MIDWEST SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL

Volume 22 (2019) www.iass1.org

Formerly Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences

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The objectives of the Academy shall be to facilitate a more effective cooperation among social scientists, to promote the interests of the several social sciences, and to increase the usefulness and advance the effectiveness of both teaching and research in the several social sciences in Indiana.

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Established in 1929 and incorporated in 1937, the Academy exists to foster communication and collaboration among social scientists across the public and private colleges and universities of Indiana. The Academy is dedicated to the objectives of supporting social science research and dialogue and to promoting the value and visibility of the social sciences in Indiana while providing an environment in which social scientists across the state can interact in cooperation and friendship. The Academy holds an annual meeting and produces *Endnotes* (IASS Newsletter) and publishes the *Midwest Social Sciences Journal*.

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MISSION AND EDITORIAL POLICY

The purpose of the *Midwest Social Sciences Journal* is to promote and advance the social sciences in Indiana by publishing the highest quality social science theory and research papers available. The *Journal* recognizes and supports the many diverse perspectives and methods across the several social sciences; it neither espouses nor champions any specific ideological, theoretical, methodological, or political commitments. The *Journal* is committed to intellectual integrity, rigorous standards of scholarship, and rational and civil discourse. It encourages the presentation and free exchange of diverse viewpoints and seeks to foster open and critical inquiry that privileges no particular standpoint while operating within the limits of a standard of discourse and reason that distinguishes between the pursuit of knowledge and truth versus mere assertions of dogma.

Although every effort will be made to publish issues that represent a fair balance of scholarship across the entire spectrum of social science disciplines, the *Journal’s* first priority will always be to publish the best social science research available at any given time, regardless of disciplinary representation. Toward this end, papers will be accepted for editorial review and publication in the annual issue of the journal at any time of year, whether or not they were presented at the Annual Conference. Persons who submit articles for review are expected to adhere to Author Submission Guidelines detailed elsewhere in this journal and online at www.iass1.org.

The *Journal* has been published annually in the fall both in print and online since Volume 14 (2010–2011). Articles submitted for possible publication are subject to a double-blind review process. The Senior Editor in Chief alone is responsible for making the final decision on all manuscripts and content for publication in the *Journal*, and the Senior Editor’s decision on publication content is not subject to review by any other member, officer, or body of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences.
I am quite pleased to present the inaugural issue of the *Midwest Social Sciences Journal* (formerly *Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences*). This change in journal name was first approved by the IASS Board of Directors in February 2018 and was reaffirmed by the Board at its February 2019 meeting. To acknowledge the Journal’s roots and preserve its continuity with JIASS, I continue with consecutive numbering of issues from JIASS; this first issue of the *Midwest Social Sciences Journal* (MSSJ) is Volume 22 (2019). As a historical note, the name change from *Proceedings of the IASS* to the now former title *Journal of the IASS* was approved by the Board of Directors back in 1998–1999, when the current numbering of issues began.

The Journal’s name change reflects several developments in recent years, the most important of which is the fact that our journal’s non-Indiana authors, topics, and readership have grown considerably and frequently reflect a regional, Midwestern focus. We are gratified that many authors and articles published in this journal (as well as authors and presentations at the annual meeting) reflect a national or international background or focus. The world has not only become “smaller” but has also become more connected and interconnected. Indiana in 2019 is thus connected and interconnected in many ways with regional, national, and international economics, culture, environmental concerns, politics, and media. It is not possible to understand Indiana today without simultaneously understanding the other parts of this equation: regional, national, and global. Although we do not intend to lose our “Hoosier” outlook and interest in Indiana, going forward, we hope to publish even more social science research that addresses regional, national, and international contexts and perspectives. This is the major impetus for changing our name and brand as we move forward in the 21st century.

Our interdisciplinary commitment remains fixed and unchanged, representing the *sine qua non* of our identity, and it reflects our unique contribution to understanding phenomena from diverse social sciences. Disciplinary specialization and its institutional correlates, institutionalization and professionalization, threaten to shortchange the promise of the social sciences to provide deep knowledge and understanding to guide constructive social policies that promote human potential and social justice. Our journal remains one of the very few places one can find high-quality academic research from across the social sciences in one location.

This year’s volume offers 12 research papers (including one student paper) and two essays exploring a wide variety of topics and exhibiting a range of disciplinary approaches. This volume leads off with Professor Quinn Dauer’s paper on natural disasters and crime-disorder narratives in the context of Argentina’s 1861 Mendoza Earthquake, which destroyed this provincial capital. Professor Tina Ebenger and Tracey McCabe examine the issue of political corruption in a study of East Chicago government and the Sidewalk Six scandal involving vote-buying to help reelect the city’s mayor. Dr. Sarah Heath offers the reader an interesting social history and analysis of extremist groups in the 1960s, especially the John Birch Society and its efforts to infiltrate and undermine the National Parent Teacher Association.
Changing focus back to South America, Professor Ryan Lee analyzes Colombian trade agreements and related economic areas such as tariffs from 2007 to 2013. Professors Lulla and Dwyer examine racial segregation in Indianapolis from 1990 to 2010 with the application of KDE methodology to analyze census data for the Indianapolis area. Professors Lynn, Hughes, and Adam offer an analysis of four films having various degrees of accuracy with respect to slavery or the civil rights movement, also surveying about 100 viewers of the four films with questions about race and civil rights. Psychologists Delmira Monteiro and Mixalis Poulakis share results of a timely qualitative study exploring the effects of cisnormative beauty standards on transgender women’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Professors Old and Fields undertake a study of antidiscrimination civil rights ordinances using an event-history analysis to test the validity of various theories of municipal policy processes. Professor Stella Ress shares a case study of power dynamics in a middle-class 19th-century “Yankee” family transplanted to the Midwest.

Professors Weller, Parkison, and Cox, along with student Micheal Plummer, share the results of their survey of undergraduate and graduate students’ perspectives on sexual harassment and misconduct. Currently incarcerated scholars Molly Whitted and Michelle Williams offer an interesting study of the very first cohort of women at the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls between 1873 and 1884. To complete the lineup of research articles, student Zachary Havlin examines measures of parent-child interactions for identifying problematic parenting behaviors in children’s development.

This volume concludes with two essays on topics of public interest, the first being an essay by Calvin Bellamy concerning his experience over the past dozen years with the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission, which serves 24 member communities in Northwest Indiana. The second essay, from Katie Smolucha and Dr. Tyler Counsil, examines the promise and reality of forensic DNA analysis, especially regarding recent developments in the use of family genealogy databases for criminal investigations and DNA’s utility in helping to close cold cases. All in all, this volume offers a very strong and engaging set of monographs on many important social and political issues of our day.

The current issue represents the ninth volume I have edited since I first assumed the role of editor for 2010–2011. I am proud of our accomplishments over this extended period, including the journal’s new title, the establishment of a double-blind review system, and the move to having an online edition of the Journal in addition to a print publication. The Journal was transferred to the Berkeley digital commons platform two years ago, and I am pleased to report that as of this past Labor Day weekend, the Journal’s articles had more than 24,000 downloads from across the nation and globe—more than 14,000 of them in the past year alone.

Since my first year as editor, beginning with Volume 14 (2010–2011), papers submitted to MSSJ are no longer limited to those presented at the annual meeting and conference. While authors of papers presented at our annual conference continue to be encouraged to submit their work for possible publication, authors and social scientists from anywhere in the world are encouraged to submit their research papers for review. Additionally, the Journal no longer identifies papers as it once did, by disciplinary subject heading. This is because we no longer attempt to publish at least one paper
from each or most of the disciplines represented by the IASS in every volume. Since 2011, we have published papers strictly on the basis of merit, with the result that in every volume published, some disciplines have more than one paper represented and other disciplines have none. We encourage submission of exceptional research from students and over the years have published several outstanding examples of student scholarship. To ensure quality and fairness, articles submitted for possible publication undergo, after a preliminary review by the editorial staff, a double-blind peer-review process involving at least two referees. The quality of submitted and accepted papers has remained high during my tenure as editor, resulting in a journal that has earned respect across wide academic circles for adhering to rigorous standards of social science scholarship.

Since the development of the online edition of the journal, print copies are no longer mailed to members; instead, copies are available for members to pick up at the annual meeting (print copies may be ordered for additional cost plus a shipping-and-handling charge). Volume 22 will, as usual, be indexed and available through EBSCO and will be listed in Cabell’s Directory (of special interest for scholars in business, economics, and finance). All of these developments represent important milestones for both the Journal and the Academy and will ensure their successful transition to the 21st century of scholarly communication.

I have been fortunate during the past nine years to have been able to work with a talented and dedicated staff of coeditors, referee-reviewers, and, of course, authors. I would like to publicly acknowledge and thank my editorial staff for their assistance, insight, and guidance throughout this past year. There have been some changes in the editorial staff over the past year. Nirupama Devaraj (Valparaiso University) joins our team as deputy editor; I have enjoyed her support and assistance over the past year and look forward to working with her over the next year. Surekha Rao has departed from our team, and I thank her for her service as deputy editor. I continue to be fortunate and grateful for the excellent editorial assistance of Stephanie Seifert Stringham, who has been our copy editor since 2011 and Volume 14 (2010–2011). Stephanie continues to be a major editorial presence and resource behind the scene, ensuring that every single line of text, graph, table, and bibliographic reference meets the highest professional and technical standards prior to publication. Stephanie’s dedication, competence, and attention to detail have helped to make every paper we publish shine. Many thanks are in order. Over the years, I have also enjoyed the support of Dr. Mary C. Moore (University of Indianapolis) as managing editor. Her administrative assistant, Julie Cripps, was invaluable this year in assisting with mailing of journals to various persons and organizations. Thank you both!

I also want to publicly recognize and thank our many referee-reviewers, who serve without fanfare, reading and evaluating papers submitted for publication, and helping assure that every issue maintains the highest standards of scholarly excellence. Our reviewers’ names are published at the end of the journal; these reviewers deserve a moment of attention and everyone’s thanks. Quite simply, MSSJ would not be possible without their professional dedication and commitment.

Last but not least, I acknowledge and thank Jay Howard, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Butler University, for his strong support over the years of
both IASS and my role as JIASS-MSSJ editor. Dean Howard provides funding and advocacy for my work as editor, and I am grateful for his friendship and support.

Life is change, and my role as editor is no exception. My current term as senior editor expires in October 2020, and I have informed the Board that I believe ten years in the role of editor is more than enough for any one scholar and I therefore do not plan to continue as senior editor beyond the expiration of my current term. I have asked the Board to begin the search for a new senior editor-elect to be in position, if at all possible, by October 2019. This will permit a year of transition for the new editor to learn about and become familiar with the requirements of the job while I am still in place to assist with this process.

Kenneth D. Colburn, Jr., PhD
Senior Editor in Chief
Midwest Social Sciences Journal
BUTLER UNIVERSITY
September 2019
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Research

Natural Disaster, Crime, and Narratives of Disorder: The 1861 Mendoza Earthquake and Argentina’s Ruptured Social and Political Faults

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ABSTRACT
Social scientists studying natural disasters have generally found an absence of panic, a decrease in crime, and survivors working together to find basic necessities in the days and weeks after a catastrophe. By contrast, political and military authorities implement measures such as martial law to prevent chaos and lawlessness threatening private property. The media amplifies narratives of disorder, creating the perception of uncontrolled masses wantonly committing crimes in a disaster’s aftermath. Historians study natural disasters to view political, social, economic, and cultural structures stripped of their everyday veneer. The 1861 earthquake that destroyed the provincial capital of Mendoza in western Argentina provides an opportunity to examine narratives of disorder in newspapers and in survivor accounts that highlighted rampant looting and attributed these actions to rural peoples and the popular masses. Reports from the earthquake’s aftermath reflected the political conflicts between the hegemonic urban center of Buenos Aires and the interior provinces of Argentina, as well as the social divisions between urban elites and the lower classes. Judicial and criminal records from Mendoza, however, showed a decrease in crime after the earthquake, as well as rates of theft and robbery similar to those before the catastrophe, contradicting popular accounts of pervasive lawlessness.

KEY WORDS Natural Disasters; Crime; Elite Panic; Media; Society; Government; Argentina

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The research and writing of this article have been generously funded by a Tinker grant, Florida International University (FIU) Graduate School Dissertation Evidence Acquisition Fellowship, FIU Graduate School Dissertation Year Fellowship, IU Southeast’s Research Support Program Grant, and IU Southeast Summer Faculty Fellowship.
On the evening of March 20, 1861, Maunday Thursday of Holy Week, an earthquake destroyed the city of Mendoza, an important entrepôt between Buenos Aires and Chile that was nestled in foothills of the Andes mountains in western Argentina. In the days and weeks after the temblor, newspapers, especially those in Buenos Aires, reported that Mendoza had descended into chaos in the earthquake’s aftermath. Looters from the countryside and the urban lower classes allegedly took advantage of the catastrophe to enrich themselves by appropriating private property and raiding ruined provincial towns and villages as well as the destroyed provincial capital city. The authorities responded to the earthquake by declaring martial law and implementing measures to maintain order and protect private property, announcing that anyone caught looting among the ruins would be summarily shot. Country people pillaging the ruins of Mendoza played a prominent role in newspaper reports and survivor accounts of the natural disaster. Despite the dominant narrative of rural peoples engaging in antisocial behavior such as looting the ruins of Mendoza, provincial judicial and criminal records reveal that crime registered after the earthquake decreased and that rates of theft and robbery remained at predisaster levels. Survivor accounts noted that many residents worked together to find potable water, food, and materials to construct temporary shelters rather than pillaging the ruins for valuables.

DISASTER STUDIES

Natural disasters often conjure up images of chaos, lawlessness, disorder, and a loss of control. Elites fear and often assume that a disaster unleashes a wave of looting and antisocial behavior that threatens the social and political order; thus, authorities view catastrophes as dangerous situations that require swift and severe sanctions to prevent and deter any disorder and to ensure the sanctity of private property. In their zeal to maintain order and stop social unrest, as a deterrent to curb looting and general disorder, political elites and military officials often enact martial law after a disaster and allow summary executions of survivors assumed to be looting. Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and other social scientists who study catastrophes, however, have noted a lack of widespread antisocial behavior in the aftermath of a natural disaster. According to scholars of disasters, the authorities and elites use their resources to protect private property and ensure their political legitimacy as the media reproduce standard tropes of chaos and disorder. The foundational works in the field of disaster studies by sociologists found, in general, an absence of panic, reduced levels of crime such as looting, and prosocial behavior among survivors after a catastrophe, contrary to the assumptions that influence governments’ disaster and emergency responses (Fritz 1966; Quarantelli and Dynes 1970; Quarantelli and Dynes 1972).

Sociologists have given the label “elite panic” to the “fear of social disorder; fear of poor, minorities and immigrants; obsession with looting and property crime; willingness to resort to deadly force; and actions taken on the basis of rumor” after a natural disaster (Solnit 2009:127). Looting is often overstated in the immediate days after a natural disaster as survivors sifting through the rubble are looking for food, potable water, and materials with which to build shelter from the elements rather than looking to
profit from catastrophe. Rebecca Solnit observes that the term “looting conflates the emergency requisitioning of supplies in a crisis without a cash economy with opportunistic stealing” (2009:37). In contrast to popular assumptions, the social order does not break down in the aftermath of a natural disaster; instead, therapeutic or extraordinary communities are formed, characterized by survivors working together to fulfill immediate needs such as food, potable water, clothing, and shelter. Drawing on academic studies, Solnit argues that extraordinary communities emerge as most people in the affected locality engage in spontaneous altruistic acts to help one another amid devastation and destruction.

Sociologists have analyzed narratives and popular images of panic, disorder, and rampant looting that have been reproduced and disseminated in the media after natural disasters. For example, after Hurricane Katrina struck New Orleans in 2005, the print media and television emphasized common disaster narratives of rampant looting, antisocial behavior, and widespread criminal activity carried out by survivors in the absence of law and order. Furthermore, according to many media accounts, rather than forming an extraordinary community, Katrina survivors epitomized examples of selfish and greedy behavior that occurs when humans are freed from legal and moral constraints. Media narratives often reproduced elites’ racial and class assumptions. Analyzing the narratives in the print media and television news reports, sociologists have found the narratives often based on assumptions, rumor, and hearsay. The media attributed lawlessness, looting, and antisocial behavior to poor, working-class, and minority groups, especially African Americans. Furthermore, the narratives of lawlessness and of New Orleans as a “war zone” that were disseminated by the media justified the use of force and a militaristic response in the weeks after the hurricane (Dynes and Rodríguez 2010; Tierney and Bevc 2010; Tierney, Beve, and Kuligowski 2006).

Examples of antisocial behavior and looting do exist after catastrophes, particularly during civil unrest such as urban riots. When looting does occur after natural disasters, such as in Saint Croix after Hurricane Hugo in 1989 and New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, it often reflects social conditions and crime rates before the disaster. Sociologists studying Hurricane Hugo found that widespread looting occurred on only Saint Croix rather than other affected Caribbean islands. They argued that the looting was based on the scale of damage for the entire island, the inability of the state to carry out a rescue-and-relief effort, and survivors not knowing when help would arrive. Finally, the sociologists pointed to socioeconomic inequalities and racial acrimony that existed before the disaster that were exacerbated after the hurricane and led to antisocial behavior (Rodríguez, Trainor, and Quarantelli 2006). Likewise, after Hurricane Katrina, crime rates increased, but they did so within the context of the vast socioeconomic and racial disparities in New Orleans (Frailing and Wood Harper 2010).

