago, the parents of those children currently attending township schools suffered under apartheid, found themselves limited in their educational opportunities and so there are few role models present in the townships who pursued higher education. Because many of these children have not been exposed to these types of role models, aspirations of attending university may seem too far off to be attainable.

In 1976, the Soweto uprising also had a lasting impact on South African education. The uprising occurred in reaction to the government announcing that all of the school classes taught to children would be in Afrikaans, the language of the white South Africans. Afrikaans was a language that most teachers were not able to fluently speak, let alone teach multiple subjects in. The only discernible benefit that came with this act was that it was established that the state was forced to provide all of its citizens with an education. It was the role of the government to provide education for all. The act forced schools to conform

to European standards, teaching the students European habits and customs (Simbao 2007, 56). This conformity limited the children in the townships further because attempting to learn two new languages as a child is incredibly difficult, especially when the teachers giving these lessons are not actually fully fluent in the language themselves. These struggles are exacerbated when there are limited materials in the classroom.

A lot of negative backlash came with the Westernization of South African education. The education given was focused on European values and skillsets. Moreover, the quality of this Western education varied according to one's skin color. Many argue that the colonial attempts to westernize the education system, especially in places like the townships where the resources and teachers were limited, have had negative effects post colonization. Attempting to westernize the poorest parts of the nation leads to confusion for the children when teachers struggle to understand what it means to teach a Western curriculum effectively without a complete grasp on it themselves. Historical context plays a big role in the development of the education in South Africa as it is seen today. The township children were losing a lot of their cultural roots and historical background while attending these European influenced schools. Simultaneously, while losing their roots, they were also not gaining anything in the "European world." These children would still be perceived as not good or competent enough as their white counterparts (Malinowksi 1943, 651). These racial tensions have major implications in the academic setting and can make students feel less than, unworthy, or not as 'valued' as their white comrades.

Many argue that the westernization of the education system was detrimental to the education of black South African children. Authors such as Nekhwevha emphasize how important it is to teach native culture and language, rather than pushing colonists agenda,

keeping black Africans oppressed and limited in opportunity. To support his argument, he explains that there has been no true successful growth in South Africa post apartheid. He claims that black South Africans have been 'stuck' since European colonists came and changed their way of life. In his article, Nekwevha also goes on to explain how the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) system in South Africa, a Western concept, is completely damaging to the South African education system. The lack of education or emphasis on African culture is a disservice to the children. He claims that the Outcomes Based Education system is very technical and cosmetic. He instead supports teaching a curriculum that is very much pro-African culture and experience as opposed to what he describes as Western hegemony (Nekhwevha 1999, 493). Nekhwevha does not believe that the system that was implemented post-apartheid is conducive to a positive learning environment for black South African children, and so this too can affect a child's thoughts and potential for attending university. Many argue and support the fact that reform needs to happen sooner rather than later. In his piece, Evans goes on to agree with points made by Nekhwevha, emphasizing the fact that reform is necessary. He goes on to say that the only way to change the social stratification currently present in South Africa is to change to the education system (Evans 1998, 537).

There need to be reforms of the current system and more of a focus on equity as opposed to equality. They focus on the transformative notion of quality, and how the quality of the education that is taught needs to cater to the students. Equity is not equality. Equality means everyone is given the same outcome, while equity means giving everyone what they need in order to attain the same outcome. Quality and access cannot be seen as two unrelated factors that need to be addressed separately, rather they are one in the same

and need to be tackled in unison to effect change on the education students are receiving to prepare them for success in university if they choose to pursue it (Akoojee and Nkomo 2007, 389). Although the government provides these students in the townships with the opportunity for an education, the main issue is the quality of the education provided. Furthermore, because these schools are located in the most rural areas of the country, regulating the schools and ensuring that everyone is staying on track can be difficult to monitor.

Gender also presents an issue when it comes to schooling in the townships. In her firsthand account, Mthewthwa-Sommers shares her experience as a young girl attending a grade school in the township. She mentions the "unofficial curriculum" in which female students were required to either come early or stay after school to help with the custodial duties of the schools because many townships schools do not have a staff for that. She also spoke of the female-specific classes that were taught just to the girls, such as sewing class (Mthethwa-Sommers 1999, 46). It is important to note that her article came only a few years after apartheid had ended, so the schools were still not completely reformed, but the question of accountability comes into play with her example. How does the government keep the schools accountable for teaching their curriculums? She argues that the schools even though they were not top notch, they still favored boys, and the boys were the ones who received a better education than their female classmates. Mthewthaw-Sommers's account is not an isolated incident, and it is challenging to tackle because of the issues in gender roles in South Africa. To eliminate the female-only classes would be difficult but possible. However, to change the mindset of many South African people who generally believe that men are superior to women is a different battle.

According to a S*outh African NGO Shadow Report*, there are still many facets of South African life that women continually find themselves marginalized in. When general education was made compulsory there was a stark increase in the amount of girls attending school. Strides have been made, but black women in South Africa continue to be the population group with the lowest level of any type of formal education across the nation. This is reflected in the fact that many girls living in the townships are still required to fill traditional "roles of women" such as fetching water, field labor, food preparation, etc. (Masimanyane Women's Support Centre 2011, 15). This relates to the "unofficial curriculum" that Mthethwa-Sommers experienced. Women find themselves in these other roles, perhaps not pursuing higher education because they see their roles in their families as more pressing.

The Department of Basic Education (DBE) is the government department that handles public South African education. Under the South African Schools Act, primary education is compulsory for all children ages 7-15. However the issue remains over the big difference between equality of access and equality of opportunity. The government has reacted to the needs of those living in extreme poverty: these schools have absolutely no fees, and must provide their students with at least one meal daily (Center for Education Innovations 2013, 4). The meal incentivizes parents who may see this as one less meal they need to work to provide for their child. The government has taken steps to ensure that township children receive an education — however their work is limited.

The government has made progressive change in South African education post-apartheid. For example, teachers are held to standards now: "Novel forms of assessment, qualification and certification have been introduced through an entirely new body, the

National Qualifications Framework (NQF). Teacher education is now provided under the auspices of the higher education sector" (Chisholm 2004, 1). These methods keep teachers accountable for what they are teaching in the townships and ideally find the most qualified teachers for students.

School fees are also another problem with the public education system in South Africa. These fees are technically optional, "optional in the sense that a school can impose such fees only when authorised to do so by a majority of parents…Once a fee is approved, however, all parents are required to pay it except those who, under a provision added in 1998, are exempted from doing so by action of the SGB because of their low income" (Fiske and Ladd 2004, 60). The money collected from these fees can be used by the school in whichever manner they choose. The fact that public schools can be supplemented by their communities collecting fees is an injustice to the school in townships where parents for the most part cannot afford extra fees in addition to uniforms, and therefore limits township schools in a manner that schools in wealthier communities are not. The fees have affected students' access to schools, with class beginning to replace race as the primary determinant of who is able to access the formerly white schools. Educational development and the emerging system have favored an expanding, racially mixed middle class, and not those in the townships, further marginalizing them.

Yet, in the townships there are still thousands of cases of schools not adequately preparing children for the completion of grade school. For example, the case study of the Khayelitsha Township on the Western cape of South Africa shows the disparities in the number of children who finish school and have the opportunity to go on to university (Casey 2013, 2). In 2013, 20 children from the Khayelitsha Township near Cape Town were

admitted into the University of Cape Town (UCT), a university with over 25,000 students. A total of 2,894 students from this township sat for the matriculation exams, similar to the SAT exam for admission into university. Of those 2,894 only 16% of these students received the bachelor's pass, which is the score necessary to pass the exam. This percentage is astonishing considering how many students actually sat down to take the exams.