Historians have begun to study disasters, scouring archives and libraries to understand how states and societies have responded to catastrophes in different historical periods and contexts. Historians studying natural disasters in Latin America argue that catastrophes strip away the façade that covers social-economic, political, and cultural structures, allowing scholars to analyze relationships and hierarchies of power (Buchenau and Johnson 2009:4). Furthermore, Charles Walker observes that “natural disasters bring
to the surface both old and new tensions and offer vivid insights into society” (2003:57). For example, the Lima earthquake of 1746 highlighted how the disaster magnified existing social, political, and religious conflicts within Peruvian society and throughout the Spanish Empire (Walker 2008). Similarly, social and economic fault lines also ruptured in Chile after the Valparaíso earthquake in 1906. Chilean authorities already concerned with strikes and protests among the working class in the country’s main port city feared a general social uprising after the 1906 temblor; thus, the government declared martial law and harshly cracked down on any real or perceived criminal behavior. The police and military used markers of class, such as dress and language, to determine who was looting and who was merely picking through the rubble of their homes. The residents of Valparaíso, however, also formed extraordinary communities. Survivor accounts highlighted social leveling as rich and poor worked together to find food, help the injured, provide basic services, and rebuild the city in the days after the earthquake (Martland 2009).

Likewise, the 1861 Mendoza earthquake reflected social and political divisions within 19th-century Argentina. Newspaper reports, survivor accounts, and official documents focused on the damage to elite property and emphasized concerns about looting by the poor and rural peoples. Similarly, the political divisions between the interior provinces and Buenos Aires and between federalists and liberals colored narratives about the provincial government’s response to the disaster, relief efforts, and protection of private property.

**SOCIETY AND POLITICS IN 19TH-CENTURY ARGENTINA**

The Mendoza earthquake of March 20, 1861, occurred at a critical juncture in Argentine history. The fall of the national *caudillo* (strongman) Juan Manuel de Rosas in 1852 plunged Argentina into a civil war, with the interior provinces of the Argentine Confederation forming one side and the hegemonic urban center, Buenos Aires, forming the other. Nineteenth-century Argentine liberals celebrated the demise of Rosas and hoped that the strongman rule that was endemic to the interior provinces and to Argentina more generally could finally be broken under the leadership of Buenos Aires. Liberals, mostly drawn from the upper classes or the wealthy urban merchant class, desired to unify the country under a strong central government emanating from Buenos Aires. By contrast, federalists from the interior provinces desired autonomy and resented attempts by Buenos Aires to install centralized rule. *Caudillos* often allied themselves with federalists, who favored provincial autonomy, and were supported by *gauchos* (cowboys), *campesinos* (rural laborers), the poor, and popular masses through client and patron networks. The conflict between the hegemonic port city and the interior provinces reached a climax at the battle of Pavón in September 1861, when Buenos Aires defeated the Argentine Confederation. By the end of 1861, Buenos Aires troops began to occupy and pacify the interior provinces, particularly in the west of the country, which was a stronghold of federalism, including Mendoza.

The political divisions between Buenos Aires and liberals and between the interior provinces and federalists, as well as social divisions between elites and
businessmen, on the one hand, and *gauchos, campesinos*, and urban lower classes, on the other, were echoed in survivor accounts, chronicles of the disaster, and newspaper articles and editorials about the March 20, 1861, earthquake that destroyed Mendoza. Accounts of the days and weeks after the disaster described marauding hordes of *gauchos* and *campesinos* from the countryside looting and pillaging the province’s capital city. Furthermore, the governor’s failure to maintain law and order in Mendoza after the catastrophe demonstrated the failures of federalism, according to accounts of the disaster in the liberal Buenos Aires press. Newspapers reports and survivor accounts highlighted heroic behavior by the elites and the “honorable men” of Mendoza in the disaster’s aftermath. The social and political divides within 19th-century Argentina were thus reflected in the accounts and narratives about crime and disorder in the days, weeks, and months after the earthquake.

**ACCOUNTS OF LOOTING AND ELITE PANIC**

Newspapers published reports and firsthand accounts describing and lamenting the widespread looting of Mendoza. *El Imparcial*, a newspaper from the interior province of Córdoba, published an article with the headline “A Party of Vampires” on April 5, 1861, detailing a putrid scene of corpses decaying and perfuming the rubble and of people overcome with “greed for gold,”¹ (Suárez 1938e:299).² The account proclaimed that looters removed everything of value they could find on the rotting corpses they uncovered as they picked through the rubble and “laughed at the pain that they do not understand, to take a bit of gold, albeit tinged with blood!” (Suárez 1938e:300). The report concluded with the observation that Mendoza had fallen into the hands of criminals who had come “to exploit the great ossuary!” (Suárez 1938e:300).

Accounts of the earthquake and its aftermath often exhibited elite panic as the upper classes blamed the lower orders of society, often *gauchos* and *campesinos*, for criminal activity and malevolent behavior. A liberal Buenos Aires newspaper, *La Tribuna*, published on April 14, 1861, a survivor’s account of “Daily Observations,” which chronicled the first ten days after the earthquake. The entry for March 22, two days after the earthquake, observed that bands of *campesinos* arrived in the provincial capital with tools, supposedly to pick through the rubble to loot. Although some country people traveled to Mendoza to help by providing aid to the earthquake survivors, pulling people from the rubble and also recovering and burying the dead, others had nefarious motives: to use their tools to pick through the ruins “to discover booty” (Suárez 1938e:122). Wenceslao Díaz, a Chilean scientist and doctor, was part of the medical commission sent to Mendoza after the earthquake as part of a relief effort by Chile. His scientific and medical report on the 1861 catastrophe included observations on the social conditions and highlighted the lack of law and order in the days and weeks after the catastrophe. Díaz wrote that *gauchos* and *campesinos* ignored the cries of victims trapped beneath the ruins of buildings and instead stole the victims’ goods, possessions, or anything of value that they could uncover. He also reported that some of the looters took pity on residents buried under the rubble but charged them a fee to be extricated from the ruins. According to the Chilean doctor, rather than help with the community’s rescue and relief efforts, the
looters refused to even help clear the streets of debris (Díaz 1907:30). In a letter dated March 27, 1861, earthquake survivor Eugenio Menéndez wrote in a letter to his friend Jacinto Corvalán, in the city of Rosario, that after the earthquake, the *gauchos* from the surrounding countryside invaded the city, terrorized the population, and ran off with as much loot as “their horses and mules could carry” (Suárez 1938a:195). In his account of the catastrophe, prominent politician Eusebio Blanco (1936), who played a central role in the rebuilding of the provincial capital in the years after the earthquake, also noted that people from outside the city began to arrive in Mendoza in the days after the earthquake. According to Blanco, bands of marauders reportedly helped to free prisoners trapped in jails and then stole anything of value they could find in the rubble without paying any respect to the bodies of the dead.

Narratives of the disaster included stereotypes of traits associated with scavenging animals to describe the country peoples’ motives and behavior after the earthquake. For example, Díaz compared the *gauchos* and *campesinos* to bands of “jackals” and “crows” (1907:30). Blanco compared the bands of marauders to birds of the plains that descend to earth when they see a dead animal, to devour it (1936:191). Another account of the catastrophe, this one by A. Clereaux (1938), observed that *gauchos* and *campesinos* also reportedly descended on the provincial capital to loot the ruins. Similar to Díaz and Blanco, Clereaux also compared the accused looters from the countryside to animals, describing them as “hungry jackals” and “bands of outlaws” that systematically and extensively pillaged Mendoza for five days after the earthquake in the absence of the authorities, not frightened by the aftershocks that continued to shake the earth (1938:161).

Urban masses were likewise identified as looters and criminals. In a letter to a friend dated March 30, 1861, a person identified by the initials R. J. R. wrote that the worst part of the catastrophe was “the looting and general robbing,” blaming the rampant crime on “the plebe,” who scavenged and picked through the ruins of businesses and targeted the upper classes’ houses such as his for pilfering (Suárez 1938b:198).

The Chilean doctor, Díaz, asserted that the lower orders took advantage of the disaster situation as a means to target elites. Quoting the looters, he wrote that the lower classes believed that “the misfortune, they said, was for the rich” (Díaz 1907:30–31). The scientist and medical doctor portrayed the popular masses as uncaring and immoral people interested only in taking what was not theirs. Even the violent shaking of the earth did not scare the lower classes enough to deter them from engaging in antisocial behavior; instead, they ignored the cries of the injured and dying, neglected the relief efforts, and focused only on enriching themselves through looting. In his description of the lower classes’ actions after the earthquake, Díaz wrote, “Only pillage and rapine occupied those hands with harpy claws” (1907:31). The doctor went on to assert that popular masses engaged in “thievery and sacrilege when the foundations of the world were shaken!” (1907:31).

Clereaux’s chronicle of the disaster also observed that the popular masses used the disaster as a means to exact retribution. He noted, “These cannibals reach out their hands to the unfortunates, who ask them for help getting up [from the ruins and rubble of Mendoza], not to help them in effect, but to strip the virgin of her rings and earrings and
the rich man’s watch and money” (1938:161). Manuel Blancas, the president of the Buenos Aires Medical Commission, wrote in his account of the earthquake published in La Tribuna on May 7, 1861, that in addition to the earthquake and fire, “the plebe practiced robbery” (Suárez 1938g:254). For Díaz, the elites were the only social group that acted honorably after the earthquake. The noted scientist characterized the lower classes as concerned only with looting the properties of the upper classes, although, “there were, however, honorable exceptions among the enlightened people” (Díaz 1907:31).

Crime occurred with impunity, unchecked by the authorities, according to reports and accounts from Mendoza in the days and weeks after the earthquake. For Díaz, the worst part of catastrophe was not the fire that broke out on March 24 and engulfed the ruins; instead, “the looting, the most stupid vandalism, the most inhuman indolence soon came to be the worst plague that followed the catastrophe” (1907:30). Instead of helping the trapped, injured, and dying victims of the disaster, the marauders from the countryside reportedly stripped them of their valuables, according to Clereaux’s chronicle of the catastrophe. He observed, “Nothing escapes their plunder,” and that neither the continued trembling of the earth or the cries of suffering from the dying affected them, that only “vice and immorality moved their depraved souls” (Clereaux 1938:161). Survivor accounts, letters, and newspaper reports noted the impunity with which the looting of the ruins took place. The March 23 and 25 entries from the “daily observations” in one survivor’s journal simply noted, “The looting continues,” and the March 27 entry stated, “Looting continued in the rest of the city” (Suárez 1938c:123–124, 126).

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT’S RESPONSE TO THE EARTHQUAKE

Argentine newspapers assigned blame for the disorder in Mendoza after the earthquake. A civil war between Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation racked the country when the temblor destroyed Mendoza. The Buenos Aires press attributed the lack of law and order in Mendoza to the federalist provincial government, especially to Governor Laureano Nazar’s tepid response to the disaster and abandonment of his responsibilities as the leading provincial official.

The frequent aftershocks added to the terror in the days after the temblor, and fire raged through the ruined city as municipal and provincial officials either were absent or scrambled to respond (Suárez 1938c:121–128). The “daily observations” of one survivor included an entry for the day after the earthquake, which noted that when the flames rose, engulfing the rubble and ruins of houses and business, no authorities could be found as “disorder and confusion” reigned in the streets and plazas throughout the city (Suárez 1938c:121). On March 22, two days after the earthquake, this survivor wrote that people from the countryside arrived in Mendoza, mostly to pillage and loot the ruins as the fire spread throughout the destroyed city with increasing intensity. The dead began to putrefy beneath the rubble, but the authorities did not take any action to extinguish the fire, stop the looting, or bury the dead to stop a potential public health crisis (Suárez 1938c:122).
Food and potable water were in short supply in Mendoza after the earthquake. On March 23, three days after the seismic shock, Governor Nazar ordered three cattle slaughtered and distributed to the people taking refuge in the main square. On the fourth day, the governor ordered that any remaining cattle be slaughtered and distributed to the survivors. Potable water could be found only at a great distance from the provincial capital (Suárez 1938c:122–123).

One account connected antisocial behavior with increasing desperation among survivors left to fend for themselves in the absence of a concerted government response. A letter from a disaster survivor published in *El Imparcial* noted that the author had “witnessed people stealing and looting” and lamented the lack of humanity found in Mendoza because he had not seen anyone helping to pull the injured or dead still trapped beneath the rubble of their houses, businesses, and churches (Suárez 1938e:305). At the end of the letter, in the same paragraph noting the lawlessness and lack of humanity in the city after the earthquake, the writer connected looting and selfish behavior with the shortage of provisions and desperation, concluding, “Here there is no more meat or water, but no one thinks about eating or drinking” (p. 305).

After emerging from the rubble, survivors took refuge under trees in Mendoza’s main plaza before moving away from the city’s center. The provincial government moved very slowly in helping to provide relief or organize shelter. Manuel Blancas, the head of the Buenos Aires Medical Commission, in an April 25, 1861, letter to Bartolomé Mitre, the leader of Buenos Aires, published in *La Tribuna* on May 7, 1861, wrote that the survivors had initially taken refuge beneath trees or tents but that only at the end of April, a month after the earthquake, had hastily built temporary shelters been constructed to provide protection for the injured in need of medical attention (Suárez 1938g:255).

At the beginning of April, survivors gradually moved from the main plaza to the hacienda San Nicolás, which was to the southwest of the city center. There, they were still able to use the rubble from the destroyed city to build temporary constructions, and public officials began to organize relief efforts and distribute aid from Chile, neighboring provinces, and Buenos Aires (Scobie 1988:113).

The failure of the provincial government to respond to the earthquake by maintaining order or providing relief to survivors was largely blamed on the federalist governor. Nine days after the earthquake, Governor Nazar withdrew from the provincial capital to his country estate at Tres Acequias (Suárez 1938c:125). Buenos Aires newspapers were outraged that Nazar had abandoned the city and allowed Mendoza to descend into disorder and lawlessness. According to an article published in *El Nacional* on April 15, after five days of complete inaction, Nazar’s abandonment of the provincial capital and his responsibilities left the city free for nefarious individuals to plunder and pillage the ruins of Mendoza (Suárez 1938f). The earthquake survivors gathered under the large trees in the main plaza and later at San Nicolás. There, the property owners and merchants of the city gathered to address the absence of Nazar, law enforcement, and a relief effort (Suárez 1938f:280–281). An April 15 report in *El Nacional* noted that the new governing elites’ objective was to restore order to a city engulfed in “this chaos of pain and suffering” (p. 281).
PROTECTING PRIVATE PROPERTY

The earthquake destroyed police and infantry stations in Mendoza, killing police and infantrymen. The lack of law enforcement officials and rank-and-file infantrymen made enforcing order and protecting private property difficult. Miltón González del Solar, a doctor who led the Argentine Confederation’s medical commission to Mendoza, included in his records a death toll, with names of the deceased, if they were known, and the location where bodies were found. His toll included the majority of the city’s prisoners, along with 14 soldiers dead at the city jail; 20 soldiers dead and many others injured at the infantry garrison; and approximately 100 prisoners and guards dead at another garrison (González del Solar 1938:220).

The lack of police and infantrymen was a central concern for the authorities, who organized informal groups from among the earthquake survivors to provide security and protect private property from looters. In the absence of the governor after the earthquake, two military men, Manuel J. Olascoaga and Juan de Dios Videla, took charge and began to organize relief efforts and maintain order with scant resources. Olascoaga organized and led a group of young men to protect private property and maintain order by shooting anyone caught looting and plundering the ruins and rubble without compassion (Scalvini 1965:258). Videla helped create informal groups that provided security and guarded private property, especially in the parts of the city where survivors had taken refuge. According to the March 29 entry in a survivor’s “daily observations,” the watch groups proved successful in impeding looting and pillaging in much of the city and surrounding suburbs, but in other parts of Mendoza, the plundering continued unabated (Suárez 1938c). El Nacional reported on April 1 that an infantry squad had been mobilized to ensure order, protect valuables covered in dust and rubble, and protect widows and orphans (Suárez 1938f:259). During its session on March 23, the legislature from the neighboring province of San Juan authorized the governor to mobilize and send men and resources to restore order and protect private property in Mendoza (Suárez 1938d:378).

In Mendoza, the authorities attempted to protect private property from looters and thieves by regulating who could enter the destroyed city center. In cities throughout Latin America, elites and merchants maintained residences and businesses near the main plaza, where government buildings and churches anchored society and daily life. Anything of value was buried beneath the ruins and rubble in the city center and along the Alameda, the main street of Mendoza. On March 23, the provincial authorities prohibited all people except the police from entering the destroyed city center from Sauce de la Cañada in the north to the Plaza Nueva in the south and from the Zanjón, a canal that ran along the east side of the provincial capital, to the Tajamar, an irrigation canal located on higher ground to the west. Anyone found in the prohibited area would be assumed to be a looter and shot on the spot. Residents who needed to enter the destroyed city could apply for and receive a pass from the police that stated the names of the property owner and those who accompanied him (Registro oficial 1877:135).

Earthquake survivors migrated to the neighboring provinces of San Juan and San Luis, bringing any possessions they could carry with them. According to an article in El Imparcial published on April 3, earthquake survivors fled Mendoza because of continued
strong aftershocks, the fear of looting, and the threat of disease from the decaying and putrefying bodies, and the government of San Luis provided transportation to protect migrants’ possessions (Suárez 1938e:290).

The government and citizens from the neighboring province of San Juan were among the first to respond after the earthquake. Several wealthy men from San Juan provided carriages for transporting families and other resources for the earthquake victims. The caravan returned to San Juan, dropping off the earthquake survivors and then gathering more resources to take back to Mendoza. The provincial government of San Juan also sent a wagon train to provide security to survivors and protect their goods during transit. In addition, San Juan’s legislature approved a sum of 10,000 pesos for the protection of the migrants from Mendoza. On March 25, the first carriages arrived in Mendoza from San Juan, bringing aid for the injured and transporting some families back to San Juan. The following day, more families lined up in hopes of finding a spot on the wagon train to San Juan. One earthquake survivor expressed their appreciation for the help from the neighboring province, stating, “We owe a lot to our neighbors of San Juan” (Suárez 1938c:124). In a letter to Jacinto Corvalán dated March 24, 1861, Eugenio Menéndez wrote of the desperation of the survivors to escape Mendoza because of the sickening smell of decaying bodies and the lack of food, reporting that residents of the provincial capital dug out what few possessions they could from the rubble and made the journey to San Juan by whatever means available (Suárez 1938a:195).

The mass exodus of earthquake survivors, however, made ensuring the integrity of private property difficult. At the beginning of April, the provincial authorities decreed that in the interest of quelling disorder and maintaining the public good, measures needed to be taken to guarantee private property and the possessions left behind by the migrating earthquake survivors. The acting provincial authorities issued a law that prevented migration out of the province without a passport. Residents who needed passports could obtain the documents from the police chiefs in the areas of city where they resided. The police issued residents tickets that included information about the resident’s property, recording the number of people leaving, the branding mark on any animals, valuables the residents were carrying, and certification that the property they were taking was in fact legitimately theirs. The authorities declared migrants without proper documentation to be thieves subject to criminal laws regarding possession of stolen property (Registro oficial, 1877:137–138). Despite the official decrees and the legal attempts to determine and maintain the proper ownership of property, however, authorities continued to struggle to ascertain the legitimate holders of animals, possessions, and goods leaving Mendoza with migrants and those still buried beneath the rubble.

Trying to end the confusion over property ownership, provincial and municipal authorities issued further regulations. As the earthquake had reduced Mendoza to a pile of rubble that contained putrefying corpses and worldly belongings, property and goods were left buried beneath the rubble of homes and businesses either because residents died or emigrated. Furthermore, with all of the city’s buildings lying in ruins, having collapsed onto one another, it was unclear where one property ended and another began. Property owners who returned or stayed to pick through the debris of their homes and businesses often ended up with their neighbors’ possessions. In the confusion, it was difficult for the
authorities and those picking through the rubble to determine who owned the goods dug out from the ruins. Furthermore, provincial authorities asserted that ill-willed people had taken advantage of the chaotic situation to loot.

To control the situation, the provincial authorities appointed a citizens commission to record the possessions left behind by the migrants. During the second week of May 1861, the provincial authorities declared that anyone with goods that did not belong to them should turn them into the citizen’s commission within eight days to avoid being charged with a felony or another crime. Dubiously owned or possessed items could be dropped off at a police station for inspection. The house of anyone denounced for or accused of harboring stolen merchandise or goods was placed on a list and the objects in question were turned over to the citizens commission until the legitimate owner could be determined (Rejistro oficial, 1877:142–144).

In the aftermath of the earthquake, police collected stolen or misappropriated items, but many owners did not return to claim their possessions. In June 1861, the provincial courts required that all stolen or misappropriated property be held in police custody until claimed by the rightful owner. If no one claimed the items after a waiting period, the goods were considered public property and sold at auction. The authorities compiled and published a list of 315 items to be claimed by their rightful owners. Among the valuables collected were merchandise, jewelry, clothing, and home furnishings. In December 1861, four groups of unclaimed goods were auctioned. The first batch of goods was worth an estimated 83.89 pesos; the second lot required 82.03 pesos to purchase; the third assortment of goods was valued at 83.15 pesos; and the fourth passel of items was appraised at 82.50 pesos (AHPM 1861c). The ambiguity in determining the owners of items buried beneath the ruins and rubble of Mendoza also complicated the narratives of endemic looting found in survivor accounts and newspapers, especially when compared to crime rates tabulated from provincial criminal and judicial records.

CRIMINAL AND JUDICIAL RECORDS OF THE PROVINCE OF MENDOZA

Immediately after the earthquake on March 20, 1861, few specific incidents of crime were reported or recorded. Accounts from Mendoza published in newspapers throughout Argentina in the days and weeks after the earthquake generally referred to widespread looting and pillaging carried out by campesinos, gauchos, and the urban lower classes. Survivor accounts and newspaper reports, however, included few specific examples of disorder and criminal activity. In an effort to maintain law and order and to ensure the sanctity of private property, the provincial authorities announced on March 25, five days after the earthquake, that anyone caught looting the ruins of Mendoza would be summarily shot. The next day, according to one eyewitness’s “daily observations,” four “marauders” were pulled from the rubble of the provincial capital and executed, and two more looters were shot without any legal recourse or process in the department of San Vincente (Suárez 1938c:125). The liberal Buenos Aires press, however, did not judge every attempt at the enforcement of martial law and summary executions as legitimate or necessary for restoring order. An article published in El Nacional on April 17 decried federalist Governor Nazar’s autocratic and arbitrary actions in Mendoza after the
earthquake. According to the report, before he fled the provincial capital, Nazar ordered the execution of a group of earthquake survivors who had petitioned to leave the province and denied any wrongdoing. Before the judgment could be carried out, Juan de Dios Videla took charge of the province in the absence of Governor Nazar, who had retreated to his country estate, and halted their imminent executions, becoming a hero in the pages of the liberal Buenos Aires press (Suárez 1938f:281).

Despite the provincial and municipal authorities issuing regulations to ensure the legitimate ownership of animals, possessions, and goods leaving the province with migrants, thieves were able to leave Mendoza with stolen items. Looters who had taken property from the rubble of Mendoza were later apprehended in other Argentine provinces. A newspaper in Córdoba, *El Imparcial*, reported on April 3 that the previous evening, the authorities had stopped Francisco Navarro, a “peon” and soldier, who told the authorities that he had come from Mendoza, where he had participated in the looting of the destroyed capital. In Navarro’s possession, the police had found a silver watch, a chain with three gold clips, a gold ring, three pesos, earrings made from French gold, a silver pigeon that adorned a mate cup and an accompanying straw, and three reals of stamped silver (Suárez 1938e:300). Similarly, a soldier fled Mendoza in July 1861 with some of the recovered property that the citizens commission had collected that was either unclaimed, misappropriated, or stolen (AHPM 1861c). After the city of Mendoza moved to a new location, the ruins and rubble of the old city still provided opportunities for looters. During the winter of 1864, the police caught a man looting the ruins of the Iglesia Matriz, near the main plaza of the old city. The thief had confiscated a silver crown and various pieces of wood from the ruins of the church (AHPM 1864).

Table 1. Crimes per Month in the Province of Mendoza during 1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No. of Crimes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Crimes registered during the month of March occurred before the earthquake on March 20, 1861.

Notes: Table is based on judicial and criminal records for the Mendoza Province from the Sección Justicia y Criminal, Epoca Independiente, Archivo Historico de la Provincia de Mendoza.
Survivor accounts and newspaper descriptions of rampant looting in the days and weeks after the earthquake were not reflected in the criminal and judicial records for the Province of Mendoza. No crimes were registered after the earthquake in March, and only two were noted during the month of April 1861 (Table 1). All criminal activity registered during March in the criminal judicial records of Mendoza occurred before the earthquake on March 20, 1861. The absence of registered crime during the last eleven days of March could be due to the difficulty of keeping formal records, because earthquake survivors more concerned about finding clothing, food, and potable water and with constructing shelter, and because government resources were absent or were slow to respond. Likewise, official government documents had to be recovered from the ruins of government buildings, demonstrating the difficulty of record keeping in the days and weeks after the catastrophe. Indeed, the chief of police in July 1861 enlisted prisoners to search for and extract documents missing in the rubble resulting from the earthquake (AHPM 1861c).

Table 2. Robberies and Thefts Annually in Mendoza Province, 1858–1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Animals</th>
<th>Money</th>
<th>Possessions</th>
<th>General</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Table based on judicial and criminal records for the Province of Mendoza from the Sección Justicia y Criminal, Epoca Independiente, Archivo Historico de la Provincia de Mendoza.

° “General” refers to robberies and thefts not accompanied by annotation in the archive’s indices or case description noting the type of object(s) stolen.

Crime rates based on the criminal and judicial records from the province of Mendoza initially decreased in the days, weeks, and months after the earthquake and generally reflected predisaster levels in the years after the catastrophe. The two crimes registered in the judicial and criminal records for Mendoza during April 1861 were robberies. The police apprehended one criminal who had stolen a pair of stirrups for a horse and pocketed 70 pesos and another thief who had taken animals (AHPM April 1861a,b ). In May, criminal activity returned to predisaster levels, with seven crimes registered, of which five were categorized as robberies and one labeled a suspected robbery. During June, another two robberies were cited and one case of fraud registered, out of a total of six cases for the month. In the winter month of July, however, crime ballooned to a high of twelve registered infractions, of which six were either robberies or thefts. Crime decreased again in August and September, with only a handful of cases. In October, seven cases were registered, including four labeled as robbery or theft and
another noted as suspected theft or fraud. As spring turned into summer in the Southern Hemisphere, crime remained low in the province of Mendoza, with three cases registered in the criminal and judicial records for each of the months of November and December. When compared to the months before the earthquake, however, criminal activity, including robbery and theft, was similar to that for much of the rest of the year. For example, out of the seven crimes entered in the criminal and judicial registry for February, four were robberies or thefts. In March, another seven crimes were registered, of which three were robberies or thefts. An examination of criminal cases in the years before and after earthquake shows that robberies and thefts decreased significantly in 1861 before returning to predisaster levels (Table 2).

Table 3. Robberies and Thefts Compared to Total Crimes Annually in Mendoza Province, 1858–1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Robberies/Thefts</th>
<th>Total Crimes</th>
<th>Robberies/Thefts as Percent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note:* Table based on judicial and criminal records for the Province of Mendoza from the Sección Justicia y Criminal, Época Independiente, Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Mendoza.

Despite authorities’ concern about possessions being stolen and then taken out of the province during the migration to neighboring provinces after the earthquake, and despite narratives of endemic looting in newspapers and survivor accounts, judicial and criminal records for the province of Mendoza show that the number of robberies and thefts in 1861 decreased by nearly half from the previous year (Table 2). Indeed, the incidence of the theft of animals decreased from a high of 27 cases in the year before the temblor to only five cases in 1861. Similarly, cases of theft of possessions decreased from 18 cases in 1860 to 12 incidents in 1861. Likewise, cases categorized as “general theft or robbery” in the province’s judicial and criminal records also decreased, from 17 incidents in 1860 to 10 in 1861. A total of 116 crimes were registered in 1860, with robberies and thefts numbering 68, representing 58 percent of all criminal activity that year (Table 3). In 1861, the year the earthquake struck Mendoza, the judicial and criminal records included 61 total criminal cases, with 35 robberies and thefts registered, representing 57 percent of all crime for that year. Similarly, in 1862, 1863, and 1864, robberies and thefts as a percentage of total crimes reflected levels before 1860. Thus, although the reported incidence of crime decreased after the catastrophe, rates of robbery and theft as a percentage of the total...
number of crimes committed annually reflected predisaster levels, belying narratives of an unprecedented wave of criminal activity after the earthquake in Mendoza.

The narratives published in newspapers and recorded in survivor accounts described marauding bands of *gauchos* and *campesinos* pillaging and looting the ruins of Mendoza. Rather than an increase in crime from pre-earthquake levels after the disaster, which would be expected based on the firsthand accounts and newspaper reports, a decrease in the number of criminal cases was seen in the days, weeks, and months immediately after the earthquake, and all criminal activity declined in the year after the catastrophe. After the earthquake, theft and robbery as a percentage of the total number of reported crimes remained steady or at levels similar to predisaster rates. Indeed, there is some evidence that residents of Mendoza, rather than engaging in the reportedly widespread antisocial behaviors, formed extraordinary communities to help their neighbors and fellow citizens find food and potable water, construct shelter, and care for the injured in the days and weeks after the earthquake.

AN EXTRAORDINARY COMMUNITY

The common experience of surviving the natural disaster helped to created what scholars of disasters have termed extraordinary communities or therapeutic communities. In the “daily observations” of a survivor’s journal, the entry for the day after the earthquake observed that many lives had been lost because of absence of an organized government response. Instead, the survivors had worked together to provide aid to the injured and to those taking refuge underneath the trees in the city’s main plaza. The chronicler noted that survivors who had taken refuge in the plaza received the charity of those who passed through the provincial capital. Two days after the earthquake, the families who had helped to pull the injured from the ruins also gave any aid they could to those they saved (Suárez 1938c:121). In the entry for March 26, the firsthand account noted that families, the injured, and the sick who had taken refuge in the plaza had left and “several charitable neighbors have gathered in groups in neighborhoods around the city, where they live as a single family linked by a common misfortune” (p. 124).

Politician Eusebio Blanco’s narrative of the catastrophe noted that survivors bonded through the experience of “the common misfortune” of the catastrophe. The earthquake struck on the evening of March 20, 1861, and witnesses recalled observing residents burying the dead, digging out the living from beneath the rubble, and providing medical care for the injured the next day as best they could with the resources they had. Still other survivors formed groups here and there to console each other about the great losses of life and property throughout the city and to find solace in their common religious beliefs. Indeed, Blanco (1936:191) pointed out the dire situation in the days after the earthquake, noting that the survivors lacked provisions, food, potable water, warm clothing, and shelter to protect them from the elements.

In Mendoza after the earthquake, people engaged in acts of humanity by providing aid to fellow residents and outsiders, alongside antisocial behavior such as looting often cited in accounts of the disaster. After highlighting acts of depraved human indifference and looting, Félix Ferías’s chronicle of the disaster turned to acts of
humanity as he wrote, “Let us set aside the sight with horror of these acts of barbarism and recognize that they did not lack in the midst of those scenes of desolation, charitable souls for which treasure could not be sought under the earth more precious than the life of a man” ([1884] 1938:171). Similarly, Clereaux’s account of the earthquake noted that in the midst of such a great calamity, residents of Mendoza came together and engaged in “acts of the most touching charity, of self-denial, and of Christian resignation alongside crimes of refined perversity, to unprecedented scandals, there perpetrated sacrilegiously defying the wrath of God, desecrating the corpses, and the most holy of temples, and destroyed smoking homes” (1938:161). Indeed, often-forgotten selfless acts occurred, and extraordinary communities formed, solidified by the experience of the disaster, alongside the acts of inhumanity and depravity frequently reproduced in newspapers and survivor accounts of the natural disaster.

The Mendoza earthquake of 1861 magnified the deep political and social divisions within 19th-century Argentina. The temblor struck the province and capital city at a turning point in Argentine history as Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation were fighting a civil war (1852–1861). Narratives of disorder after the natural disaster in Mendoza found in survivor accounts and newspapers reflected the political conflicts and perspectives of federalists and liberals in the interior provinces and Buenos Aires. Liberal newspapers in Buenos Aires reported and published accounts that highlighted the inability of the provincial government, and particularly the federalist governor, to stop the chaos and looting that was endemic in the days and weeks after the catastrophe. Many firsthand accounts exhibited elite panic in their descriptions of marauding bands of gauchos and campesinos looting and pillaging the provincial capital with little regard for the injured still trapped beneath the rubble of their homes and businesses. Similarly, many descriptions of the disaster’s aftermath observed that the lower classes used the disaster as an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the wealthy.

Despite narratives of widespread disorder and chaos after the 1861 earthquake in Mendoza, however, an examination of the provincial judicial and criminal records shows a decrease in reported criminal activity. The decrease in crime could be the result of underreporting due to the difficulty or inability to document or record crimes in the weeks and months after the earthquake. Studying criminal and judicial records from 1858 to 1864 provides a wider scope with which to compare the narratives of disorder and documented incidence of crime registered in the immediate months and years after the disaster to crime rates before the earthquake. Thefts and robberies, as well as total crime, decreased in 1861, the year the earthquake struck Mendoza. When robberies and thefts are tabulated as a percent of the total number of crimes for each year, however, 1861 and the years after the natural disaster reflect pre-earthquake rates. Thus, the narratives of disorder and elite panic prevalent in survivor accounts of the natural disaster do not reflect documented crime rates and levels of theft and robbery in Mendoza. Instead, examples of survivors working together in informal and extraordinary communities to provide for their basic necessities such as food, potable water, and shelter also exist alongside accounts of antisocial behavior. Natural disasters such as the 1861 Mendoza earthquake, then, provide an opportunity to view political and social tensions within a community and country without the everyday façade that often conceals them.
ENDNOTES

1. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
2. The Junta de Estudios Históricos de Mendoza collected a variety of primary sources, including survivor accounts, newspapers, scientific reports, archival records, correspondence, and government documents from libraries and archives around Argentina that are particularly helpful in studying the 1861 earthquake. The sources were published in volumes 2 and 10 of the Revista de la Junta de Estudios Históricos de Mendoza.

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East Chicago Politics: A Cornucopia of Corruption*

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ABSTRACT
Despite the comical title, there is a lot of corruption in East Chicago (IN) politics. One mayoral election had to have a “do-over” because of fraudulent absentee ballots, and a former mayor is doing time in jail for using public monies to remodel his home. This cornucopia of corruption extended to the indictment of six public officials (the so-called Sidewalk Six) in East Chicago for misusing public funds for political gain, specifically vote-buying, in the 1999 mayoral reelection of Robert Pastrick. These officials, ranging from a parks superintendent to a city engineer to several city council members, bought votes by pouring sidewalks, installing driveways, trimming trees, and more on private property using public funds and noncompetitive bids. This scandal will be the topic of this paper. This type of corruption (vote-buying) falls under the categories of white and gray corruption as theorized by Heidenheimer (1970), where white corruption is typically found in kinship-based systems and is tolerated, and gray corruption is found in boss-patronage systems is not thought to be wrong by those involved. It is hypothesized that the vote-buying in East Chicago occurred because of four elements: lack of a competitive second party (Democrats have controlled East Chicago since its incorporation in 1889), machine politics, a largely ethnic immigrant population, and large amounts of casino money. This article explains how this type of corruption fits into the larger literature on corruption and concludes with the prospects for cleaner politics in East Chicago, Indiana.

KEY WORDS Corruption; Machine Politics; Elections; Sidewalk Six

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Elections aren’t often given a “do-over” because of voter fraud, but that is just what happened in the mayoral election in East Chicago, Indiana, in August 2004. On May 6, 2003, incumbent mayor Robert Pastrick ran against his Democratic challenger, George Pabey, in the mayoral primary. George Pabey won the election until absentee ballots were counted. The absentee ballots put Pastrick over the top by 278 votes. Pabey filed a lawsuit alleging absentee ballot fraud and asked for a special election, which went all the way to the Indiana Supreme Court. There, the court overturned lower court decisions and stated that fraud did occur. The court found that Pastrick supporters engaged in “actions that perverted the absentee voting process and compromised the integrity of that mayoral primary election” (George Pabey v. Robert Pastrick et al. 2004). Some of these actions were “providing compensation and/or creating the expectation of compensation to induce voters to cast their ballot via the absentee process,” “assist[ing] the voter in completing the ballot,” “the routine completion of substantive portions of absentee ballot applications by Pastrick supporters to which applicants simply affixed their signatures,” and “votes cast by employees of the City of East Chicago who simply did not reside in East Chicago” (George Pabey v. Robert Pastrick et al. 2004). The special election was held on October 26, 2004, and George Pabey won by a margin of almost 2–1 margin. His tenure would not last, however, and he too would engage in corrupt activities that landed him in jail. He was indicted by a grand jury “with conspiring to embezzle city money and illegally use city workers to remodel the house Pabey bought with his daughter in Gary’s Miller Beach neighborhood in December 2008” (Hinkel 2010). Following a trial in 2011, Pabey was found guilty and was ordered to pay a fine of $60,000 and sentenced to five years in jail (Tompkins 2011).