Forty-six percent of students drop out between grade 8 and 12 in South Africa. In 2010 only 25% of those who sat for matric exams passed, and this is for all across the country. Those in the townships who choose to find a job after high school still require matric pass for most skilled jobs. Without the matric pass, they are limited to unskilled, low paying jobs. Furthermore, 5 years after matric, there is still only a 25% chance of finding a job for those who passed the matric exam (National Planning Commission, 2011).

To tackle the issue of children in the township who go to township high schools in hopes of passing the matric exam for university, there are "high-impact schools." These are schools that are part of the South African Extraordinary Schools coalition. The point of this coalition is to provide high levels of education for those living in extreme poverty, such as rural townships. Ten of the children who went on to UCT from the Khayelitsha township in the past example were graduates of COSAT (Casey 2013, 4). Casey's example gives quantitative data on the benefits of COSAT schools and how these types of programs help children from the townships get accepted to university. Nonetheless, the biggest issue that stems from COSAT schools is that not all schools in the townships can be COSAT schools, and there remains more to be more done to fix the current system in order to be able to have the positive results that examples of schools like COSAT schools have had.

In the past few decades, there have been examples of students going to university but being drastically underprepared for the caliber of work necessary to succeed while at university. Gregory Anderson gives his personal account of working in the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. He argues that township schools are not adequately providing their students with even the basic literacy skills needed for university. Therefore, how can these students even consider pursuing university when they are not even able to take exams at their respective university? The University of the Western Cape had to change its language rule from monolingualism (Afrikaans) to bilingualism (English and Afrikaans). Those coming from the most rural areas and townships struggled to be able to write full-length essays in either English or Afrikaans. The school implemented remedial programs, but Anderson's book, as reviewed by Colin Bundy, highlights the fact that the issues in education cannot simply be solved by allowing all students to go to whichever university they get in to so long as they pass their matric exams. Matric exams are exams taken during senior year of high school. What is important is that these students receive the proper fundamental education in the schools they attend as children (Bundy 2004, 190). He argues for better education pre-university so that these children do not find themselves extremely disadvantaged at university if they even get accepted into an institution of higher education.

Stellenbosch University is located on the Western Cape of South Africa and almost exclusively only offers courses in Afrikaans. There are some undergraduate level course offered in English, but there are few. The language barrier that the school presents fosters an environment of self-segregation. Afrikaans is the language of the White South Africans, therefore it can be expected that the overwhelming majority of students at Stellenbosch

University are white. It is not expected for children in the townships to ever be able to attend a school like Stellenbosch University because they now receive their instruction predominantly in Xhosa and English. The issue with a university like Stellenbosch is the debate over whether the school promotes segregation or language celebration.

There is a multitude of NGOs working in South Africa to help address the education gap that exists, particularly in the townships. One example is the Education Rights Project (ERP). They work in the townships to ensure that education rights are being met, and that children are ultimately provided with all they can be in terms of education through the government. The ERP works to ensure that all South Africans have access to a basic education, and proactively work with marginalized groups in society such as those living in poverty, women, early childhood development, and basic adult education. The most important take-away from their work and what they argue to be the most effective type of service in the area is to focus their work in the communities, working with well-established community organizations as opposed to trying to work on an individual level with parents and students separately (Thapliyal, Vally, and Spreen 2013, 214). By working with well-established community groups, they can directly work with other administration to address issues within the townships that might be overlooked. This relationship with community leaders also helps to legitimize their work, and become accepted into the township easier than they would have had they not had that relationship.

Ikamva Youth is another example of an NGO working to address education inequality in South Africa. However, Ikamva Youth does not limit itself to only working with Township children. This NGO focuses on after school facilities, providing a place for students to attend after school, a place where they can receive help with homework,

university/career advice, health education, computer skills, and mentoring programs. These programs are targeted for high school aged children. Ikamva Youth believes that all students need access to these types of resources and therefore does not exclusively focus on those living in extreme poverty in the townships. Ikamva Youth recognizes that there are also children who may live in poverty, just may not in the townships. Therefore they focus their attention on any child who is eager to learn, eager to pursue higher education and continue their educational career (Ikamva Youth 2012, 3). NGOs similar to Ikamva Youth emphasize the correlation between poverty and education levels. There are approximately 6,000 non-profits working in the education system in South Africa (Center for Education Innovations 2014, 3). These NGO's are helping with the South African government's shortcomings, but still all this work is still proving to not be enough to get township children into university.

In addressing the issue as to why children in the townships are not pursuing university, costs cannot be overlooked. University is expensive, and the cost can deter many students from even considering university. However, the South African government does provide quite the substantial financial aid program for those living in the most impoverished conditions across the country. The National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) provides both loans and bursaries (scholarships) for students pursuing higher education who cannot afford the tuition rates, apply for bank loans, etc. This type of aid seems ideal for children coming from the townships who cannot afford to pay the full price for university (National Student Financial Aid Scheme 2013, 2). Therefore although money may begin to deter a student from university, it is important to remember that the

government has addressed this financial issue in an attempt to get children from the townships to attend university.

Because children coming from the townships are now at least starting to attend university, it has become important for universities to tackle the issues associated with diversity of race and socioeconomic status in their environments. South African universities are making strides towards educating their students on diversity and how this diversity plays a role in the globalized world they find themselves in. Moreover, this plays a role in making students feel welcome at a university (Cross 2004, 401). For many leaving the townships, going away to university is the first time that they may have been living in somewhere other than the townships, and there are a lot of differences to overcome and adjustments to be made. This transition can extremely overwhelming for a first year student. Many universities have begun to implement issues of racial diversity into university curriculum. Furthermore, in his article Cross gives examples of steps universities have taken to make their campuses diversity friendly, understanding and accepting students from different races, backgrounds, etc.

University in South Africa is only three years in comparison to the traditional Western four years of schooling. Although advances have been made to reform the current South African education system, the children coming from the townships still find themselves at disadvantage when it comes to pursuing a university degree. The work of NGO's in attempting to bridge the gap and address the multiple issues that contribute to a student's decision in choosing to pursue university has yielded amazing results thus far, however there still remains a large population of children who are not being addressed.

The lasting effects of the apartheid era and the stigmas associated with the poor living in the townships in addition to the lack of funding from the government for education reform is preventing students from the townships from pursuing higher education.

The weak public school system has low passing rate on the matric exam, limiting students in applying university or jobs with higher wages. In addition, in the townships lack of access to health care, community services, water, sanitation, internet, public transport, library all contribute to a child's standard of living and intersects with their educational prospects.

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12. From Zero Tolerance to Restorative Practice: Keeping Students in School

Yanyi Weng

On November 9, 2012, seventh grader Rosa repeatedly teased her classmate Josiah in art class. The two exchanged insults and threats until Josiah went over to the art teacher to ask for a pair of scissors. Josiah held the scissors open and placed it against Rosa's neck. Josiah did not take any further action, and he eventually broke down in tears. Without giving Josiah the opportunity to explain himself, the principal immediately sent him to a psychiatric day program and he was also suspended for 90 days (Pownall 2013, 19).

Little did the principal know, Josiah had been continuously bullied and beaten up since the beginning of middle school. When Josiah's mother attempted to seek help from the teachers and the principal every Wednesday for two months, there was no response. When the incident happened, Josiah's mother did not even receive a written notice as required by Chancellor's Regulations. This caused her to miss three days of work just to get Josiah enrolled in the psychiatric day program. Upon his release, the psychiatrist concluded that Josiah went through a "history of trauma, depression and disruptiveness. Josiah has no history of violence towards others and if ever there was aggression towards others, it was in response to provocation by his peers, who bully him" (Pownall 2013, 21). Despite Josiah's outburst in school, it was clear that he was suffering emotionally and he might even be eligible to receive special education. However, instead of helping Josiah, the teachers and principal simply punished Josiah for his threatening behavior. They made sure that Josiah was suspended for 90 days and was kept out of their school.

Introduction

School is an educational environment where students of all ability levels and backgrounds learn the necessary academic skills to articulate their ideas, exchange knowledge, and explore the possibilities of the world. Unfortunately most schools in the U.S. fall short of this vision. Policies created to foster quality education and school safety for all students often fail to meet their intended outcomes. One of the major policies is the zero tolerance policy. Studies have indicated that the zero tolerance policy make students who are struggling in school become more vulnerable to receiving undeservedly harsh punishment for minor offenses (Pownall 2013). This is especially true for students of color and students with special needs. The zero tolerance policy is the main contributor

sustaining the School-To-Prison-Pipeline phenomenon, which is a system that pushes students into the criminal justice system directly from school settings (Pownall 2013, 45).

Research Question

In order to deconstruct the School-To-Prison-Pipeline phenomenon, it is important to focus on the "school" part as a preventive measure for students. By advocating for more preventive measures at the school level and by analyzing the rationale behind the zero tolerance policy implementations and its evidence-based outcomes, this chapter justifies the abandonment of zero tolerance policy. As an alternative to zero tolerance, this chapter will argue for the restorative approach. How can policy shifts from the zero tolerance approach to a more restorative approach reduce student suspension, expulsion and incarceration rates and dismantle the School-To-Prison-Pipeline? How can the restorative approach encourage students to practice conflict resolution skills through face-to-face conferences? Can a hybrid approach, a combination of restorative and zero tolerance approach, become another alternative for disciplinary actions? This chapter will examine the current landscape of the zero tolerance policy and its major criticisms. It will then examine the restorative approach and its challenges as well as providing examples from South Africa and New Zealand. Lastly, this chapter will explore the concept of a hybrid approach to better foster a safer learning environment in school.

Rationale for the Zero Tolerance Policy in the 1990s

In the 1980s, federal drug policy adopted a zero tolerance approach to send the clear message that any amount of illegal drug possession will not be tolerated and violators

will be charged in a federal court. The zero tolerance approach eventually turned into the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994, a national policy which mandates that all schools receiving federal funding are to expel students with gun possession for at least a year (Skiba 2000). As a result, the zero tolerance policy was adopted to deal with the increasing gang involvement, drug usage, and weapons possession in schools. California, New York, and Kentucky were among the first schools to adopt these policies. Other states expand zero tolerance policies to include less severe offenses like smoking or even disruptive behavior (Skiba 2000).

Administrators favor zero tolerance policy because it removes troublemakers from school and it sets a serious tone for potential violators (Skiba 2000). On April 20, 1999, an incident now known as the Columbine Massacre scarred and scared many administrators, educators, parents and students. It was the day when students Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold killed 12 of their peers and teachers before committing suicide (Community Matters 2009). This incident provides clues as to why 9 out of 10 principals state that tough discipline policies, including the zero tolerance policy, were absolutely essential for keeping schools safe, regardless of the increase in suspensions and expulsions (National School Safety Center 2006). By removing these troublemakers, administrators hope to foster a safer learning environment for rest of the students. They favor zero tolerance policy because it "is simple to understand, sounds tough, and gives the impression of high standards for behavior" (Curwin and Mendler 1999, 120).

Major Criticisms of the Zero Tolerance Policy

Criticism #1: Combining Major and Minor Offenses

One of the major criticisms of zero tolerance policies is the focus on disproportionate punishment. Originally designed to stop drug flow in school, zero tolerance policies became a major concern when they were implemented to punish all major and minor offenses alike. Skiba (2000, 6) clearly addresses the problems of zero tolerance policy below:

> The most frequent disciplinary events with which schools wrestle are minor disruptive behaviors such as tardiness, class absence, disrespect, and noncompliance. A broad policy that seeks to punish both minor and major disciplinary events equally will, almost by definition, result in the punishment of a small percentage of serious infractions, and a much larger percentage of relatively minor misbehavior.

He argues that while the goals of zero tolerance policies are well intended, they cause controversy because they require administrators to punish major and minor offenses with similar degrees of severity. In one example, zero tolerance policy caused a 10-year-old to be expelled from school for possessing a knife in her lunch box, even though it was revealed later that the knife was placed by her mother to help her cut an apple in her lunch (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force 2008, 852). This example shows that administrators often ignore the intentions behind certain actions and enforce uniform policies for all cases regardless of their severity. There are many more individual cases like these, and they all raise concerns about the effectiveness of the zero tolerance policy.

Criticism #2: Security Measures Intensify Teacher and Student Relationships

The study findings of Caton (2012) provide a concrete example supporting Skiba's claim regarding the ineffectiveness of the zero tolerance policy. Based on a qualitative study of 10 black males who recently dropped out of high school, Caton (it was a mistake. Sorry! I rechecked the original article,. Caton was the only one who worked on the

research.)(2012) identified several factors that contributed to their situation, the first being that under the zero tolerance policy schools create a hostile environment instead of a learning environment for black males. Caton write, "These men stated that they not only had to participate in body and bag searches, live-feed security cameras, ID card scanning, metal detectors but were also the target of insults from the security guards on several occasions" (2012, 1064). This example shows how security measures under the zero tolerance policy tend to be very intrusive towards students and create an environment of distrust. While the goal of the zero tolerance policy is to improve school climate and foster safer schools, Caton'sfinding challenges the effectiveness of its implementation. They show that the zero tolerance policy negatively impacted students' relationships with the school by creating distrust between the student body and the administrators.

Secondly, the surveillance system, ID card scanning, metal detector, and the security guards who are placed in the position of power were meant to reinforce school safety. However, research findings showed rather different results. Surveillance systems proved ineffective in reducing school violence (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force 2008; Caton 2012). In fact the presence of these systems is associated with "greater student experience with violence, and greater student fear of violence" (Skiba 2000, 9). In addition, security guards with disrespectful attitudes can lead to discriminatory treatment of black male students. Often times, black male students are disproportionately targeted for body searches (Caton 2012).

Lastly, constant suspensions and expulsions further marginalize these black males in school. Students who were being kicked out of the classroom or were suspended were losing time from their learning. The ten black males who dropped out of high school came

to a consensus that zero tolerance policy disrupted their learning and eventually cost them the price of their education (Caton 2012).