The Sidewalk Six indictments predated the Pabey scandal but involved his nemesis, Robert Pastrick. These indictments involved six public officials in East Chicago who were charged with misusing public funds for political gain, specifically vote-buying in the 1999 mayoral reelection of Robert Pastrick.1 These officials, ranging from a parks superintendent to a city engineer to several city council members, bought votes by pouring sidewalks, creating driveways, trimming trees, and more on private property using public funds and noncompetitive bids.2

The Sidewalk Six scandal is the topic of this article. This type of corruption (vote-buying) falls under the categories of white and gray corruption as theorized by Heidenheimer (1970), where white corruption is typically found in kinship-based systems and is tolerated, and gray corruption is found in boss-patronage systems but is not thought to be wrong by those involved. It is hypothesized that the vote-buying occurred...
because of four elements: lack of a competitive second party (Democrats have controlled East Chicago since its incorporation in 1889), machine politics, a largely ethnic immigrant population, and large amounts of casino money. This article explains how this type of corruption fits into the larger literature on corruption and concludes with the prospects for cleaner politics in East Chicago, Indiana.

The literature on corruption is varied but focuses predominantly on definitional issues, the causes and conditions that contribute to corruption, and examples and types of corruption (with only a few case studies of vote-buying). Many of these writings have been collected into three volumes, edited by Arnold J. Heidenheimer (1970); Heidenheimer, Johnston, and Le Vine (1989); and Heidenheimer and Johnston (2002). Regarding the definitional works, Heidenheimer (2002) found three “centered” definitions: public-office-centered, market-centered, and public-interest-centered. The public-office-centered definition focuses on the official duties of an office holder and is usually centered on the office holder using her position for private gain, as in David H. Bayley’s definition: “Corruption, then, while being tied particularly to the act of bribery, is a general term covering misuse of authority as a result of considerations of personal gain, which need not be monetary” (1989:936–37). This definition equates corruption with illegal acts by a public official and has the advantage in that it is fairly straightforward—or as Kurer states, it “scores high on the operationability count” (2005:225). Although it is fairly clear (corruption is an illegal act performed by a public official), however, it is also culture-specific; the definition “uphold[s] bureaucratic rules and regulations [that] may be sanctioned by norms and conventions in Western societies but not in others” (Kurer 2005:225). For example, other nations may not have formal rules for how an official is to conduct government business; it may be admissible for an official to accept gifts from individuals desiring to do business with the official, or it may be permissible for the official to ask for “favors” when granting government permits or licenses.

A similar problem is using the law to determine corruption. Corruption does not always involve an illegal act. Consider nepotism, campaign contributions to congresspersons to influence legislation (e.g., Jack Abramoff), or leaking information to the media. Also, what may be illegal today may have been legal a decade ago.

Market-centered definitions are exemplified by the following definition by Jacob von Klaveren: “A corrupt civil servant regards his public office as a business, the income of which he will … seek to maximize. … The size of his income depends … upon the market situation and his talents for finding the point of maximal gain on the public’s demand curve” (von Klaveren 1989:26). Or, according to Gibbons, a market-centered definition of corruption emphasizes “’profit maximization’ as the prime motivator” of corrupt behavior (Gibbons 1989:166). And “profit” in the economic sense is not the only “motivator”; there is also prestige or political support (Johnston 1996:323). A critique of this definition is that it is not a definition at all, but more an explanation for “the incentives that affect the amount and stakes of corruption taking place in a given situation” (Johnston 1996:323).
A public interest-centered definition is provided by Carl J. Friedrich:

The pattern of corruption may therefore be said to exist whenever a power holder who is charged with doing certain things, i.e., a responsible functionary or office-holder, is by monetary or other rewards not legally provided for, induced to take actions which favor whoever provides the rewards and thereby does damage to the public and its interests. (1989:15).

According to Friedrich, public-interest harms include no-bid contracts, vote-buying, and giving out building permits and requiring a kickback. As with the public-office-centered definition of corruption, the public-interest-centered definition is also culture-specific and time-sensitive.

Several authors note that Heidenheimer himself added a fourth “centered” definition: public-opinion (Gardiner 2002; Gibbons 1989; Kurer 2005). This definition “defines” corruption as acts that public opinion believe to be corrupt; therefore, built into the definition is the recognition that corruption and an illegal act may not always be synonymous. By the same token, if the public believes an act is corrupt, it is, regardless of whether it is illegal.

As with the market-centered definition, it is said that the public-opinion-centered definition is more an explanation for than a definition of corruption (Johnston 1996; Kurer 2005), and in fact, Heidenheimer does use the public-opinion-centered definition as such.

As all of the above definitions suffer from some defect or another, this article relies upon the following definition of corruption: behavior performed by a public office-holder that compromises the democratic process. This is a hybrid of the public-office-centered definition and the public-interest-centered definition. It is culture-specific, as this analysis is focused on urban American politics but does not rely on the law to determine corruption. Additionally, it is more specific about a particular behavior but gets at the harm that corruption does to the democratic process, similar to the public-interest-centered definition.

As stated previously, other than definitional issues, the literature on corruption focuses on the causes and conditions for corruption and the different types of corruption. Bull and Newell categorize these causes as political culture; political structure and institutions; party system, party government, political parties, and politicians; and political economy, the public, and private sectors (2003:236–40).

The causes and conditions are numerous, but each contributes to a different type of corruption: bribery, kickbacks, violating campaign finance laws, nepotism, or vote-buying.

Regarding the act of vote-buying, the literature is rather limited. It focuses primarily on incidents of vote-buying and whether vote-buying is a tactic used by a political machine or other officials. There are also two conference papers, which discuss why vote-buying is undemocratic in Latin America (Stokes 2004) and why people sell their votes (Lehoucq 2002).
Lehoucq states that people sell their votes “when parties cannot use coercion or economic dependence to control voters. [P]arties will buy votes as long as they can monitor compliance with agreements they reach with sellers” (2002:2). The agreement can be for the voter to vote for a particular candidate or stay home on election day. When parties cannot monitor this compliance, as with the secret ballot, vote-buying will cease.

Lehoucq touches on one reason vote-buying exists—to ensure a particular outcome at the polls—but he does not explain why vote-buying would occur in an election in which the secret ballot does exist and in the 21st century when it is clearly illegal to sell votes. Some other motive or reason must exist to warrant the number of incidents of vote-buying continuing into the 21st century.

As stated above, Heidenheimer uses the public-opinion-centered definition or focus when defining political corruption. He also uses that definition to explain why political corruption exists in a community. This emphasis on public opinion equates to a conception of corruption based on a community’s political culture (one of the causes of corruption listed by Bull and Newell 2003). That is, the occurrence of corrupt political behavior will be in direct proportion to the community’s definition and perception of corruption: Less ambiguity and less tolerance equals less corruption; more ambiguity and more tolerance equal more corruption. This focus does not explain the first occurrence of corruption, but it does offer an explanation for why corruption continues.

Heidenheimer’s 1970 work ranks the perception of corruption along a gradient from black to gray to white. Black corruption is behavior that is clearly perceived by the majority of members of the community to be illegal, and the members are willing to see those guilty of the behaviors punished. On the other end of the spectrum is white corruption. This is behavior that the majority of the community is willing to tolerate and would not want to see punished. In the middle is gray corruption. This is behavior for which little consensus exists; some would prefer to see it punished, others not.

Heidenheimer found there to be three types of corruption, in ascending order of severity: petty corruption, routine corruption, and aggravated corruption (2002:143–52). Heidenheimer also classified four types of communities, or “systems” where corruption could exist. These systems differ from one another based on a continuum of the independence the community members believe they have in relating to their government, or, as Heidenheimer terms it, “political obligation relationships”: traditional familist- (kinship-) based System, traditional patron-client based system, modern boss-patronage-based system, and civic-culture-based system (Heidenheimer 2002:143–47).

In the first type of system, kinship-based, the nuclear family retains all loyalty and trust, and it is to the family one turns when dealing with the governing members of a community. The second type of system, patron-client, exists where “ties to powerful protectors are strong, identification with the general community still quite weak” (Heidenheimer 2002:146). The boss-follower system differs from the patron-client system in that relationships occur in larger, more open, urban centers “based upon highly differentiated economies in which even the greenest immigrant differentiates between a patron saint and the political boss” (Heidenheimer 2002:146). In the boss-patronage system, the citizens also have more choice about whom to attach themselves to, and this is where political machine-type politics flourish. The civic-culture system is the “cleanest,” in which citizens realize they do not need intermediaries (a
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patron or boss) to receive the benefits of the laws of the community. Citizens are much more altruistic in their goals for the community and in their dealings with each other.

Heidenheimer examined all four types of systems to answer the question “Which of the various forms of behavior that a significant portion of the population regards as corrupt are more likely to be more pervasive in one society than another, and why?” (2002:143). His research found all types of corruption to exist in the four systems, but the amount of corruption found depended on the type of system. He found that the civic-culture system had the lowest incidence and the kinship-based had the most, with it all considered white corruption.

Under the different types of corruption—petty, routine, and aggravated—there exist several subtypes (Table 1). The practice of vote-buying is considered routine corruption in a modern boss-patronage system, with frequent incidence, and is considered gray corruption—a behavior that is tolerated, but without generating much concern, and citizens differ in their opinion as to whether it should be punished. Under the first two systems, familist and patron-client, vote-buying is considered a standard operating procedure and white corruption, or behavior that does not generate much concern on behalf of the community. In a civic-cultured system, however, vote-buying is considered black corruption and is not tolerated.

The Sidewalk Six vote-buying incident occurred in East Chicago, located in Lake County in Northwest Indiana, about 6 miles from the Illinois state line and about 19 miles from the city of Chicago. East Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1893, and shortly thereafter, Inland Steel came to town. In 1903, the East Chicago Company, composed of “powerbrokers” from Chicago, “recognized the need for a new industrial zone outside Chicago and invested heavily in municipal services, oversaw neighborhood planning, and dredged the Indiana Harbor Ship Canal. By 1907, East Chicago boasted a navigable waterway link to Lake Michigan and to the Grand Calumet River” (Chicago Historical Society 2005).

The influx of jobs in East Chicago was matched by the influx of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. During WWI, immigrants also came from Mexico to take advantage of the plentiful jobs. In 1900, the foreign-born population reached a high of 39 percent. It dipped to 11.6 percent in 1990, but as of 2000, the foreign-born population was 14.7 percent.

East Chicago is a fading industrial city, and like other declining cities, its population has dropped almost 44 percent, from a high of 57,669 in 1960 to 32,414 in 2000. Today, the city is 51.6 percent Latino, 36.1 percent African American, and 12.1 percent White non-Hispanic (City-Data 2019).

What has somewhat saved the city of East Chicago are casinos. The Harrah’s East Chicago casino (bought by Resorts Hotels and Casino in 2005) arrived in 1997; since then, a total of four other casinos have come to Northwest Indiana. The cities of East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Michigan City, and Whiting take slices from the casino-proceeds pie. East Chicago alone, a town of 32,414 people, is entitled to $8 million annually. Recently, the Indiana governor and attorney general announced an investigation into a private East Chicago developer who collects millions of dollars from Resorts Hotels and Casino in East Chicago. The governor alleges that the developer has not used the funds as required, for the public interest (Zabroski 2006:1).
Table 1. Incidence and Evaluation of Corrupt Practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Behavior</th>
<th>Traditional Familist- (Kinship-) Based System</th>
<th>Traditional Patron-Client-Based System</th>
<th>Modern Boss-Patronage-Based System</th>
<th>Modern Civic-Culture-Based System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petty corruption</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officials deviate from rules in minor ways for benefit of friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routine corruption</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gifts accepted by public officials (parties) for generalized goodwill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepotism practiced in official appointments and awarding of contracts</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officials profit from public decisions through sideline occupations (clean graft)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clients pledge votes according to patron’s direction</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggravated corruption</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>FI</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clients need patron intervention to get administrative “due process”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gifts (kickbacks) expected by officials as prerequisite for extending “due process”</td>
<td>SOP</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>FI</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>officials tolerate organized crime in return for payoffs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>activists suddenly change party allegiance for pecuniary reasons</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>officials and citizens ignore clear proof of corruption</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: B=black corruption; Fi=frequent incidence; G=gray corruption; OI=occasional incidence; OO=rare incidence, without regular pattern; SOP=standard operating procedure; W=white corruption
East Chicago has a mayoral system of government, with a nine-member city council. All are elected to four-year terms with no term limit. Democrats have controlled the mayor’s office and most of the council seats since the city’s incorporation in 1893.

East Chicago operates with a quintessential political machine. It has all but eliminated the Republican Party in Lake County. In fact, the chair of the Lake County Republican Party came out of the closet, so to speak, in 2004 and registered as a Democrat, which he was, for all intents and purposes. Thomas Philpot, Democrat and county clerk, said at his November (2003) victory party that “the GOP chief had been with him ‘every step of the way.’ The public acclaim by a Democratic candidate was too much for even Cantrell's supporters inside the GOP to bear” (Kiesling 2003). He was asked to leave his position as chair of the county Republican party by the state party chair soon thereafter.

In 2004, the city had a monthly payroll of $3,044,221 with 925 full-time employees (City-Data 2019)). What’s interesting is that the City of East Chicago employs (supports?) more public employees in Solid Waste Management (East Chicago has trash pickup twice a week) and the Parks Department than in the police and fire departments put together (248 vs. 204; City-Data 2019). Additionally, compared to similarly sized cities in Indiana, East Chicago easily outpaces all others in spending per person; East Chicago spends $633 per person, while the average is $317 person (Lowery 2004:8).

The vote-buying scandal began six weeks before the 1999 mayoral primary. Robert Pastrick was fighting a close election with Lake County’s Democratic Party chair, Stephen Stiglich. The incident has been called a sidewalks-for-votes scheme because concrete ultimately paid for by the public was poured on private property. Driveways, patios, basketball courts, pools, and basements were all poured out of public funds: $25 million was spent on concrete for thousands of people’s private property. The scandal was nicknamed the Sidewalk Six case because of the six top-seated officials and the enormous numbers of sidewalks (concrete) that had been poured.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Gary Bell has said that in his opinion, this is one of the most unique cases ever prosecuted and that “officials were so arrogant they did it in broad daylight”. Basically, city officials approached residents and asked if they wanted any concrete work done. One of the city’s Catholic churches had substantial work done. One resident had her whole backyard covered with concrete; when asked about it by investigators, she stated that she did not want to mow her lawn. One resident who had the entire area surrounding his backyard pool covered claimed to know nothing about the concrete. An apartment-building owner claimed he had no idea how the basement of his building had been poured with fresh concrete. These and numerous other residents lied to investigators, saying they had no idea how the concrete had gotten there. According to Bell, contractors lied and said they could not remember who had ordered the work, that they had done it and gotten paid.

The case came to light because once the elections had taken place, all the work suddenly stopped, leaving many of the areas in disarray. As citizens called to find out when work would be finished—especially the small amount of work that had actually occurred on public property—city officials found themselves in an urgent situation:
Where was the money to come from to finish the project? According to Bell, by May, the city of East Chicago was already $5 million in the red. While it isn’t uncommon for cities to run in the red, this usually doesn’t happen until the end of the fiscal year, around October or November. Following investigations, indictments were brought against six leading officials: three members of East Chicago City Council and three officials in Mayor Robert Pastrick’s administration.

Bell states that with vote-buying, there is no gray area: vote-buying is all black. It is very black in regard to the Sidewalk Six case. “In very small amounts, vote-buying could be a gray area, such as when, right before an election, city officials decide to fix a public street that was in need of repair. A gray area would be using public works projects to influence the vote,” Bell stated.

The charged Six pleaded innocent to fraud charges and asked that 66 of the 71 charges against them be dropped because, they say, no federal funds were abused and no kickbacks, bribes, or other overt acts were alleged in the indictment (Dolan 2003). After they learned that charges would not be dropped, three of the six (Pedro Porras, Adrian Santos, and Jose Valdez Jr.) decided that they would cooperate. City engineer Pedro Porras allegedly authorized $77,000 worth of asphalt paving and electrical work for an unidentified church. He was accused of overseeing $16 million of the work. Porras was charged with 13 counts, including conspiracy, fraud, obstruction of justice, and perjury (Dolan 2004a). Had Porras gone to trial and been convicted, he could have faced more than 200 years in prison and received fines totaling more than $32 million, but because of his cooperation in the cases against others and his guilty plea, he was promised leniency by prosecutors. Porras was sentenced to 27 months in federal prison, and he and the other five defendants must collectively pay $25 million in restitution (Harvey 2005b).

Regarding the second official to cooperate, East Chicago Councilman Adrian Santos and others had voted to borrow $15 million to pay for improper work and to replenish city coffers. Santos was required to immediately resign from the city council and never hold a future position with the city. Santos admitted that he and others directed contractors to pour concrete throughout the fourth and fifth districts of the city, knowing “that a city in Indiana may not lawfully pay for work on private property except on an emergency basis.” Santos was sentenced to 33 months in federal prison (Harvey 2005a).

Jose Valdez Jr., general foreman of the East Chicago Parks Department and a precinct committeeman, conspired to steal more than $20 million from the city treasury. The money would be used to finance reelection campaigns for the conspirators and others in Pastrick’s administration. Valdez also canvassed neighborhoods to identify which residents would vote for Pastrick and other city incumbents in exchange for free concrete. He was directed to the city’s Sunnyside neighborhood, and he became so busy directing concrete into it that he jokingly called it Cementville. Valdez was also sentenced to 33 months for his part.

Prosecutors called both Santos and Valdez to testify against the remaining defendants. They were also to cooperate with the ongoing investigation of public corruption within East Chicago, as well as to make restitution for any money squandered through the alleged sidewalk conspiracy (Dolan 2004b).
The three who chose to stand by their not-guilty plea were Frank Kollintzas, Joe De La Cruz, and Edwardo Maldonado. Two of the three men (Kollintzas and De La Cruz) voted to borrow more than $15 million to pay for improper work and to replenish the city coffers. All three of the men voted to steal more than $20 million in order to finance their reelection campaigns and the campaigns of Pastrick and others in his administration. East Chicago City Councilman Frank Kollintzas fled to Greece prior to sentencing and remains a fugitive, according to U.S. Attorney Bell. It is believed that he used a false passport or a Greek passport under the name of Fotios Kollintzas. Before he fled, he wrote the court a letter complaining that he had not slept since his arrest and that he didn’t deserve to go to prison “until he died or became an old man” (Dolan 2005). He was thought to have fled after hearing the sentences given to Maldonado and De La Cruz. Kollintzas was supposed to have been sentenced the same day, but his sentencing had been delayed because his attorney was not able to appear in court because of another case. In Kollintzas’s absence, he was sentenced to 11 years and 4 months.

East Chicago City Controller Edwardo Maldonado ordered concrete and tree-trimming work to be completed in both private and public areas. He also falsified paperwork to cover up $77,000 worth of asphalt paving and electrical work on a church. He paid $298,058 to cover the union dues of 48 employees who worked on the sidewalk project, and he attempted to cover this by issuing handwritten checks rather than using a computerized system that would track and record the payments (Dolan 2003). Maldonado was sentenced to eight years and one month in prison. He was shocked by the sentence and said that he had been forthright from the beginning and that his first interview had provided the road map for the prosecution. He hadn’t even hired a lawyer because he didn’t think that what he had done was wrong. He said the only thing that he could have done to assist more in the case would have been to testify. Bell replied that Maldonado was not helpful and refused to accept responsibility for his actions by admitting that they were wrong.

Joe De La Cruz received six years in federal prison for his part in the sidewalk scandal. As noted previously, included in each of their sentences is the order for the six to collectively pay back $25 million. Following his conviction, Valdez and his wife filed for bankruptcy. According to Attorney Bell as quoted in the Hammond Times, however, a defendant cannot be resolved of restitution though bankruptcy (Harvey 2005b).

Frank Kollintzas’s wife tried something similar. She filed for divorce from her husband to keep the assets of herself and her husband safe. It did not work. A federal court ruled that the “government's interest in seizing those assets is superior to Joanna Kollintzas’ efforts to preserve them through divorce. Otherwise, spouses could shield property from federal taxation and seizure” (Dolan 2006).

At the time of this writing, several related cases that evolved from investigations within the Sidewalk Six cases were being tried in Indiana State courts. One case involved Robert Pastrick’s son Kevin and former state Democratic chairman Peter Manous and a Lake County land deal. Both were found guilty and are currently serving time in federal prison.
In a one-party system, very few checks and balances exist, and corruption tends to be more prevalent. Historically, the Democratic Party has controlled East Chicago and Lake County, primarily through the mayor’s office (in East Chicago), various elected positions, and the Democratic Party county chair. The party’s policy has been to employ as many people as possible and therefore retain votes from those they have employed. The people who are in power hire the businessmen and contractors to complete projects, and these businessmen and contractors give kickbacks to those in power, thus creating a cycle of corruption. According to Gary Bell in 2006, the Democratic Party had an enormous amount of power, controlling all the local government jobs, and until recently, nearly all appointed officials had had ties to East Chicago.

The vote-buying scheme in East Chicago was thus a function of the lack of competitive political parties (essentially one-party rule) and a Democratic political machine. In fact, East Chicago is a textbook political machine: It is an “exchange process” in that it “traded favors and benefits for votes” (Ross and Levine 2006:175). It gave favors and benefits in the form of jobs (note the earlier-noted discrepancy between the number of parks department and sanitation employees and police and firefighters) and free yard work. Although East Chicago’s foreign-born population is not as high as it was at the turn of the 19th century, many of its inhabitants are second- and third-generation American families with Eastern and Southern European and Mexican ancestries. These families have remained in East Chicago, along with all their ties and loyalties. And then there are the millions in casino money.

These reasons explain why the vote-buying scheme occurred in the 1999 mayoral primary election, but they don’t really shed any light on why corruption continues to occur in East Chicago. It is believed that Heidenheimer’s definition of corruption—based on public opinion, or what the public will tolerate—explains the continuance of corruption in East Chicago politics. Several of the Sidewalk Six believed that they had done nothing wrong. They stated that they had not received kickbacks or public funds themselves for securing the work at private residences. Those who had the work done may have known the work was not quite legal (refer to their statements, above, that they could not recall when the work was done) but appeared more than willing to tolerate the behavior as long as they benefited from the work. Those who could not get work done were willing to complain to the authorities and hold the officials accountable, however. Whether they felt this way because of the illegality of the work on private property or because they were not the beneficiaries can only be speculated. This fits into Heidenheimer’s conception of gray corruption: ambiguous classifications about what constituted corruption, and ambivalence about whether the Six should have been prosecuted. Clearly, the Six themselves did not believe they did anything wrong. They received no personal gain, although it was alleged that some did receive kickbacks when steering the work on private property to companies of relatives and/or friends (Dolan 2004c).

The prospects for cleaner politics in East Chicago are a little more positive under the new administration of Mayor Anthony Copeland, but cleaner politics seems more than just one man or administration can accomplish. It requires an entirely new political
culture, one similar to what Heidenheimer described as the civic-culture system, in which the citizens
do not feel they have to work through an influential intermediary in order to get the benefit of the law and administrative programs. They have developed strong community-regarding norms, which are supported by viable voluntary associations who repay their volunteer activists in tokens of moral satisfaction rather than money or money’s worth. (2002:147).

This type of change will take quite some time to establish. It will occur only when the people believe they do not need the political bosses and can fend for themselves when dealing with city government.

ENDNOTES
1. This primary election is depicted in the 2001 film King of Steeltown: Hardball Politics in the Heartland.
2. Additionally, votes were bought in Mayor Pastrick’s 2003 reelection bid; 34 indictments have been handed down for that incident.
3. An EBSCO search on “vote-buying” found 126 articles describing the practice in Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.
4. In later articles, Heidenheimer and others have expressed concern over the simplicity of his black-gray-white design and suggested a more “polychromatic” scheme (Heidenheimer 2004; Moroff 2004; Von Alemann 2004).
5. Robert Pastrick served as mayor for 32 years, and it was during his 1999 run for reelection that the Sidewalk Six vote-buying scheme occurred.

REFERENCES


Going to Extremes: The National Parent Teacher Association and Political Extremism in the 1960s*

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ABSTRACT
In the 1960s, the National Parent Teacher Association (PTA) reported efforts at “infiltration” by conservative extremist groups, including the John Birch Society (JBS). Extremists sought to take over PTA meetings to obtain a mainstream platform for minority opinions. The PTA parried extremists’ efforts with a deluge of activities and publications dedicated to democratic fair play and research-based approaches to education. In spite of a coherent plan for dealing with such techniques in the 1960s, the methods used by the Birch Society and other conservative extremist groups appear to have resumed in contemporary educational discussions. Once again, opinions that appeal to the fringes of the American political and social spectrum have dominated policy discussions, most notably relating to textbook selection.

KEY WORDS Parent Teacher Association; John Birch Society; Political Extremism; Public Education

In March 1965, the president of the National Parent Teacher Association (PTA), Jennelle Moorhead, led a workshop called “Extremism and You.” In it, she described the “new and deadly force” of extremism. Moorhead mentioned that leftist perspectives were one part of the educational landscape, but she devoted more attention to conservative extremism. From across the country, she reported, the PTA and its members had been targeted by unpleasant scrutiny from conservative extremists. For example, one local PTA president mentioned trying to prevent her meeting from turning the PTA into a forum for ultraconservative political perspectives. Soon after, five people forced their way into her home while her husband was away. They refused to leave until she went to her telephone to call police, but she said “she was terrified, and wrote in a letter, ‘I was labeled a Communist.’” In another case, Moorhead said, a council president in the west

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This research was supported by a grant-in-aid and a Summer Faculty Fellowship at Indiana University Kokomo.
“was harassed by phone calls as late as 3 a.m. and had garbage dumped on her lawn. Her children were told their mother was a communist and were not allowed to play with neighbor children. The situation became so unbearable that her husband quit his job and they moved to another community” (Moorhead 1965c).

The accusations went beyond harassment of PTA members. Moorhead claimed that conservative extremists were “adroit at every form of fraud and falsification,” employing misleading statements or citing articles that did not exist, in order to support their opinions. To Moorhead, one of the most dangerous conservatives was Robert Welch, leader of the John Birch Society (JBS). Moorhead claimed that Welch was bent on forming “chapters in a majority of congressional districts to gain political support for ‘conservative’ candidates. By infiltrating PTAs the members of these chapters can use them to swing large blocks of votes their way.” To Moorhead, the stakes were clear: “These defenders of the extremist position are determined to win control over American institutions—among them, the PTA … because extremists know that the PTA would rear each child so that he will grow up a free citizen, able to think independently and well about critical issues” (Moorhead 1965c: 6, 7, 10).

The PTA also took the offensive in such disagreements. Moorhead and other PTA leaders cast the JBS and other extremist groups as “a clear, present, and persistent danger to schools and democracy.” They worried that if left unchecked, the JBS would be able to misrepresent PTA efforts, typically by misrepresenting the organization as sympathetic to Communism (Moorhead 1966a). Moorhead and others like her had pledged themselves to prepare children to participate in a diverse society dedicated to the free exchange of ideas. PTA members across the nation feared that conservative extremism would alter public perceptions of their work, and perhaps even the direction of their efforts in public education.

The 1960s preoccupation with groups like the John Birch Society reveals the ways in which some extremist conservatives targeted educational agencies and organizations to publicize and amplify their concerns to the general public. The PTA, which always classified itself as a nonpartisan organization, pledged itself to consider a range of opinions and to endorse resolutions that worked in the interests of children and were supported by expert research. Of all the extremist groups discussed, the most frequently mentioned (and soon the object of PTA countermeasures) was the JBS. Through the end of the decade, PTA members produced a flurry of materials about confronting extremism and protecting its members’ right to consider a variety of views rather than a single perspective.

As civic agents, the predominantly female members of the PTA expanded beyond the constraints of home and family life identified in early research about post-WWII women. They were far from the disorderly women who tested the limits of suburban domesticity and motherhood described in more recent historical scholarship, however. To date, just one monograph describes the work of the National PTA, and it focuses on issues surrounding race and education (Anderson 2010; May 1988; Meyerowitz 1994; Woyshner 2009). This case study therefore contributes to a number of scholarly conversations about American political culture, public education, gender, and the PTA, and to scholarly awareness of women’s civic organizing in the post-WWII period.
The PTA’s interactions with the Birch Society and other extremist groups in the 1960s are important for a few reasons. First, they offer a concise case study of the methods used by conservative extremist groups in the 1960s. Second, they illustrate the ways in which educational policies and programs served as a lens that magnified broader social and political debates, especially those that related to the education of children. Finally, and most importantly, the conflict between the PTA and the JBS foreshadowed contemporary debates about educational policy and politics in the United States. The similarity of the methods warrants consideration, particularly in understanding the course of contemporary discussions about educational policy and textbook selection. The PTA pledged to uphold rules of fair democratic exchange of ideas, as long as a final vote could establish the preferred courses of action. Extremists, in contrast, worked from the assumption that their opinions were correct, and circumvented conventional rules in order to represent their perspectives more strongly.

**THE PARENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION**

Jennelle Moorhead offered her observations in a period of social and political tumult in U.S. history. By the mid-1960s, liberals and conservatives expressed their opinions boldly, but President Moorhead reminded her members of the PTA’s founding principles. Organized in 1897 by Phoebe Apperson Hearst and Alice McLellan Birney, the National Congress of Mothers was established on principles of democratic participation. The name of the organization then changed over time, to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and eventually to the Parent Teacher Association. Its board and members were required to be nonpartisan, noncommercial, and nonsectarian: “It is expected that any Board member who contemplates participation in a partisan political activity will consider the effect of his action in the light of the nonpartisan policy of the Congress” (NPTA Box 1, Folder 4:15; NPTA Box 113, Folder 734:19; NPTA Box 2, Folder 16). In practice, this meant that PTA members were required to avoid any public political advocacy and to base conclusions about the best approaches for children upon the consideration of diverse viewpoints. PTA members consistently sought out expert opinions from a variety of professional organizations to support their approaches to education. By the mid-20th century, the PTA was widely presumed to be well-versed on research about educational methods and policies. PTA leaders communicated regularly with legal, governmental, academic, and policy-making bodies to offer their opinions about the best educational approaches for children. The PTA’s primary goal was “to promote the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church, and community.” In short, it was possible to engage in discussion (or disagreement) at the local level—for example, about pressing topics such as desegregation, fluoridation, and sex education; however, PTA leaders encouraged members to consider expert research about children and education (including legal advice), and then to pursue policy decisions that followed those best practices (Anderson 2010; Moorhead 1965a).
PTA VALUES

After World War II, the National PTA adopted a four-point program, embracing school education, health, world understanding, and home, family life, and parent education as the primary targets of their efforts. Reflecting upon postwar principles, members reinforced “our honest belief in democratic ideals; and challenge others to pursue the same course” (“Our Four-Point Program,” p. 13). Leaders reminded their audience that the PTA could “cooperate with other organizations and agencies active in child welfare” but that members “should refrain from trying to direct their administrative activities or control their policies.” At the heart of their efforts lay a consistent focus on children’s well-being. As the organization’s leaders put it, “for children’s good, [the PTA] wants school lunches, public health services, health education, good schools, child labor laws, and well-staffed juvenile courts.” To that end, members acknowledged that the PTA “works openly with federal agencies such as the US Agriculture Department, the US Public Health Service, the US Office of Education, the Children’s Bureau, and the US Department of Labor and with their state and local counterparts.” To the PTA, such activity was a requirement of its primary objective: the welfare and protection of children (National PTA’s Guide 1965:3, 11).

In the post-WWII period, PTA members commented frequently on the importance of considering a variety of opinions before reaching decisions on children’s best interests:

The PTA has to take stands on critical issues affecting the welfare of children and youth—for example, on federal aid to education, on equalizing educational opportunity, on services for disadvantaged children, on mental health programs, on fluoridation of water, on the United Nations. And this it does. But it does so only after study, after consultation with experts and specialists. It does so only after the democratic processes of discussion, debate, and majority decision. On critical issues there are bound to be differences of opinion. … It is only through examining them, discussing and debating them, that we can arrive at the wisest decisions—decisions that are most likely to be beneficial to children and youth, decisions worthy of a great democracy. (Moorhead 1965a:7)

Leaders frequently proclaimed that democratic decision-making governed their efforts. While the direction of PTA efforts seemed partisan to some, members suggested that its course was logical, governed only by expert opinions and a genuine desire to help children.
The emphasis on reasoned discussion, logical problem solving, and democratic procedure became a staple of the PTA’s efforts. In the post-WWII period, PTA members repeated often the standard of considering a diverse array of opinions. Publicity assured that the “PTA practices as well as preaches democracy. It welcomes dissent and debate as well as agreement. It does not impose conformity to any doctrine or dogma except the democratic process.” The organization also professed the importance of majority rule: “No one expects or assumes that the stand taken by an organization has the endorsement of every single member. It simply represents a majority opinion. … The minority has the right to try to change the opinion of the majority by the democratic processes of discussion, argument, and persuasion” (National PTA’s Guide 1965:12, 15). To arrive at the majority opinion, the PTA encouraged a free-flowing exchange of opinions: “In every community we must continue to foster a free market in ideas. In order to make change possible we must create a climate that is hospitable to change, a climate in which free discussion, responsible debate, and honest dissent flourish” (Moorhead 1965a:8). Not only did this approach ensure carefully reasoned policies relating to the education and support of children, but also, by welcoming dissenting opinions, the PTA avoided the appearance of social or political partisanship.

Although some characterized PTA programming as generally liberal, the organization frequently touted itself as moderate. Members sometimes criticized the leftist radicalism of the 1960s, particularly the public protests about American involvement in Vietnam. President Moorhead characterized antiwar sentiments and protest as giving “aid and comfort to the enemy” (Moorhead 1965e). Still, aware that some criticized the PTA as a liberal group, the PTA issued its pronouncement that “PTA stands on issues … are likely to be moderate and middle of the road, rather than extreme. On the whole they could be characterized, as the PTA itself can be, as being ‘sanely progressive and soundly conservative.’ As such, they are not likely to please either the extreme left or the extreme right” (National PTA’s Guide 1965:10). Convinced that their methods incorporated the views of people across a range of social and political attitudes, members of the PTA strove to present the organization as a moderate one that enjoyed broad-based appeal.

As one of the nation’s largest agencies dedicated to the education and welfare of children, the PTA staked a claim to legitimacy that reflected Cold War imperatives. For some Americans, the end of World War II presented an unprecedented opportunity to achieve the kind of democracy for which the war had been fought. Active participation in civic life, confidence in democratic processes, and a reliance upon expertise to justify their approach suggested that the PTA framed itself as a modern organization that relied more upon objective methods than political schemes.

By the 1960s, however, members noted that extremism was a growing challenge. On the one hand, PTA members believed that it was fair to consider such viewpoints among a spectrum of concerns about children. On the other hand, members frequently suggested that the methods and views of conservative extremists had become increasingly antagonistic and disruptive. Conference agendas listed extremism as one of many “adverse factors” under a planned “discussion of problems” in 1964 (“Agenda”); it was not just the opinions held by extremists, but also their conduct. One member
noted, “In California its efforts last year to replace moderate school board with ‘Birch boards’ were noted by the president of the State Board of Education. He also reported that Rightists had gained sufficient strength ... ‘to disrupt the school program’ in at least ten school districts” (Moorhead 1966a:1). Not only were PTA members concerned about JBS activities in their organization; it appeared that PTA activities worried members of the JBS.