Criticism # 3: Marginalization of Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds

One of the goals of the zero tolerance policy is to reinforce consistent school discipline (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force 2008). Caton (2012), however, suggested different results on the impact of zero tolerance policy. They found that this policy actually displayed inconsistency in school discipline, especially when it comes to black students and students with special needs. Hoffman (2014) provided a concrete example supporting Caton claim. He conducted an analysis of a district that adopted the zero tolerance policy in the 2007-2008 school year. The research finding shows an increase on recommendations for expulsion in all students, especially black students. White students' expulsion recommendation rates after the zero tolerance implementation went from 0.3% to 0.5% as black students' expulsion recommendation rates doubled from 2.2% to 4.5%. This result is consistent with other study findings that emphasize the overrepresentation of black students getting involved in suspension and expulsion (APA Zero Tolerance Task Force 2008; Caton 2012; Houchins and Shippen 2012; Skiba 2000). These findings show that zero tolerance policies do not provide consistent school discipline because they disproportionately punish students of color.

The number of suspensions in New York City schools drastically increased from roughly 29,000 in 2001 to almost 70,000 in 2011, with black students making up more than 50 percent of the suspension population and black students with disabilities being the most vulnerable student group of all (Pownall 2013). In a similar finding, over half of the

Texas student population were suspended or expelled between grades 7 and 12 from 2000 to 2009 (Fowler 2012). Additionally, African-American students are 31 percent more likely to receive disciplinary action and go through trials in adult criminal court system despite their young age. In terms of the special education students, about three-quarters of them were suspended or expelled from 2000-2009 (Fowler 2012). All of this data leads to serious suspicion regarding the racial and ability bias and discrimination in school-based arrests, suspensions and expulsions. It also calls for better interventions to help the school's most vulnerable groups, the students of color and students with disability, rather than pushing them out of the education system through disciplinary actions (Christensen 2012).

Findings of Restorative Approach

While it is difficult to eliminate behavior misconduct and weapon possession in school, effective policies can drastically decrease these behaviors and foster a safer and more empowering environment for the students. There is no research done that shows that zero tolerance policy contributes to the decrease of weapon possession and behavioral misconduct within the school (Knefel 2013). As criticisms for zero tolerance policies grew, some schools took on a different approach to deal with disciplinary issues.

An alternative for zero tolerance policies is restorative practices. From a philosophical standpoint, restorative practices are based on the theory of restorative justice. Zehr (2002, 37), the leading voice in advocating for restorative justice provides this definition: "Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense to collectively identify and address harms, needs and

obligations in order to heal and put things as right as possible." Instead of focusing on how the offender breaks the law and deserves punishment as addressed by the zero tolerance policy, the restorative justice approach shifts the focus from the offender to the victims and the needs of the victims. This theory holds the offender accountable to repair the harm being done to the victim and engages all the involved parties to resolve problems through conversation.

This section will discuss the success and limits of restorative practices in schools. Schools in Minnesota, Colorado, and Pennsylvania adopted restorative practices based programs to improve the school community. In these three settings, restorative justice programs show successful results in reducing exclusionary disciplinary actions such as suspension by focusing on care rather than fear (Karp and Breslin 2001).

A report prepared by the Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning (1996) suggested that creating alternative disciplinary practice, such as reintegrating offenders and repairing harm done to victims rather than merely punishing the offender, proves to be more beneficial to the overall school community. Rather than sending the students with drug or weapon possession directly to the juvenile court, most Minnesota schools with restorative practice implementation would involve the students, school administrators, and parents in a restorative conference. The goal of the restorative conference is to create a protective environment for the student to learn from his or her mistake and receive support from her school and home community.

Karp and Breslin's (2001) research finding supports the Minnesota Department of Children, Families and Learning's insistence on restorative practice. While the 5-year restorative practice program was not meant to replace traditional discipline practices, one

of the Minnesota public schools had a 27% reduction in the number of expulsions and suspensions in the first year of its implementation as another school had the number of violent referrals decreased to more than half its original rate.

According to Browne-Dianis's (2011) finding that focuses on the implementation of restorative practices in Denver schools, there was a 40 percent reduction in suspensions in the last seven years and a 68 percent decline in referrals to law enforcement in the last three years. This dramatic reduction in suspension and violent referrals reflect the same trend in Minnesota after the implementation of restorative practices. While the reduction in statistics does not necessary indicate the quality of disciplinary practice, the reduction in statistics does indicate that more students are staying in school and more students are given a second chance to learn from their mistakes, instead of being suspended from school or sent to juvenile court for minor offenses.

It may sound counterintuitive to proponents of the zero tolerance policy, but being more tolerant in major and minor offenses in school is a practical way to prevent students from being looped into the School-To-Prison-Pipeline. It also allows the school community to bond over relationship-oriented conflict resolution (Coetzee 2005). All three of these study findings suggest that restorative practices provide more support and protection for all students, especially the historically targeted groups: black students, GLBTQ students, students with low socio-economic background, and students with special needs.

In South Africa, restorative approaches are implemented for students who are at high risk of getting into trouble due to their background with poverty, child abuse, and HIV/AIDS. The version of the restorative approach used in South Africa is The Circle of Courage Model. This model provides support to these students by allowing the offender to

repair the harm being done to the victim through face-to-face conferences (Coetzee 2005). While Coetzee's study did not include qualitative analysis, Varnham (2005) found successful outcomes with a similar restorative approach in Queensland, New Zealand. These successful outcomes include participants feeling highly satisfied with the process and its outcome, low reoffending rate, and a majority of offenders feeling accepted, cared about and more closely connected to other conference participants following conferencing (Varnham 2005, 96-97). As a result of the successful outcomes, almost "all schools in the trial reported they had changed their thinking about managing behavior from a punitive to a more restorative approach" (Varnham 2005, 97). Both Coetzee and Varnham's study findings suggest positive outcomes from restorative approaches that are taking place outside of the United States.

Challenges and Limitations of Restorative Approach

Just as there is no perfect policy to approach a complex issue, a restorative approach as a disciplinary tool has its challenges and limitations. Educators who are skeptical about the restorative approach question its practical implementation in the school-wide level. Since this approach requires the victim, the offender, family members and school administrators to attend the reconciling conference, it is often time consuming for all parties. A restorative approach to conflict resolution may not be successful when one of the parties is unable to attend the conference (Reyneke 2011, 140).

Restorative conferences focus on addressing the needs of the victim in order to ensure "opportunity to strengthen self-expression, self-identification, self-determination, self-fulfillment, self-respect, and self-worth" (Reyneke 2011, 140). These are empowering

concepts for the victim. However, sometimes healing is a long process and one restorative conference may not be sufficient to restore relationships. In order to maximize the opportunity for all the self-empowering concepts, the victim, the offender, the family, and the school must be willing to commit time and energy to a face-to-face conversation.

Another challenge to the restorative approach is related to the implementation method. Since many administrators and educators are still skeptical about the restorative approach, research findings reveal two different implementation approaches to restorative practices: the first approach shows implementation on the whole school and the second approach focuses the so-called "pocket approach,", which deals with smaller communities within the school (Du Rose and Skinns 2013). Du Rose and Skinns argue that a restorative approach on the whole school level would be more beneficial. When the entire staff is on board to adopt this approach, it becomes more effective because everyone is working towards the same goal. However, they found that only one out of the four experimental schools adopted the whole school approach. The rest of the three adopted the pocket approach where restorative approach is applied in minor offenses. Major offenses are reserved to the traditional punitive zero tolerance policy (Du Rose and Skinns 2013, 196-204). This approach does not always work because it does not provide consistency for the students, tending to adopt one extreme form of dealing with misbehavior over another.

Alternative Hybrid Approach

It is important to keep in mind that the restorative approach only serves as an alternative solution for zero tolerance policy and is not meant to be completely replaced zero tolerance policy in all cases. In cases of serious offenses such as rape and sexual

assault, restorative conference between the victim and the offender is not necessarily recommended (Reyneke 2011, 157). While there should be no tolerance for serious offenses like rape and gun possession, offenders should be able to receive a fair trial with school administrators before being handed to the police. It is true that serious offenses such as those mentioned above should be considered a criminal act, but it is important to give students a voice to present and defend their case. The final result of being sent to the police may not change, but the process gives students more opportunity to learn from their mistakes.

In New York City schools, there are two types of suspension. The first type, through which students can be suspended multiple times in a school year, is the principal's suspension, which normally lasts up to five days. The second type is the superintendent's suspension, which can last up to a full academic year, or 180 days. The average suspension day of this type is 23 days. While it is unimaginable to consider the loss of learning opportunity for students receiving superintendent's suspension, there is one positive element of this process. Students who receive superintendent's suspension are entitled to a hearing with the presence of witnesses and evidence (Pownall 2013, 7). This entitlement for a hearing should be extended to even the principal's suspension so students get a chance to present their case before getting suspended.

The zero tolerance policy, however, often did not provide this opportunity and instead forced students into the harsh criminal justice system without a buffer. In order to still allow the possibility of restorative approach, the victim should have the final say on whether or not he or she wants to hold a conference with the offender in order to avoid secondary victimization (Reyneke 2011, 157). This approach will also paralyze the School-

To-Prison Pipeline by reminding students that their voices matter and that they are heard. Often times, administrators' hands are tied because they have to follow the law, which requires them to send student offenders directly to the police. Many states, however, are currently considering legislation that modifies this policy to better suit the students' needs.

Current Case Study

With the overwhelming amount of research findings on the ineffectiveness of the zero tolerance policy, and the advocates for its abandonment ranging from non-governmental organizations to policy makers, administrators, educators and parents, government representatives are making changes in the state policy level. On September 27, 2014, California Governor Jerry Brown signed a bill to limit power of school authority on student expulsion, which is the first bill of its kind to be signed in the country. The California Legislative report (California Legislature 2014) explains the effects of the bill:

> The bill would eliminate the authority to suspend a pupil enrolled in kindergarten or any of grades 1 to 3, inclusive, and the authority to recommend for expulsion a pupil enrolled in kindergarten or any of grades 1 to 12, inclusive, for disrupting school activities or otherwise willfully defying the valid authority of those school personnel engaged in the performance of their duties (par. 2).

While this act limits the power of authorities' to issue suspensions, the new limitation is only applicable to students from grades 1 to 3. This is still an improvement to the zero tolerance policy as it protects these young students from being suspended. From a restorative approach, the authority to suspend a pupil should be entirely abandoned at all grade levels in order to provide a nurturing environment for victims to address their pain and allow offenders to repair that hurt in a protected environment.

The original draft of this bill included much more restorative factors that are closer to the hybrid approach mentioned above. For example, section K, part 2 of the original draft stated that a student can only be suspended after his or her third offense and after receiving other opportunities for correction (California Legislative 2014). In this example, the hybrid approach is reflected when a student is given chances to correct his or her mistakes instead of being sent directly to juvenile court. However, part 2 was likely removed from the bill because it would be difficult to implement. Terms such as "other opportunities for correction" are too ambiguous. It is often up to the school administrators to determine the parameter for "other opportunities for correction" before a student is suspended. Nonetheless, as long as current and future policies continue to move toward a hybrid approach that incorporates restorative approaches and modifies versions of zero tolerance policies, the country will become closer to creating a student-centered, restorative-oriented, and positive-learning school environment.

Conclusion

After reviewing and evaluating study findings on the zero tolerance policy and restorative approaches, I advocate for greater incorporation of hybrid approaches in schools. By providing preventive measures with the restorative approaches, School-To-Prison-Pipeline will be weakened as schools take on the responsibility to keep students in classes, instead of sending them directly from classrooms to prison for offenses of all levels. With the hybrid approach, students who have been hurt will be given a chance to have conferences with their offenders. Students with major offenses will be given an appropriate

environment to learn from their mistakes before directly proceeding to suspension, expulsion or juvenile court.

Based on the consensus of the research studies in the recent years, restorative approach programs are helping to reduce school suspension and expulsions, keeping the students in school, and giving voices to black students and students with special needs. If more schools in the U.S. can implement this approach, more students will be able to stay in school and learn in school, not just through academics but also personal growth.

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13. Rehabilitation Success in Correlation to Recidivism Rates in the United States Prison Systems

Erik Gore

Dietrich Pennington is a 59-year-old African-American Army veteran from Oakland, California. Twenty years ago Pennington was ordered to serve a life sentence for robbery, kidnapping, and attempted murder. After sixteen years in a state prison he was transferred to a Solitary Housing Unit (SHU) at Pelican Bay, California. Prison officials speculated that Dietrich's journal containing quotes from Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X was an underground system of communicating with prison gangs. Since arriving at Pelican Bay he has not spoken with his family, he has not met any of his seven grandchildren, he is allowed outside for one hour a day, his cell has no windows, and he must defecate in front of his cell due to "security risks" that prison guards enforce; essentially, due to perceived threats from these prisoners they are not allowed private bathrooms. He is not allowed books and he is unable to attend alcohol and substance abuse programs that were once a staple of his daily life in state prison. Pennington's case is only one of 81,622 cases in the United States. The number of people in solitary confinement in the United States is more than the number of total prisoners in France, Germany, Spain, Japan, England, Australia, Scotland, Turkey, and Nigeria. Pennington faces a life sentence but has been placed in solitary for an indeterminate amount of time. Solitary confinement is the worst form of incarceration in the United States, but even mass murderers and serial offenders are treated more humanely in other countries.

In July 2011 Anders Breivik went on a massive shooting spree that resulted in 77 deaths and was one of the largest single man terrorist attacks in history. Breivik was sent

to Ila, Norway's highest security prison. The facility appears very much like a standard prison; high concrete walls cast a foreboding shadow over the surrounding area and fences encircle the entire perimeter. Due to the seriousness of Breivik's crime he will serve at least the first year of his 21-year sentence in solitude – Norway has no life or death sentence. But inside the prison walls is where the United States and Norway differ so dramatically. Breivik's first year will consist of isolation in his own special wing that includes a room for exercise, a room for reading and writing, and his own comfortable sleeping quarters. He has his own open-air yard that he will be able to travel in and out of at will. In due time Breivik, like all other prisoners in Norway, will be granted more rights in hopes of rehabilitating him as a human being. These include giving him jobs and tasks to do, allowing him to go to school, and receiving a daily stipend for his work. The difference between the U.S. prison system and Norway's are vast, but the main difference comes down to the fact that Norwegian prisons aim to treat their prisoners like human beings, allowing them human rights that are unheard of in U.S. prisons. This explains how Norway has the lowest recidivism rate in the world; only 20% of offenders had been convicted for another crime five years after release as compared to 67% in the United States (Graunbøl. et al. 2010). Although the differences between the two countries are extraordinary, one must question why the United States cannot take further measures to successfully rehabilitate and reduce recidivism rates among its prison population. Further analysis of the two countries will be examined later in this chapter, but first a review of facts, laws, and literature will take place in order to provide the reader with a brief background of the United States prison system.