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Of the many conservative extremist groups that figured in 1960s political culture, the JBS assumed prominence in PTA records. Founded in Indianapolis in 1958, the JBS was named for a Baptist missionary and Army captain who had been executed by Chinese communists during World War II. The JBS was perhaps best known for its strident opposition to Communism. Its organizational document, The Blue Book (a transcript of founder Robert Welch’s two-day speech delivered when the group was formed), spelled out the threats that the Birch Society vowed to confront. Welch and others were convinced that American “Illuminati” (politically powerful insiders) participated in an effort to form a totalitarian “world government” and to unite all economies under a single Communist model. To that end, the JBS pledged itself (and still does) to “less government, more responsibility, and—with God’s help—a better world” (JBS, Blue Book; JBS, “History”; JBS, “John Birch”). From the society’s founding, the JBS has been characterized as an extremist conservative organization (Bell 1964; Hawley 2016; Miller 2016; Nickerson 2014). Largely born from a Cold War concern about perceived Communist threats to the world order, the JBS increasingly turned its focus on educational agencies, including the PTA, as one source of the trends it viewed unfavorably. To Birchers, education represented both the pitfalls of postwar liberalism and the potential to steer teachers, parents, and children toward a worldview that aligned more closely with their outlook. Recognizing the potential payoff, the JBS focused on the PTA as one avenue to popularizing its opinions.

BIRCH SOCIETY BELIEFS

It was one thing to disagree with PTA resolutions, but the JBS members and other conservatives intended to correct the problems they perceived. Because educational issues, curriculum selection, lessons in citizenship, and health-related concerns were all part of schoolchildren’s experiences, schools were now a battleground in which curricular approaches could be debated publicly in order to supplant “dangerous” views. Conservatives, including the JBS, hoped to discredit the PTA by describing the threats to children that came with PTA initiatives. Said one:

The Communist plot against American school children thickens. Their planned bloodless coup, to take over the US by destroying the American home is deeper than we thought. ... Definitely the PTA is the spearhead by which
Congress was fooled into voting $15,000,000 to put on the payroll of the Red-infested US Office of Education 3,128 “youth counsellors,” and just as definitely these sex degenerates are trying to make perverts and degenerates out of school children—and weaken the moral fiber of the US. (“Let’s Abolish the PTAs” 1962:1)

These claims about the PTA showed one method of the JBS and other conservative extremists. Allegations of “perversion,” coupled with the presumed Communist “infestation” of American government, suggested that the PTA was complicit in the weakening of Americans’ moral fiber by waging a war against children. Not only counselors were deemed guilty of this lapse in values. The JBS claimed that sex education, often defined as “hard core” or indecent, had exposed children to subjects that were indecent and inappropriate for a school setting (Publius & Associates 1968). In the Cold War, allegations of degeneracy and Communism served to discredit the PTA and to present the JBS as a fixed moral compass around which Americans could center.

The JBS affixed negative political impacts to other school initiatives that the PTA praised. Health-related initiatives such as fluoridation inspired the organization’s concern; in 1963, the JBS noted, “The objectives of the Society are for ‘less government, and more responsibility.’ We are opposed to the fluoridation of public water supplies on grounds that the government has no right at any level to administer what in effect is, compulsory dental care” (“Bulletin for January” 1963:22; see also Woodbury 1968:93). Even worse than government intrusion into health matters, posited Birchers, were government policies enforcing desegregation. The 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling ordering the desegregation of public schools was met with particular vigor. JBS members condemned the ruling as “an effort to destroy the Constitution,” the product of a “federal dictatorship,” and “a perfect example of Communist strategy and Communist tactics at work.” Much to their frustration, JBS members concluded that “the Supreme Court has ruled that it is legal to advocate atheism, free love, sexual perversion, and the violent overthrow of the Republic, but that it is illegal to discriminate because of race, creed, or color” (Anderson 1966:6; JBS 1961:16; “What’s Wrong with Civil Rights?” N.d.). The JBS repeated these allegations frequently, claiming that government overreach limited members’ ability to express their opinions fully or to enjoy the freedoms to which they felt entitled.

For members of the JBS, the stakes were high. Like the PTA, the JBS appeared to see the post-WWII period as a significant moment in which to act. Often, its rhetoric was infused with Cold War concerns about the specter of radicalism in public education: “Education thus has become a central battlefield in the struggle between totalitarianism and liberty, between socialism and Constitutionalism. Every attempt is being made to further the socialism of the children in the State controlled schools and to bring under control the growing percentage in the independent schools” (Rushdoony 1966:91). The future seemed bleak to members of the JBS:

This, at least, is certain: Public education having become more and more politicalized, being subject to more and
more radical political pressures, is on its way out. As one superintendent of a Pennsylvania public system recently summarized his observations: “A decade from now, our public schools will be financed and directed by Washington and will be attended by Negroes and white paupers only.” (Sennholz 1969:20)

It was clear that the JBS disagreed with overall education trends, yet like the PTA, the JBS also proclaimed that it was nonpartisan:

The John Birch Society itself is in no sense a political organization. We try to give our members information, understanding, and, we hope, even inspiration which will make them better citizens. As good citizens, they may take an active part in politics. But each member does so entirely on his own … for we regard education as the means, and political action as only the mechanics for bringing about improvements in government. (Welch 1966:1, 4)

In spite of the public proclamations of neutrality, members of the JBS intended to change the overall direction of educational policy discussions in the PTA. They characterized the PTA’s political, social, and legal perspectives not only as liberal but also as dangerous for their potentially harmful influences on children. By contrast, “political action” was merely a consequence of those problems, and a necessary means through which education could improve.

To that end, members of the JBS focused on the PTA and other educational institutions. Changing the minds of educators would foster greater support for JBS members’ perspectives and indirectly would encourage a new generation of students to accept an increasingly strident expression of Christian morality, patriotism, greater vigilance toward Communism, and a rejection of the PTA policies or viewpoints with which they disagreed.

TARGETING THE PTA

Over time, the JBS moved to Massachusetts and was chartered as a nonprofit educational organization, and the PTA soon provoked its intense focus. After all, the National PTA sustained relationships with school administrators, parents, teachers, and community leaders across the nation. It possessed a reputation of passionate advocacy for children. Perhaps most importantly, it also was widely known for objective approaches to policies concerning children’s development and education. Put simply, the JBS likely saw the dual appeal of this action. Members could not only combat educational trends with which they disagreed but also voice extremist opinions through an organization that enjoyed a reputation for moderate policymaking. Working through the PTA could camouflage a more extreme ideology.
The JBS began to plan its efforts to take over PTA meetings as early as 1961. Robert Welch speculated that it was time to present the JBS message in communities nationwide:

We would line up a large list of speakers ourselves, all over the country … who would be willing to speak to these comparatively small audiences. … This, like everything else we are talking about, is a matter of planning, supervision, and control. Then we would go to work putting together the huge lists of church clubs, PTA groups, and others who use such speakers, and start making known to them who was available on what subjects. Most of the speakers’ bureaus and lecture agencies are not utilized by such groups to any great extent, because neither side can afford it. Which leaves the doors wide open for the Communists to send in their men or their friends. It’s another game at which we ought to beat them hands down. (Welch 1961:107–8)

This was more than speculation. By 1965, the JBS insisted in a full-page newspaper advertisement that it had “established a nationwide educational army,” and promised to provide four million dollars’ worth of books and pamphlets mostly through its publication, American Opinion (JBS 1965:B11).

In fact, not only PTA president Moorhead described conservative and extremist attacks on the PTA. Some extremists also proclaimed that this was their goal. Birch Society founder and leader, Robert Welch, instructed his followers:

Take over your local PTA at the beginning of this school year, get your conservative friends to do likewise, and go to work to take it over. You will run into real battles, against determined leftists who have had everything their way. But it is time we went on the offensive, to make such groups the instrument of conservative purpose, with the same vigor and determination that the ‘liberals’ have used. … When you and your friends get your local PTA group straightened out, move up the ladder as soon as you can to exert a wider influence. (French 1967:477)

At stake, therefore, was the course of educational policy and programming across the United States. By presenting conservative or extremist opinions more strongly than the opinions’ actual representation in American political culture, members of the JBS hoped to transform the PTA, scaffolding its programs on a conservative approach to children’s education.
By 1965, extremist groups had attempted some of the changes that they had outlined earlier. *Look* magazine reported, “A subtle but vicious war is being fought over how America’s schools should be run.” In it, reporter Ernest Dunbar proclaimed that extremist elements relied on “weapons [that] include innuendo, parliamentary maneuvers and sometimes … violence.” According to Dunbar, extremist groups threatened any PTA member who questioned the validity of the evidence that Birchers presented in meetings. The JBS also resorted to unfair methods, printing fake membership cards to “pack” meetings with like-minded people (including those who were not parents of enrolled students) in order to sway the vote on resolutions. They also threatened school boards that events should be canceled “if you want to see daylight tomorrow.” The threats were not always empty. In one case, a restaurant belonging to the author of a PTA fundraising skit was bombed in an apparent attempt to cancel the event (Dunbar 1965).

Another thrust of JBS organizing was ideological. Birchers and others condemned “Liberals and super-Liberals [who] think it is all right for themselves to go into their local Parent-Teachers Associations, and to do everything they can to slant the activities and decisions of these Associations to the left. … And with typical arrogant and illiberal Liberalism, they try to make the going as rough for the Conservatives as they can.” Following the guidance of Robert Welch, conservative extremists engaged in a series of efforts intended to slow the spread of PTA’s publicity and programs, and instead to steer the group towards a more “patriotic” and anti-Communist outlook. They urged members to “Join Your Local PTA, and Become Active in it,” and described efforts to transform PTA work as “plain good citizenship” (“Bulletin for September” 1962:10). In Cold War America, members of the JBS may have hoped that their strident anti-Communism, coupled with the funding of wealthy members like candy manufacturer Robert Welch and oil entrepreneur Fred C. Koch, would help the organization spread their distinctive message in educational circles. At stake, they believed, were their children’s futures and moral well-being.

THE PTA REACTS

PTA members, aware that they had become a target of conservative extremists, characterized JBS members as biased, undemocratic, and inaccurate. The PTA compiled numerous reports of extremist activity in its organization and soon set out to confront JBS activity. PTA members, dedicated to democratic procedure and to solutions grounded in expert research, were alarmed by the JBS attacks. As evidence documented this concerted campaign, the PTA snapped into action. Its efforts fell into three broad efforts. First, it set out to discredit the JBS, using critical commentary about the group to denigrate JBS methods. Second, the PTA engaged in a campaign to present itself as an effective organization, most often by reinforcing democratic principles, or casting extremists as undemocratic. Finally, the organization engaged in an educational campaign, publishing pamphlets to warn Americans about the dangers of extremist groups and to suggest measures to limit their impact.
CRITICIZING EXTREMISM

The PTA took the offensive with sharply worded commentaries about the JBS and other extremist groups. President Moorhead claimed that extremists “sought refuge in false charges and false testimony” and “lent their efforts toward negative and destructive ends.” Moorhead generalized about conservative extremism, claiming that it “is against free and democratic discussion of controversial ideas. It is against what is taught in our schools and against the ways we teach it. It is against a vast number of books that many intelligent people consider worth reading.” This posited that the PTA stood as a force against such trends, and Moorhead contrasted the PTA vision of education against that of PTA opponents:

Instead of education and discussion that liberate the mind and lead to independent thinking, extremism would employ indoctrination in its own sterile formulas. Instead of diversity, it would impose a deadening conformity. … Extremism rides to power on the waves of fear and confusion that it has itself stirred up. (Moorhead 1965c:4)

Broadly, extremists were now labeled as destructive of liberation and independence, the hallmarks of democratic freedom.

PTA leaders also listed a series of claims about extremist interference in their own meetings. In a 1965 address to elementary school principals, PTA president Jennelle Moorhead offered a lengthy criticism of extremist groups. She claimed they were “deliberately disruptive and divisive” and that groups like the JBS “sought to create distrust and suspicion of schools, churches, courts, the national government, and individuals, including President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and President Johnson.” Even more offensive than distrust in government, she said, was that extremists “sought to silence opposition to their views by calling disagreement disloyalty and treason” and that they “labeled those who disagree with them subversive, traitorous, Fascist, and Communist.” Of course, Moorhead also pointed to “hate propaganda … creating a climate of fear, distrust, and suspicion” and spreading “lies and distortions” about the PTA, schools, and school administrators. Moorhead cautioned principals that such groups engaged in “undemocratic pressures on school boards and library boards and democratic organizations in order … to brainwash young Americans into their point of view by controlling what children and youth are free to learn and to read. … They try to subvert our democratic tradition of free discussion, group decision, and majority rule” (Moorhead 1965d:3).

Through 1965, Moorhead repeatedly delivered speeches with this kind of content. Establishing and publicizing the extreme ideological focus of the JBS was one means by which she and others tried to discredit the Birchers. The PTA acknowledged that “extremists have always been a part of American life,” pointing to examples that ranged from the Salem witchcraft trials to the 19th-century Know-Nothings; however, they claimed that by the 1960s, extremism had taken on an unsavory character, attempting “to create Russian-style schools and [make] organized efforts to infiltrate and take control of
PTAs.” In other words, post-WWII extremism presented a new danger. As Moorhead said, “extremists manipulate patriotism and everyone’s natural love of country. They use patriotic symbols to mask a deep-seated fear and, in some cases, opposition to basic American concepts such as freedom of speech and the equality of all men and women.” What made extremists most dangerous was that “they brand[ed] their enemies … as ‘anti-American.’ They oppose many efforts to reform, change, or improve what exists in America as un-American, calling such efforts untrue to ‘traditional American values.’ However, they never define ‘traditional’” (National PTA’s Guide 1965:1). It was little wonder that leaders like Moorhead framed their critique of extremism around familiar Cold War principles. Doing so cast extremists beyond the scope of the mainstream legitimacy that PTA members claimed.

Aside from the John Birch Society’s political bias, the JBS methods and manipulations distressed PTA members the most. PTA members often decried the tactics they found most objectionable. In one workshop on extremism, PTA members detailed the unfair methods that the JBS had used:

Here is how they capture a PTA meeting: Carloads of people (five or six cars, twenty-five to thirty people) march into a local unit meeting and each person “buys” a membership card at the door. They do not become real members because they have no intention of upholding our Objects, purposes, or bylaws. ... In the State of Washington a junior high unit was to be organized. But on the meeting night people that no one recognized as living in the community disrupted the meeting with derogatory statements about the PTA and blocked a motion to form a PTA unit in the school. … In Pasadena, California, thirty-five people previously not active in the PTA moved in, nominated three people, and by voting for three instead of the five to be elected were able to put their candidates in office. (Moorhead 1965c:8–9)

Moorhead and other PTA members thus presented extremist groups as manipulative rule-breakers in order to sustain the PTA’s reputation as a democratic and fair-minded source of educational policy.

PTA members offered clear warnings about how extremist methods could shift the terrain of discussions about educational policy. They claimed that extremists “make false charges and use quotations out of context,” and suggested that the extremists created groups who used “high-sounding, patriotic names to promote their views.” PTA members also encouraged other members to be brave enough to oppose or counter the “highly emotional, inflammatory charges of subversive influences in schools, government, and community organizations.” Moorhead warned that extremists “send representatives to meetings with prepared, loaded, unanswerable questions to harass speakers whose views differ from theirs. They prolong meetings so they can make minority decisions after the
worn-out majority has gone home.” All of these divide-and-conquer strategies sowed discord in meetings. Moorhead worried that harassment could open the door to overrepresenting extremist views in educational circles, or making members less certain about the PTA’s policies (Extremist Groups Both of the Right and of the Left, N.d.; The PTA: Where Democracy Prevails, N.d.).

In addition to publicizing the subversion within PTA meetings, PTA members also detailed the distasteful behavior that took place outside those gatherings. Moorhead pointed out that the JBS Blue Book instructed followers to “organize fronts. Little fronts, big fronts, temporary fronts, permanent fronts, all kinds of fronts” (What is Extremism? 1964). Such allegations likely resonated when PTA members reported an effort to “smear by publication” some of their units. In one case, copies of a pamphlet called Parents are Puppets of the PTA were sent by a “patriot’s study group” to every member of the Sumter, South Carolina, PTA. At a subsequent meeting, the secretary, Mrs. A. J. Moses, urged all members to withdraw from the state and National PTA (Moorhead 1965c:10). That resolution was voted down, but PTA units continued to report that “groups use social ostracism, economic pressures, and even violence to impose their views on others. Although they usually stay within the limits of legality, their methods certainly exceed the boundaries of human decency” (Moorhead 1965a:3).

Unfortunately, the PTA reported, extremists were willing to take direct action to change the course of public education.

[In one Iowa community] more than one-half of its 33 teachers resigned when an ultra-conservative school board fired the school superintendent and ruled that teachers could teach about communism only by reading from an “approved” text, without class discussion of the subject. And the public-library system of one Missouri city was almost wrecked by extremists who insisted that the libraries purchase sensational and undocumented far-right books. … [In] Illinois, ultra rightists turned PTA meetings into forums for attacks on Federal officials, the State Department, the US Supreme Court and the United Nations. … Portland, Oregon; Memphis, Tennessee; Upper Saddle River, New Jersey; North Hollywood, California and many other cities have witnessed similar attacks. (Countering Extremism 1966:8)

Moorhead and others warned PTA members that “under the banner of breaking a conspiracy, the extremists of the right have licensed themselves to break the law. They intimidate by slander, terrorize by rumor, disturb the peace and incite to violence” (Countering Extremism 1966:4). Although such instances were rare, they seemed to be increasingly frequent. PTA leaders thus speculated that JBS members acted on leader Robert Welch’s dictum “to be civilized is unquestionably to be
defeated.” They highlighted terrifying reports implying that JBS followers opted for uncivilized conduct:

Birchers are nowhere specifically told … to harass the president of the California Board of Education with midnight telephone threats because he insisted on fair hearings for teachers accused of misconduct, or to invade a public library and surreptitiously remove dozens of “objectionable” books. Yet such have been the outrages committed by individual Birchers and by organizations with Birchers in their ranks. (What is Extremism? 1964:5)

To the PTA, JBS behavior went beyond civilized disagreement and tread into the arena of frightening and inappropriate conduct.