This chapter will examine, critique, and propose methods used for the rehabilitation of inmates and the correlation with recidivism. More specifically, this paper aims to address the question of whether the use of successful rehabilitation techniques has a direct affect upon recidivism rates. This research theorizes that the proper use of rehabilitation techniques, along with other factors such as external support and improved education can lower recidivism rates and help improve the lives of offenders.

At the end of 2011 the United States had 2,266,800 adults incarcerated in federal, state, and county jails. An additional 4,814,200 adults were under probation or parole; in total, approximately 3% of adults in the U.S. residential population were under some sort of correctional supervision (Jones 2014). This signifies that the United States contributes to nearly one quarter of the world's total prison population, despite only comprising 5% of the global population (Deady 2014, 1). In order to provide a more detailed analysis of the U.S. prison system it is essential to examine who is in these prisons.

Since the War on Drugs began in the 1970s, the United States prison population has quadrupled from 500,000 to 2.3 million people (Durose, Cooper, and Snyder 2014). Unfortunately, this increase is largely skewed towards incarcerating certain racial and ethnic groups. 93% of inmates are men with women constituting the remaining 7%. As of 2006, 40% of inmates considered themselves African American and 20% considered themselves Hispanic, thus totaling 60% of the prison population despite only accounting for 30% of the U.S. total population. This means that African American males have a 32% chance of serving time in prison, Hispanic males have a 17% chance, and white males have a 6% chance. African Americans now constitute nearly one million of the incarcerated population, totaling 2.3 million, and are incarcerated at almost six times the rate of white

males, further emphasizing the disparity among the prison population. If African American and Hispanic males were incarcerated at the same rate as white males the total prison population would decline by nearly 50% (NAACP 2014). So why are African American and Hispanic males incarcerated on such a dramatic scale compared to white males?

The answer to this question is found in American history. Since the beginning of slavery African Americans have been deemed as inferior to whites. After the Civil War a hope for equality emerged for the historically marginalized population; however, following the failure of Reconstruction a series of laws were enforced in the Southern half of the United States. These laws, more commonly referred to as Pig Laws were directly aimed at reprimanding African Americans and placed heavy sanctions upon actions that they were more likely to commit. These laws were enforced only upon African Americans and included unemployment being punishable by a $50 fine, a fine for walking alongside a railroad track, and imprisonment for stealing a pig (Davis 2003). These non-violent offenses for African American population led to a dramatic increase in criminal convictions; punishments and prison sentences were extremely harsh and were described as "slavery by another name" (Davis 2003, 3). Pig Laws led to the emergence of Jim Crow laws and were implemented on a massive scale throughout the United States. These laws could impose legal punishments on anyone interacting with African-Americans, creating intense segregation that lasted into the 1960s. Only two decades after the Emancipation Proclamation was enacted, a new era began that enforced harsh laws aimed at further suppressing the African American population.

The 1960s brought about another historic win for African Americans with the Civil Rights Era, led by Martin Luther King Jr. Finally blacks were considered legally equal and

desegregation spread throughout the United States, but again the U.S. government placed a series of laws that revoked many of the accomplishments gained during the Civil Rights Era. This new set of laws was masked as the War on Drugs, and although a strong idea in policy, it led to the reincarnation of Pig Laws and Jim Crow laws. Politicians and lawmakers were fearful that urban drug use would find a way into the richer suburbs, so the War on Drugs had an underlying logic of arresting those who commit petty crimes with federal charges, thus leading to a pattern of racially skewed arrests and convictions for minor drug crimes. These laws once again led to a dramatic increase of African Americans and lower-income populations within prisons, ensuring that voting and basic human rights were revoked from a significant population in the United States (Davis 2003, 8). This is not speculation: approximately five times as many whites use drugs as African-Americans, but the latter population is convicted for drug related crimes at ten times the rate of the former (NAACP 2014). Furthermore, due to mandatory minimum sanctioning, zero tolerance policies, and "Three Strikes" laws, African Americans serve approximately the same time in prison for drug offenses as whites do for violent crimes, 58.7 months compared to 61.7 months, respectively (NAACP 2014). These discriminant laws lead to a cycle of poverty and re-incarceration that harm lower-income communities; furthermore, they have created a system that consciously arrests more African Americans and Hispanics despite whites committing the same crimes on a more prevalent basis.

In addition, this discriminant action has created a new socially conscious campaign against police brutality that is aimed at minority populations. Recent events in Ferguson, Missouri, Staten Island, New York, and Cleveland, Ohio have only heightened angry sentiments against our legal system that appear to have a direct vendetta against minority

populations. Adult males are not the only ones affected; African Americans represent 26% of juvenile arrests, 44% of the youth who are detained, and 58% of youth that are entered into state prisons (NAACP 2014). Because of the weak rehabilitation techniques and massive recidivism rates this creates a cycle that breeds continuous reoffending, disenfranchisement, and self-fulfilling prophecies for lower income communities, as well as fear and misunderstanding amongst richer populations. Communities that see their friends, parents, children, and siblings arrested and rearrested on a regular basis quickly develop feelings that they are destined for the same fate. Not only has the War on Drugs been deemed a massive failure in terms of stopping drug use throughout the United States, but it also has continued a cycle of repression that is embedded in law and history.

These laws have created a direct violation of human rights. Certain groups are being targeted by the legal system and have to live under the constant fear of being treated unequally, even by a system that is supposed to protect and provide security to all of its citizens. The prison system as a whole needs to be changed in order to provide equal opportunities to all populations, to prevent the number of convictions for petty crimes, to reduce taxpayer spending, and to empower minority populations so that all may live with basic human rights. An outright change of policy is improbable due to historical stigma; however, by implementing small changes to the rehabilitation of offenders within prisons society will be able to gradually make changes to the larger scheme of the legal system. The goal is to reduce recidivism and provide a correctional system that is just, fair, and treats all inmates as humans, regardless of gender, age, socioeconomic status, and race. To further understand the direction that United States prisons should take this chapter will now

critique current literature and examine agreements, disagreements, and gaps in said literature.

The United States boasts a 67.5% recidivism rate (Durose, Cooper, and Snyder 2014) within three years of release. Proper rehabilitation is necessary in order to reduce crime rates, empower marginalized populations, educate criminals upon proper social actions (i.e., what actions are deemed acceptable or unacceptable within society), and diminish taxpayer spending. Before examining the literature, two important terms will be defined: first, rehabilitation refers to the techniques used by correctional facilities to teach, empower, and ready inmates for reentry in society. Second, recidivism is the rate at which released prisoners are rearrested, retried, and reincarcerated into the prison system.

Comparisons to Scandinavian prison systems will be made throughout the following pages in order to emphasize the importance of certain characteristics for successful rehabilitation techniques. The reasons for comparison to Scandinavian prisons are numerous. These countries focus on rehabilitation instead of punishment and have remarkably lower recidivism rates – Norway in particular boasts a 20% reincarceration rate, the lowest in the world (Deady 2014, 3). The general attitude in these countries is that repressive systems do not work, but rather by treating prisoners humanely they will be more successful in reintegrating into society. Besides the freedom of movement, Scandinavian prisons focus on providing all basic human rights; they allow prisoners to make their own decisions, house them in clean and livable environments, and allow daily interaction in order to breed a sense of community (Kjelsberg, Skoglund, and Rustad 2007, 181). Furthermore, the release program for Scandinavian prisons is different compared to the United States. Offenders are reconsidered for release on a cyclical basis, so rather than

being released after a certain number of years inmates are released depending on whether they are more likely to reoffend or not (Deady 2014, 3). Those that show marked improvements in behavior have a higher chance of being released, whereas those that do not remain in the system until further reevaluation (Deady 2014, 3). This not only gives prisoners incentive to work hard towards rehabilitation but also provides their societies trust in the justice system and an empathetic understanding of prisoners post release.