The allegations went beyond a lack of civility, however. Workshops, media releases, and public speeches characterized the JBS and other extremists as anti-democratic:

Why worry about the extremists? Because they’re trying to bludgeon the American people into abandoning the twin ground-rules of democracy—that problems are solved by free and honest debate of legitimate political issues. … If arguments pro or con [on any issue] are shouted down with cries of “treason” or submerged by outpourings of race hatred and religious bigotry—then the democratic process [is] subverted and our survival in freedom endangered. (National PTA’s Guide 1965:13; see also Countering Extremism 1966)

This was more than a simple disagreement. PTA members connected extreme opinions to the negative results they feared:

Extremist groups try to stifle free expression of views opposed to their own. Most of us believe the public schools should not indoctrinate students in the political, economic, religious, or social views of any group. Extremist groups put pressures on schools to adopt courses and textbooks that reflect their views. … Most of us believe in rule by the majority, subject to criticism by a “loyal opposition.” Extremist groups believe in rule by their own minority and label any opposition as disloyal. (Moorhead 1965a:2–3)

References to suppression of dissent, racism and religious oppression, indoctrination, and allegations of treason were all troubling themes that contrasted with the PTA’s aspirations to the democratic exchange of opinions. Most importantly, the suggestion that extremists could influence textbook selection and course content was a clear warning.
The PTA feared that controlling textbooks and curricula was a means through which public schools were seen as a fertile ground that could foster the future growth of extremism in public education.

Discussions about education, textbooks, and curricula therefore assumed unique importance in the 1960s. President Jennelle Moorhead laid out the issue starkly in an address to the National Education Association in 1965. She insisted that “no one is denying the John Birch Society or any other society the democratic right to organize and to propound its beliefs”; however, Moorhead reinforced her claims that extremists had used “coercion, intimidation, violence, misrepresentation, and character assassination” to force their ideas on others. To Moorhead and others like her, the course of their work was clear. As she said, the “fanatical extremists of both ends of the political spectrum are the foes of freedom and democracy. … What we do not grant them is the right to stifle freedom and choke democracy” (Moorhead 1965a:8). Moorhead also encouraged other organizations to unite with the PTA in standing up against these assaults on education:

[Extremism] is a foe against which the NEA [National Education Association] and the PTA must stand together, strong and united. It is a foe that parents and teachers must fight together—and defeat. … Extremism attacks both what is taught and how it is taught. It would emasculate both the curriculum and teaching methods. It seeks to bar discussion of controversial ideas and to ban certain books. It makes critical and objective examination of ideas and institutions unpatriotic. (Moorhead 1964:2)

For Moorhead, extremism presented twin dangers of stifling democracy and corrupting educational practices in the long term.

In spite of her vigilance on the subject, Moorhead and others had not managed to obstruct extremist efforts in the PTA. By 1965, Moorhead claimed the “simple and frightening fact that extremists of the right have already captured about 100 of our 47,000 PTA’s.” Equally urgent, teachers and administrators had fallen [prey] to extremist attacks. “In the name of anti-Communism, superpatriotism … or some other battle-cry of the moment,” Moorhead reported, “extremism attacks textbooks that do not serve its own political, economic, or social goals. It demands investigations and dismissals of courageous teachers and administrators.” The NEA seemed to concur, noting that one of every 30 school districts nationwide had been targeted by extremist attacks from 1963 to 1964. “Extremism smears with nasty labels all who challenge or oppose its views, be they teachers, principals, parents, writers, school boards, or PTAs” (Moorhead 1965c:5–6, 8). Even as late as 1966, the PTA called the far right “a well-heeled, well-oiled … unwelcome movement” and anticipated “a proliferation of its activities.” In particular, claimed Moorhead,

The Radical Right continues to infiltrate the PTA. It continues to frighten parents with scary tales of a takeover
of schools by the Federal government. … It continues to alarm parents with nightmares about the schools’ use of pornographic literature and subversive social studies. In the Far Right’s coloring book, the instructions are to color the schools and the PTA red. (Moorhead 1966a:2)

Though reports like these typically indicated that conservative extremism was a minority presence in educational circles, PTA leaders were worried. Extremist opinions were never fully accepted in those arenas, but they had caused significant disruption, questioning the legitimacy of the methods and the opinions of the PTA. Under Jennelle Moorhead’s leadership, the PTA began its responses to extremist influences in PTAs and other educational circles.

It was clear that PTA members disapproved of JBS methods and ideas, but PTA members’ activism went beyond criticizing their opponents. Armed with a sense of what was wrong with extremist ideas, the PTA set out to define what was right about its own image of democratic civic engagement. By the mid-1960s, PTA members began to discuss solutions to the problems they had identified. Some allies proposed a more aggressive approach. Norman Goldman, the editor of New Jersey Education Association’s Review, wrote to Moorhead in 1965, stating his plan to “run a major article on the PTA.” In it, he said he was “especially interested in your current stand on extremist groups and how some of them, such as the John Birch Society, are trying to infiltrate local units.” Goldman also urged Moorhead “to author an article that would be ‘hard-hitting in taking these extremists apart’ and at the same time, point out how these groups can interfere with the many worthwhile projects local units can conduct” (Goldman 1965). The PTA could be “hard-hitting” in its disagreement with the JBS, but the PTA’s rules required that it permit a forum in which extremist views could be voiced alongside other opinions.

THE PTA AND DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

While the PTA decried Birchers’ methods, the organization frequently contrasted extremist values and actions against its own vision of democracy. Because both the JBS and the PTA proclaimed their love of country and their opposition to Communism, the PTA worked to describe the merits of its approach to democratic citizenship or the negative implications of extremist political ideals. Moorhead proclaimed, for example, that “extremism … smears with nasty labels all who challenge or oppose its views, be they teachers, principals, parents, journalists, school boards, or PTAs. With its tarbrush techniques, extremism imperils the very basis of democracy—free discussion and competition of ideas” (Moorhead 1965b:17). She reminded her audiences that “as long as the Far Right seeks to impose its will and its views by the vicious, undemocratic tactics of infiltration, intimidation, and slander, it is the enemy of education and democracy. It is dangerous and damaging to the American school—that strongest stronghold of freedom and democracy” (Moorhead 1966a:4). Moorhead and the PTA thus devoted time and effort to presenting themselves as arbiters of democratic standards in education.
The PTA also echoed its founding principle, reinforcing that it relied upon the objective consideration of research rather than any political bias. Moorhead advertised a clear mission as the PTA moved forward. She said, “The democratic state cannot be perpetuated without publicly supported education by and for all the people.” At heart, education of youth was key, using “solid facts, documented by scientific evidence, to combat the distortions and fantasies of the extremists.” To the PTA, “every gain for the Extreme Right imperils democracy, for extremists would suffocate discussion and choke off dissent, the oxygen by which democracy lives” (Moorhead 1966a, 1965d:4). To protect public education, Moorhead therefore pledged the PTA to a new objective: “We cannot tolerate disruptive techniques within our PTAs, and we do not intend to. … We oppose coercion, intimidation, slander, and violence as a means of preventing change or forcing change” (Moorhead 1965c:13–15).

Interestingly, both the PTA and groups like the JBS proclaimed that their efforts were motivated by patriotism. The PTA intertwined patriotism with its educational objectives. Moorhead proclaimed that “true patriotism is not blind, irrational love. It is not simply ‘my country, right or wrong.’ Rather it is, as Carl Schurz put it, ‘My country—to be honored when right, to be set right when wrong.’” To cultivate patriotism among children, Moorhead posited, “What can our schools do to develop this kind of patriotism? To this end, students must have opportunities to grapple with conflict, controversy, and alternative ideas. Only so can they learn to think reasonably about their country’s past, present, and future” (Moorhead 1967a:1–2). As before, PTA members suggested that the best situation was one in which solutions to the nation’s problems could be gleaned from a free market in ideas.

As much as they professed an open exchange of opinions, the PTA leadership clearly believed that their approach was the best. This likely derived from the idea that the PTA was already part of a national web of experts who communicated regularly about education and children’s issues. The PTA worked with the American Association of School Administrators, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of State Boards of Education, the National Education Association, and the National School Boards Association (Moorhead 1967a). They attended national conventions, and they shared published opinions about children’s education and well-being. If nothing else, this may have lent to the sense that they had already engaged in a process of considering varied opinions and arriving at the best options for children. Small wonder, then, that the PTA issued confident declarations that “the PTA practices democracy. It welcomes dissent as well as assent. … The rule is to abide by majority decisions and to respect the right of the minority to disagree and work for change. … Our common concern for children … is greater than anything that can divide us. … PTA members can tolerate diversity and act with unity and enthusiasm on majority decisions” (The PTA: Where Democracy Prevails, N.d.). The PTA thus had a new objective. Democratic exchanges and dissenting opinions were desirable, but the PTA also had to ensure that its ideals were not subsumed by the JBS and other extremist groups. To that end, PTA members set out to educate other PTA members and the general public about extremism.
PTA PUBLICATIONS

The PTA’s national and state leadership referred often to the problems they had encountered with extremism. Meeting minutes were rife with references to “a free-for-all discussion concerning membership and extremists” and to “extremists—what you have faced, what you fear, and how you handle the problem” (“Minutes” 1965; Mallory 1965:2). Moorhead oversaw the publication of a leaflet on extremism to “inform PTAs and others about the nature of extremism, and … to define the democratic processes that will be used to combat the undemocratic pressures of extremist groups.” She pointedly noted “the differences between the beliefs and attitudes of democratic groups and those of extremist groups, both of the left and right” (Moorhead 1965a:2). To achieve that objective, she suggested, the PTA should be aware of the characteristics of conservative extremism and should find ways to combat such disruptive strategies. Moorhead defined these steps as “constructive,” and PTA leaders suggested that these could limit the power of extremism in their organization. The deluge of public speeches, press releases, editorials, and communication among PTA offices demonstrated that extremism was a significant concern in the mid-1960s. The PTA defined itself as “the first line of defense against extremists’ efforts to dictate the curriculum, control the textbooks, and use the public schools to promote their own social and economic philosophy” (Moorhead 1965a:8).

PTA members believed that the JBS and others engaged in “false charges and accusations” about their work. In response, the PTA published a pamphlet called The Truth About the PTA and asked that members “speak up for the PTA because in some communities extremists of the Far Right are speaking up against the PTA.” At stake, predictably, was the future of education: “The loss of a single PTA member or a single parent-teacher association through the subversive tactics of the extremists ‘is a disaster.’ … It is a disaster for schools. The school whose PTA defects to the extremists is severely disadvantaged. Its teachers’ freedom to teach and its students’ freedom to learn are endangered. Its administration is threatened and harassed” (Moorhead 1966b:4–5). PTA publications at times criticized such attacks by pointing out the PTA’s accomplishments on behalf of children. By contrast, any criticisms against the PTA should be seen as an attack on children’s well-being. According to one pamphlet:

Our critics charge: In collusion with the federal government, the PTA promotes socialist and Marxist schemes under the guise of child welfare. The facts are:
There is nothing secret, conspiratorial, fraudulent, or underhanded about the PTA’s cooperation (not collusion) with government agencies—state, local, and federal—to abolish hunger, disease, ignorance, under-education, exploitation, neglect, and delinquency among America’s children and youth. The PTA is concerned with children’s well-being and opportunities, not with labels. (National PTA’s Guide 1965:3)
Implicitly, the PTA proclaimed that it was better equipped to address the challenges facing American students. Accordingly, criticisms of the PTA and its educational approaches were tantamount to harming children.

The PTA did not only educate the public and PTA colleagues about its democratic values and procedures. The last significant effort of the PTA was to encourage a series of changes for the organization’s meetings to limit the strength of extremist efforts. First, the PTA provided readings on a variety of topics relating to children’s education. These snippets suggested the kinds of questions that PTA members should ask whenever extremists offered motions. For example, in a discussion about students’ reading material, the PTA suggested, members should ask questions like “Is the curriculum continuously evaluated? By whom? What use is made of the evaluations? What curriculum studies are in progress or planned?” Similarly, publications asked pointedly, “How are teachers protected from groups seeking to restrict their freedom to teach?” (“Reading,” N.d.:6, 8). Questions that referred to accepted professional opinions about curriculum and assessment may have ensured that PTA meetings steered away from extremists’ emphasis on ideology alone.

The PTA also offered practical suggestions about how to avoid extremist takeovers of meetings. For example, one pamphlet advised its members, “Your agenda should include some time for questions and/or discussion from the floor. A word of warning is in order here. Birchers and other extremists are trained in the techniques of packing, disrupting and trying to take over a meeting. Such efforts can be thwarted only if the chairman is thoroughly grounded in parliamentary rules.” Among other strategies, suggested the PTA, members could avoid efforts to monopolize a meeting “by calling for opposing opinions whenever a single viewpoint seems to dominate the discussion. In some instances, it may be wiser to distribute paper and pencil and ask for questions in writing, so that the chairman can screen out … those clearly intended to provoke rather than to clarify” (Countering Extremism 1966:16). The PTA also suggested ground rules for its meetings:

The nasty trick of name-calling and mud-slinging must stop, whether it is done by extremists or by middle-of-the-road Americans. The identification of disagreement with disloyalty must stop. … On all topics of concern … discussion and debate are desirable. … What is dangerous in this phenomenon called extremism is that it chokes off diversity and dissent, and these are the very breath and being of a democracy. (Moorhead 1965a:1–2)

Going forward, the PTA proclaimed that civility and consideration for all opinions ensured that extremists could have a voice in their meetings, but not the only voice.

The reference to provocative actions by the JBS and the PTA’s own calls for civility in meetings indicated that the PTA was aware of the strategies deployed by extremists. Now, the PTA offered a variety of responses that would combat the disruptions it had encountered. PTA pamphlets suggested that individual chapters
should establish a policy that motions would not be voted upon until the meeting following their introductions. Chapters could set definite, reasonable times for adjourning meetings to prevent a small minority from “outstaying a moderate majority.” Outside meetings, PTAs also encouraged schools to set policies on curriculum and textbook selection, and urged them to request input from teachers and school officials. Members began to organize information programs to ensure community understanding of policies. Finally, the PTA suggested that schools define procedures for dealing with complaints about curriculum, books, and teachers (Moorhead 1965a:4). Each of these methods encouraged deliberate consideration of educational policies by a committed majority.

The PTA also offered members a number of ways to handle harassment and “undemocratic pressures” on their membership. When PTA members in Pueblo, Colorado, faced harassment regarding the organization’s support for UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), “the PTA leaflet recommend[ed] that the attack be brought out in the open.” PTA members claimed that discussion of subjects such as these resulted in “a clearer understanding of how and why the National PTA supports Unesco” (Moorhead 1965a:5). The PTA leadership also suggested that members “devote a meeting to a factual report by the committee on extremist groups; their efforts to infiltrate PTAs and influence them to withdraw from the state and national organizations; and their undemocratic pressures on schools and libraries.” They urged that “if someone comes up with a loaded, unanswerable question, ask him to rephrase it. Usually he can’t, because it’s a ‘canned’ question” (Extremist Groups: A Clear and Present Danger, N.d.). Awareness of the methods of extremists, hoped the PTA, would improve individual chapters’ ability to limit the extremists’ effectiveness.

PTAs not only adopted strategies to stymie extremists in meetings but also urged members to advertise the positive features of PTA work, defining the organization as a defender of democratic liberty and of aid to children. Among other things, members were told to “encourage reading and discussion of the National PTA publications The American Way—Safeguarding Our Individual Rights and Liberties, How to Love a Country, and Extremist Groups—a Clear and Present Danger to Freedom and Democracy.” They were also encouraged to “wage a campaign against the undemocratic tactic of putting derogatory labels on people for their opinions.” The PTA also promised that it would “advise and assist any PTA that faces a special problem—for example, interference from an undemocratic pressure group” (Critical Issues in our Democracy, N.d.:27–28, 46).Finally, Jennelle Moorhead supplied copies of her presidential address in which she lauded the national organization: “We shall be back this year and the next and the next. For the war against poverty, ignorance, and segregation is just war. It is our war. The war for health, human dignity, justice, jobs, opportunity is a good war. It is our war. The war for better lives for all children is our war. And we intend to win it” (Moorhead 1967b:6). The intensity of PTA responses to conservative extremism over the previous years demonstrated the depth of that commitment.
RESULTS

As the PTA assessed its efforts, Moorhead continued to describe extremism as evil: “The word … itself implies lack of balance and moderation. It implies going beyond normal, acceptable boundaries. It implies irrationality, loss of control, or rejection of restraint. Extremism in pursuit of a virtue, as Aristotle pointed out, become a fault or vice.” Yet Moorhead insisted that from such flaws could come “positive and constructive” reactions, such as focusing “national attention on the importance of democratic practices and procedures.” She praised efforts to “scrutinize activities for lapses from democratic processes” and “alerted [PTA chapters] to watch out for infiltration and takeover by totalitarian groups.” Above all, Moorhead claimed that the recent PTA stance against extremism “has aroused Americans’ sense of fair play and their righteous indignation against such reprehensible tactics as slander, innuendo, character assassination, threats, intimidation, and coercion” (Moorhead 1965d:1, 2).

PTA members had some reason to celebrate. As early as 1965, the PTA action program noted that the organization was “learning to work under stress and to cope with the subversive tactics of the Far Right” (Critical Issues in our Democracy, N.d.:27–28, 46). Additionally, the PTA reported it was in the third printing of a pamphlet on how to handle extremism, and the PTA recounted praises from at least 10 members of Congress. Among others, Brock Adams of Pennsylvania praised the PTA as a “stalwart defender of democracy.” Carl Albert of Oklahoma said that PTA efforts were appropriate and that “any other means of accomplishing changes in public institutions is undesirable and dangerous.” New York’s James E. Schueer “read the essential portions of our leaflet on extremism into the Congressional Record” (Moorhead 1965c:12–13). All of this political support came from members of the Democratic Party, but PTA members still insisted that they considered a spectrum of opinions in their meetings: “There are in our country sincere, honest conservatives who fear too much government interference in business, industry, and education. We may not share their fear, but we would never wish to silence it” (Moorhead 1965a:1). PTA members thus felt that their approach had thwarted extremist efforts.