In the past thirty years research of prison rehabilitation and recidivism rates of U.S. inmates has increased. DiVento (2012) suggests that interest has recently spiked due to social and political concerns regarding the current conditions of prisons and their inmates. The U.S. prison population has significantly increased since the War on Drugs began, and because of this many prisons are overpopulated, parole boards are more lenient, and recidivism rates have boosted (Adams et al., 1994). The following pages will highlight, critique, and link past research in hopes of presenting a stronger basis for further research and direction.

Researchers now agree upon a number of points. Lathrop (2011) found that involvement in prison programs has a major impact upon recidivism rates. Vacca (2004) further declared that prison programs are correlated with less recidivism, less violence, and a more positive prison environment. However, this evidence does not conclude that all prison education programs are positive in reducing recidivism; in fact, many prisoners choose not to participate in programs. This is often due to oversized classrooms, lack of certified and knowledgeable teachers, length of classes, type of class, inmates' and administrators' goals and feelings towards one another, and prisoners' self-concept (Jones 2014; Lathrop 2011; Seiter and Kadela, 2003; Vacca 2004). These studies also discovered

that the prison conditions have an effect upon prisoner enrollment in education programs: when conditions are poor the inmate population is less productive, thus leading to a more negative atmosphere.

Scandinavian prison systems are particularly strong in offering these sorts of programs to their prisoners. Prisoners are encouraged to participate in programs, and with such a heavy reliance upon these programs Scandinavian prisons do an excellent job of providing quality teachers and curriculum (Berman 2004, 93). Due to the small populations within Scandinavian systems, programs are not overcrowded (Deady 2014, 3). Swedish prisons offer a Reasoning and Rehabilitation program that focuses on providing pro-social short-term improvements in terms of personal reasons for committing crimes and attitudes towards authority. Participants in the three-year program had a 25% lower risk of recidivism compared to the control group (Berman 2004, 98). The United States should make an effort to reproduce this productive atmosphere within their programs to boost inmate participation.

Research emphasizes that the relationship between inmates and administrators plays a strong role in determining the success of an educational program. Szejner (2009) found that successful rehabilitation depends upon whether the educational program staff has a strong desire to educate individuals. Furthermore, an inmate's self-concept, motivation, and ability to see clear opportunity to improve capabilities for employment can determine whether he or she will avoid reincarceration (Vacca 2004). Inmate self-concept plays a large role in lowered recidivism rates; the individual must have an attitude to deep commitment and desire to change. DiVento (2012) claims that this is one of the three essential properties to lowering recidivism. California policymakers attempted to boost

inmate self-concept through an experimental wildfire prison where inmates worked together to fight forest fires. The results turned out positive; the camps were more productive and more positive compared to nearby prisons (Goodman 2012). This is most likely due to the empowerment that the camps offered. Inmates worked together, were supported and acknowledged by the community, were taught a strong sense of work ethic, and were streamlined into local firefighting jobs. By providing support, a meaningful goal, and an opportunity to gain post-release employment, the camp was able to successfully reduce recidivism. To further emphasize this point, Seiter (2003) concluded that vocational training and work release programs both reduce recidivism and improve job readiness skills. He further clarified that substance abuse programs, violent offender programs, and sexual offender programs display promising results for lowering recidivism. Scandinavian prisons offer jobs, tasks, and vocational training to their inmates while also providing classes and daily stipends to further incentivize participation. Tasks include cooking, teaching classes, cutting down trees for firewood, gardening, and farming. Classes are numerous: cooking, law, and even 3-D printing are available (Deady 2014, 4). The goal is to empower prisoners to feel like they are capable of doing something besides committing crimes; they refrain from treating inmates in an abusive and neglectful manner and instead focus on building confidence and compassion.

However, support must not only come from within the prison, but also from outside of it. Inmates who recorded more visiting hours reported a more dedicated attitude to leave and remain out of prison (Hoffman and Beck 1984.) This is potentially correlated to familial and parental roles that inmates play. Families and in-prison education systems are not enough; research shows that parole boards and support post-release have a massive

affect upon reincarceration rates (Ostermann 2013). In this study Osterman found that being on any form of parole reduces recidivism by 1%, but when compared to active parole boards the recidivism rate decreases to 8%. This is one of the significant reasons as to why recidivism rates are so high in the United States; as parole boards become weaker and more lenient, more released offenders commit crimes. Furthermore, the study concluded that parole boards do not have long-lasting effects unless the released offender enrolls in some form of program supervision; therefore, individualized post release plans should be forged for each released inmate (DiVento 2012). This is another strong point in Scandinavian prison systems. The governments guarantee a strong safety net in which they ensure released prisoners with housing, employment, education, health care, and support programs for substance abuse, violent offenders, and sexual offenders (Deady 2014, 3).

As noted by past research, recidivism is lowered when inmates are provided with certain conditions. Due to the current state of the prison system not every condition is met, but researchers have highlighted those that are directly correlated with lower recidivism: availability and type of programs, conditions within the prison, mutual positive attitudes amongst prison staff and prisoners, and a strong support system during and post release. By fulfilling these conditions prisons would have lower recidivism rates, thus improving relations between the prisoner population and society.

Although scholars agree upon many results much research is still debated concerning prison rehabilitation techniques and the correlation to recidivism. The main discrepancy amongst the research regards whether private prisons are more successful in lowering recidivism rates compared to public prisons. Public prisons are government-funded penitentiaries run on federal, state, and county systems. These prisons were the

standard form of incarceration up until the dramatic influx of prisoners in the 1980s. Since then private prisons have become more and more popular as the government looks to privately-owned companies to handle problems of overcrowding and insufficient conditions. Private companies now own 264 facilities and house nearly 100,000 inmates, emphasizing how vast the for-profit business of privately owned incarceration facilities is (Duwe and Clark 2013). These companies pledge to be more successful in securely detaining, educating, and releasing prisoners, and according to Bales et al. (2005), they display slightly lower rates of recidivism. However, recent studies conducted by Duwe and Clark (2013) and Spivak and Sharp (2008) argue that private prisons have higher recidivism rates. Spivak and Sharp (2008) found that there exist greater hazards for recidivism in eight out of eight categories of offenders, and Duwe and Clark (2013) concluded that greater recidivism was found in twenty out of twenty models. He suggests that this is attributable to fewer visitation hours and less availability and variety of rehabilitative programming opportunities. All three studies agreed upon the fact that these statistics are impossible to accomplish on a nationwide level; instead, lower recidivism depends on the quality of private or public prisons in each individual state.

This also conjures an ethical debate concerning private prisons. In order for private prisons to make money they must continue to have an influx of prisoners, suggesting that private prisons do less to successfully rehabilitate their inmates, thus maintaining high recidivism rates. Without inmates this business would fail, so by avoiding successful rehabilitation they are able to make more money (Duwe and Clark, 2013). Scandinavian prisons are not privately run; instead, they are run through the government and are therefore more incentivized to reduce recidivism rates.

These two prison types are not the only discrepancy amongst the field of research; scholars argue over whether traditional prisons are as effective in rehabilitating inmates as shock incarceration programs. Shock incarceration programs, or boot camp prisons, emphasize a hyper-masculine, military-style atmosphere. Prisoners rise early, work, drill, compete, and train for most of the day in hopes of instilling a sense of pride and duty. MacKenzie (1995) refutes claims from her earlier literature that shock incarceration programs successfully lower reincarceration rates. In her most recent study spanning eight states she found that there are no consistent patterns showing lower recidivism rates. Again, research suggests that facilities must be judged on a state-by-state basis. This provides further gaps due to the fact that keeping prisoners busy reduces recidivism, but these shock incarceration programs are not always successful.

The final argument amongst researchers concerns how effective education programs are. These programs are purely educational, meaning there is no specific vocational training; rather they solely teach prisoners on subjects such as math, reading, and problem solving. Lathrop (2011) claims that educational and literacy-based programs have substantial impact upon recidivism rates, especially when focusing upon higher education coursework. Vacca (2004) strengthens this theory by stating that effective education programs help inmates with social skills, art development, and techniques and strategies used to deal with emotions. On the other hand, education programs show steady increases in educational achievement scores, but not on recidivism (Seiter and Kadela 2003). Despite these differences researchers agree that programs must have qualified and caring teachers, as well as a positive learning environment in a safe and clean prison in order to succeed.

Judging from the agreements and disagreements there are obvious gaps that this chapter will now examine in order to provide a basis for further research. First, most studies were conducted on either a nationwide level or on a state-based level. This displays a lack of initiative to study rehabilitation techniques in relation to recidivism on a large basis. Further studies should draw specifically from groups of states in order to receive unbiased and conclusive results. However, the fact that numerous disagreements exist from nationwide studies suggests that no one solution is available for reducing recidivism. This exemplifies that more research must be done on individual state facilities in order to determine what is working in states with low recidivism rates so that knowledge may be used for other states in the same geographic region. Second, more studies should be conducted on a gender basis, i.e. whether some programs work better for men compared to women. This gap may display significant results, as men and women learn in different ways. Third, and perhaps most importantly, is the lack of research conducted concerning the familial and parental roles played amongst prisoners in relation to recidivism. Hoffman and Beck (1984) found that recidivism lowers as age increases, but more needs to be done to find whether families can play an important role in reducing reincarceration rates. A likely hypothesis is that families are extremely important in determining recidivism; therefore, prisons should offer programs dedicated to improving family and social lifestyles. Finally, researchers need to examine existing laws and if they have any role in which racial or gender groups are more likely to be imprisoned. Research has found that the typical offenders of recidivism are young males from minorities with little education and vocational skills, thus it is imperative to find why this particular population segment is

continuously cycled into the prison system (Vacca 2004). Further incentives to educate and train for post-release acclimation should be given to this population.

Despite extreme societal differences amongst the United States and Scandinavian countries it is necessary for the U.S. to establish a prison system similar to that of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark. These countries offer prisoners a chance to remember that they are indeed an integral part of society and that they can have a successful life following imprisonment. The United States prison system needs to avoid acting solely as an enforcer by punishing prisoners and should instead become a parental figure focusing on caring for the rehabilitation of inmates.

In order for prisons to successfully reduce recidivism it is crucial to emphasize and execute the following: prison facilities must focus on empowering inmates by providing them with opportunities to benefit the community; allow inmates to see families and friends on a regular basis; give prisoners a chance to develop a sense of community and family in the prison rather than isolating them; prepare them for reentry via vocational, substance abuse, and educational programs; and provide long lasting support by developing individualized post-release programs, maintaining an active parole board focused on the prisoner's mental and social wellbeing, and encouraging additional vocational support and training, as well as health care and further substance abuse, violent offender, and sexual offender programs. Furthermore, released inmates must be empowered, and disenfranchisement must end. This can be done by giving released offenders rights to vote, increased chances of employment, and the ability to have a successful reintegration from society. Inmates should no longer be shunned by society or they will continue the cycle of recidivism.

Here is a quick story about Ian Manuel. Raised in a home by an alcoholic mother and a missing father, Manuel was quickly targeted by gang members as a perfect fit. By age thirteen Manuel had already been arrested sixteen times. Instead of providing necessary help Manuel was simply thrust back into a dysfunctional home that provided no role models. On July 27, 1990, as part of a gang initiation, Manuel and another friend were told to rob someone. A failed attempt led to Manuel shooting his victim, 27-year-old Debbie Baigrie, in the face. Manuel later confessed to his crime and was charged as an adult. He was sentenced to life without the possibility of parole at the age of fifteen and spent the next fifteen years in solitary confinement. Can you imagine being fifteen years old with unconnected synapses, a tumultuous home life, and no role models and being sentenced to fifteen years in solitary confinement, followed by another life sentence upon leaving solitary? How is one supposed to rehabilitate in that environment? How can a society send a mere child to jail for the rest of his life? The most important thing in this story is that Debbie Baigrie is one of his biggest advocates for early release. The two have bonded greatly over the past few years, and Manuel has shown enough remorse for Baigrie to forgive him. Yet still our justice system has not forgiven him, and most likely never will. Bryan Stevenson, Manuel's lawyer and advocate for Equal Justice Initiative claims that every child under the age of fourteen that has been sentenced to life without parole for a non-homicide has been a child of color (Kristof 2014). This statement signifies how our society is fearful of people of color and has little hope for those populations. I for one cannot imagine a blonde-haired, blue-eyed fifteen-year-old being sentenced to life without parole. Manuel was not given help when he needed it most, and despite sixteen arrests he still was not successfully rehabilitated. He was deemed a sociopath – incapable of remorse

and therefore incapable of parole. Despite his pleas for forgiveness and constant appeals he is still being held in a prison system that does not offer him any hope.

Another aspect of the prison and legal system that needs to be changed is the inherent racism found within the laws of the United States. African Americans should not be prosecuted on a harsher and more frequent basis when committing the same crimes as whites. Direct changes need to be made to many laws, and the War on Drugs – largely considered a monumental failure – should be terminated immediately. These laws have caused a dramatic increase in the incarceration of African American and Hispanic communities without actually diminishing the prevalence of drug vending and use throughout the country. Instead of building a flawed cycle, more should be done to educate and empower impoverished communities so that children within these groups have a better chance of graduating from high school, attending and finishing college, and finding jobs. Imagine the possibilities for the future of our country if all children attended college. We are causing a gross separation between the cultures within our country and we are paying for the inequality that our political system has created.

In addition, a stronger communication system needs to exist amongst policymakers, prison administrators, current inmates, and released inmates in order to provide positive and consistent feedback into what techniques are successful. It is the hope of this chapter that further research will be able to draw parallels to existing agreements, eliminate past disagreements concerning rehabilitation tactics, close gaps, and ultimately establish a system of incarceration with lowered recidivism rates and superior rehabilitation techniques. The public must be made aware of the history of prisons and the challenges that many minority groups face in our unequal system of oppression. By successfully

educating society on the history and current laws of our prison system it is possible to create a just society that does not fear the social stigma of prisons and its inmates. Society must strive to not fail any more children, men, or women by ignoring their needs and struggles that they face in an inherently racist system. Furthermore, it is my hope that inmates will no longer be viewed as solely violent, but rather as individuals that made mistakes but are capable of reintegrating into society. In order to change our laws and to improve the lives of marginalized populations we must develop an empathetic and knowledgeable understanding, thus beginning a cycle of change only possible through human compassion, care, and love.

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