While they reported some successes, the PTA leadership was concerned about other trends. They collected articles that suggested “the John Birch Society—and more than a score of other extremist groups—are now spending more than $20 million a year to re-write American history” (Capell 1965:3). In addition, Moorhead acknowledged a decline in membership that derived partly from extremist efforts: “Last year the PTA lost some 80,000 members. I am not attributing the loss wholly or solely to Rightist subversion. But I have no doubt about the impact of the Far Right’s lies, distortion, hate and fear campaigns.” While Moorhead consoled her allies by dismissing the JBS as trying “futilely to march backwards into the nineteenth century and drag our schools with them,” she still claimed that Birchers “resist efforts to adapt schools to the needs of a changing society and to our nation’s social revolution” (Moorhead 1966a:2). Acceptance of extremist ideas still threatened the primary thrust of PTA efforts. “With insidious and subtle tactics,” Moorhead proclaimed, extremism “continues to infiltrate democratic organizations and seeks to capture strategic positions from which it can dominate and
control our schools” (Moorhead 1966a:1). If nothing else, PTA commentary indicated that conservative extremism still found its way into public conversations about education, perhaps in a way that awarded undue representation to a minority viewpoint.

**RECENT SIMILARITIES**

The intense divisions between the PTA and the JBS reached their peak in 1965, and conservative extremism continued. In the 1960s, extremist groups like the JBS referred to national media sources as the Kept Press, suggesting that few sources could be trusted and that laypeople were as capable of determining educational excellence as were experts in the field. Additionally, extremists continued to disrupt PTA meetings. In 1968, a discussion of potential convention topics chosen by the state presidents included a request for more information about “how to deal with dissenters and interrupters” (“Let’s Abolish the PTAs” 1962; “State Presidents’ Conference Agenda” 1968:1–2). At best, PTA members felt that they had established new rules for their meetings, but it was impossible to prevent extremist opinions from entering the fray. In fact, the PTA never sought to eliminate such opinions, only to ensure that their expression was limited to their representation in contemporary political culture. This may have been the core of the PTA’s problem. While the PTA guaranteed the introduction of diverse views, extremists like the JBS apparently engaged in unscrupulous methods to present their views and choices much more strongly than their actual proportion of American viewpoints.

To many in the United States, the actions of the 1960s PTA resonate strongly with more recent events. For example, Charles and David Koch, the sons of JBS founder Fred Koch, have recently utilized some of the same methods that plagued the PTA. In 2009, the Koch brothers provided funding through Americans for Prosperity to the budding Tea Party movement. The Kochs proclaimed that these were libertarian efforts centered largely on limiting government power and diminishing taxation; however, others have decried them as “radical,” “anarcho-totalitarian,” and guilty of “political manipulation and obfuscation” (Rich 2010; Mayer 2010). In addition, though the Kochs’ energy (and financial reserves) have been dedicated to many different concerns, education is one stream of that activism. Members of the JBS (which is still in existence) claim that “libertarians needed to mobilize youthful cadres by influencing academia in new ways.” To the Koch brothers, a recent mission has been to steer Americans closer to their values. Said one researcher: “In order to alter the direction of America, they had to ‘influence the areas where policy ideas percolate from: academia and think tanks’” (Mayer 2010, 2016). To those who share these values, the implication is clear: Changing approaches to education could shift the perspectives of Americans, making them more receptive to extremist outlooks.

The selection of textbooks for public schools has resumed Americans’ focus on the methods of conservative extremists. In 2009, the Texas State Board of Education (SBOE) engaged in its efforts to select textbooks that supported its educational objectives. Texas offers one of the leading markets for textbooks, so SBOE choices influence textbook selection across the United States. None of the board members had relevant experience in the disciplines for which they selected texts, however; nor did they
possess academic degrees from those fields. Although Texas law provided for expert input regarding textbooks and educational standards, the standard for expertise was lenient: If just two board members affirmed that an individual was qualified, the selected person could testify in front of the board as to the merits of certain textbooks. Moderate members of the SBOE had selected experts from universities in the state to testify, but the extremists on the board opted instead for the testimony of individuals who supported a fundamentalist Christian perspective. Though only 5 of the 12 members of the SBOE were extreme conservatives, their efforts succeeded. Eugenie Scott of the National Center for Science Education expressed concern that standards “were compromised in a Creationist direction” (Scott 2012). In effect, the standards required science teachers to include consideration of Creationism alongside other scientific theories, and public school teachers could now be pressured into standards that did not follow conventional scientific methods.

By 2010, these efforts seeped into recommendations on Social Studies texts. Some board members condemned the secular humanism that had “flooded our schools,” and they insisted that their efforts would elevate topics preferred by conservatives. SBOE members, emboldened by their recent successes, proceeded to strike consideration of such topics as women and minorities, Thomas Jefferson, and hip-hop music from the Social Studies standards. They voted down a recommendation that students should be able to “describe instances of racism” as one of the learning outcomes. At the same time, SBOE members added such topics as Phyllis Schlafly, the Heritage Foundation, country music, and the National Rifle Association to the standards. Board members concluded that Thomas Aquinas and John Calvin should be included in discussions of Enlightenment thinkers, and they directed teachers to “discuss the merits of the free enterprise system” (Scott 2012).

The recent Texas debates about textbook selection show that conservative extremism in the SBOE reinvigorated the methods used by the JBS against the PTA decades before. The debates that churned through the SBOE were similar to the PTA’s struggles of the 1960s. In each case, extremists sought to eliminate the educational approaches supported by expert research and sought to overrepresent perspectives that occupied the political and social fringes. This reflects the crux of the PTA’s original challenge. The PTA and state legislatures pledged themselves to democratic consideration of differing opinions, anticipating that the final vote would ensure majority support for the best approach. Conversely, extremists resorted to methods that circumvented the rules of fair play in order to support their views at the expense of others. It may be that the PTA learned from its experiences. The organization’s governance manual currently requires that members “prioritize association goals over personal goals at all times” (National PTA Governance Policy Manual 2017:2). In the grand scheme, PTA vigilance may have given the organization a means to limit the impact of extremism in its organization. In other educational circles, however, the historical example of the PTA serves as a bellwether, illuminating present-day concerns that will influence education for some time to come.
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I analyze the firm-level effects on Colombia entering into Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) between 2007 and 2013. The combination of detailed firm-level data and PTAs make this article unique. In particular, I look at two separate potential trade-promotion effects of the agreements. The first result deals with how exporting firms in Colombia respond to the tariff cuts in the agreements. The tariff cuts from the agreements increase the size of exports by Colombian firms (the intensive margin); however, tariff cuts do not increase the number of exporting Colombian firms (the extensive margin). The second result deals with how the signed PTAs affect how Colombia sets tariffs on the set of the world. I find that the agreements do not affect Colombia’s other tariffs, a result that further complicates the open question of whether trade agreements lead to lower overall tariffs (building-block effect) or higher overall tariffs (stumbling-block effect).

**KEY WORDS** Trade Margins; Trade Liberalization; Trade Agreements

I investigate the effects of trade liberalization by Colombia from 2007 to 2013. During this time, Colombia entered into six preferential trade agreements (PTAs). These agreements were all signed during the struggling, and now broken-down, Doha Round of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Specifically, I look at the margins of trade in relation to tariffs and preference margins. Along with investigating trade margins, I look at the relationship between preferential tariff cuts and multilateral tariff cuts.

I also investigate the building-block or stumbling-block effects of PTAs that entered into force for Colombia. A stumbling-block effect would imply that Colombia’s entry into PTAs decreases the country’s future trade liberalization. Unlike previous papers that have analyzed trade at the HS6 level, or even more aggregate product levels, I employ a firm-level data set of imports into Colombia and exports from Colombia.

The first benefit of the firm-level data is that both the intensive and extensive margins can be analyzed. Previous work has been limited to view the changes in total

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trade volume. I comment on the changes in trade volume, the number of firms in the market, and the distribution of firms. Specifically, regarding exporting firms, their presence in every market is tracked: entry, number of shipments, and trade volume for imports into and exports out of Colombia.

The second benefit of firm-level data is that the detailed nature of the data allows for analysis at the tariff line. Previous work has relied on more aggregated HS6 codes. Tariff lines are often set at the HS8 or HS10 level, however; therefore, earlier work has had to rely on averages of the tariffs at the HS6 level, rather than on the true tariff. When analyzing the building-block or stumbling-block effect of PTAs, I am thus able to look at detailed tariff lines. The effect for non-Colombia signees will be analyzed at the HS6 level, but specificity is available for Colombia.

A third benefit is the specificity of the trade agreements. Some tariff reductions are phased in. I am able to analyze the subsequent years along with the initial tariff cut. It is known that the benefits of trade agreements are not instantly seen; I will speak to the prolonged benefit of trade agreements. Similarly, the dates that trade agreements were signed, but not enforced, are known. The dates of signing can allow for changes in behavior in anticipation of the agreement being enacted. Likewise, multiple trade agreements went into force during the years for which data is available.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As I investigate various aspects of preferential agreements, trade margins, and stumbling-block or building-block effects, there are two tangentially related literatures, which I discuss below.

Trade Margins

Chaney (2008) lays the theoretical framework for breaking down trade into firm-level extensive and intensive margins within a gravity model. Early test evidence on the margins focused on distance. Hillberry and Hummels (2008) analyze trade within the United States. They find that the extensive margin is the primary driver of trade margins. The number of shipments is highly sensitive to the distance; however, the average value of a shipment is roughly constant for local destinations before gradually decreasing. Crozet and Koenig (2010) similarly investigate the role of distance on trade and follows a similar methodology to Hillberry and Hummels (2008). With a similar methodology, the same basic result is found of distance affecting the extensive margin more. Ottaviano and Mayer (2007) also look at the role of distance on trade margins, but they look at the margins from an aggregated country level.

My work is most similar to that of Buono and Lalanne (2012) and Debaere and Mostashari (2010). Buono and Lalanne (2012) investigate the intensive and extensive margin using French data. The product data uses three-digit summary economic classification product classifications, whereas I am able to use HS codes, which at the six-digit level correspond perfectly to applied tariff data provided by the WTO. Similarly, the three-digit NES code allows for country-sector analysis, not analysis at the product
level. Buono and Lalanne (2012) find that the intensive margin is much more affected by tariff cuts, while the extensive margin is smaller in magnitude and significance. The tariff cuts investigated were all part of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. By the built-in most-favored-nation (MFN) structure of the WTO, there is no ability to analyze preferential rates granted to French exporters. Lastly, the Uruguay Round is generally considered a success. The same cannot be said of the recent and currently suspended Doha Round.

Debaere and Mostashari (2010) analyze exports to the United States from 1989–2006 and are able to make use of disaggregated HS6 product codes. Thus, unlike for Buono and Lalanne (2012), their analysis is at the product level, not the sector level. Debaere and Mostashari analyzes only the extensive margin, which is found to be much less important for low-income countries; however, although the export data is disaggregated at the product level, there is no data for the number of firms. In a love-of-variety framework, there are gains of trade to be made by having a second firm export the same product. Debaere and Mostashari do find that the extensive margin is of little importance, although using U.S. tariff data does not include a variable for the preference margin.

Foster, Poeschl, and Stehrer (2011) include a dummy if a PTA was signed between two countries. That paper finds weak evidence that extensive margin is more important for PTAs, but it does not use actual tariff levels, only the presence of a PTA entering into force. Likewise, Baier, Bergstrand, and Feng (2014) look at the product extensive margin, but they break agreements down based on how “deep” the agreements are. Baier et al. find that the deeper the agreement (or the more integrated the two countries become), the larger the effect on both trade margins. Another novel approach in the paper was to analyze the lagged time effects of tariff changes on the margins. Both Foster et al. and Baier et al. follow the decomposition formulated in Hummels and Klenow (2005).

**Stumbling Block or Building Block**

The basic premise of trade diversion is that when countries sign a PTA or enter a customs union, the “new” trade between the member nations is not newly created trade but rather, trade has moved from nonmember countries to member countries. The trade diversion between nonmembers and members needs to be less than the new trade between member countries for a regional trade agreement (RTA) to be trade-creating. Because of this trade diversion, trade agreements can actually serve as stumbling blocks to further trade liberalization. Theoretical work by Limao (2007) has found that if preferential agreements serve in part to extract non-trade concessions and environmental, labor, and intellectual property standards, agreements can serve as stumbling blocks. Horn, Mavroidis, and Sapir (2010) suggest that these “WTO extra” agreements, agreements with the above-mentioned standards, and their implications offer an area of study.

A popularly analyzed trade agreement was the creation of Mercosur, a Latin American trade bloc and customs union. Bohara, Gawande, and Sanguinetti (2004) analyze Argentinian data to test the Richardson hypothesis that trade diversion can lead
to declines in external tariffs. Bohara et al. pinpoint industries that experienced trade diversion, finding that these industries experienced a decline in tariffs. Thus, although relative prices change, the decline in tariffs could help offset the changes in terms-of-trade; however, issues include that the data begin after Mercosur went into effect and do not adjust for Mercosur becoming a customs union. Estevadeordal, Freund, and Ornelas (2008) also look at Mercosur, along with other Latin American countries. They find that RTAs are often building blocks to further agreements.

Expanding with Estevadeordal et al. (2008), Tovar (2012) conducts a similar study finding evidence of RTAs serving as a stumbling block; however, Tovar looks at small Central American countries that entered into Dominican Republic–Central America Free Trade Agreement, and finds a small stumbling-block effect. Tovar deals with a shorter time frame—2005–2009, compared to 1990–2001. Limao (2006) finds that PTAs serve as stumbling blocks for the United States. Similarly, Limao (2007) finds that trade agreements can serve as stumbling blocks for multilateralism. Trade agreements are not found to be stumbling blocks to EU ascension, however. Karacaoglu and Limao (2008) look at the European Union and United States, thus offering a look at large developed countries instead of the small developing countries found in Tovar (2012). It is worth noting that Karacaoglu and Limao find that often, the United States and European Union offer unilateral concessions for gains in nontariff areas.

Some papers have attempted to analyze the effects of trade agreements on trade creation and trade diversion. Magee (2008) finds evidence of trade diversion but that the benefits of trade creation outweigh the costs of diversion. Magee also provides evidence of the anticipatory effects of trade creation. In a short study, Dai, Yotov, and Zylkin (2014) use a gravity model to find that trade agreements have trade-diversion effects. Endoh (1999) runs a gravity model, but the estimation is not the PPML used in current gravity estimation, so it is not certain the results are unbiased.

**DATA AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS**

Data on trade flows, imports, and exports were collected from Colombia governmental agencies. The data contain the Colombian firm, the value of trade in both FOB (Free On Board; the value of exports and imports of goods as they leave the exporting country, which does not include shipping, insurance, and other charges) and CIF (Cost, Insurance, and Freight; the value of exports and imports, including the cost of shipping and insurance) at the HS10 level, and information on the partner firm. Additional information on firms is from DANE and SIREM, two Colombian data sources. The data cover 2007 to 2013.

During the years of data availability, Colombia entered into six PTAs, with Canada, Chile, the Northern Triangle (El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras), the EFTA (Lichtenstein, Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland), the European Union, and the United States. Because of data availability from the WTO on specific preferential tariffs, only the agreements with Canada, Chile, the Northern Triangle, and the European Union are analyzed for Colombian imports. For exports, data are also available for the United States.
Figure 1 illustrates the size of the preference margin given to Colombia by various PTA partners in 2013. As seen, many tariff lines do not have preference margins. The lack of preference margin is often a result of the MFN tariff being set at zero. Also seen in Figure 1 is a glimpse of nations setting MFN tariffs. For both Honduras and Ecuador, the density of preference margins spikes at “round” numbers: 5, 10, 15, and 20 for Ecuador, for example (and likewise other members of the Andean Community, or CAN).

Figure 1. Colombian Preference Margins in 2013

![Graph showing preference margins for United States, Canada, Honduras, and Ecuador in 2013.]

As seen in Table 1, the PTA tariff is often much lower. On average, the preference margin is greater than 3.5. There is also anecdotal evidence of the building-blocks theory of trade agreements.

As seen in Table 2, most of the tariff cuts are in the first year, as the average PTA drops, at most, a little over one percentage point. Similarly, it seems that most cuts to zero occur in the first year of the agreement; however, there is large variation in percent of lines that are not cut. The smaller countries see little movement in more tariffs being cut. Meanwhile, for the larger countries (the European Union and Canada), the decrease in the average PTA tariff for later years is also being driven by cuts in tariffs that were originally unchanged.
Table 1. Summary Stats: Tariff Cuts on Colombian Imports, First Year of Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Date Signed</th>
<th>Date Enforced</th>
<th>Avg MFN Tariff</th>
<th>Avg PTA Tariff</th>
<th>% to Zero</th>
<th>% Not Cut</th>
<th>Total Tariff Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>27 Nov 2006</td>
<td>8 May 2009</td>
<td>12.16</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>97.48</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>9 Aug 2007</td>
<td>12 Nov 2009</td>
<td>11.84</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>63.96</td>
<td>20.70</td>
<td>7055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>9 Aug 2007</td>
<td>1 Feb 2009</td>
<td>11.85</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>64.20</td>
<td>21.56</td>
<td>7073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>9 Aug 2007</td>
<td>21 Mar 2010</td>
<td>11.80</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>77.76</td>
<td>7.96</td>
<td>7075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>21 Nov 2008</td>
<td>15 Aug 2011</td>
<td>8.50</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>65.97</td>
<td>30.92</td>
<td>7267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>26 Jun 2012</td>
<td>1 Mar 2013</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>59.89</td>
<td>34.38</td>
<td>6853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Avg=average; MFN=most favored nation; PTA=preferential trade agreements.*

Table 2. Summary Statistics: Tariff Cuts on Colombian Imports in Years Following Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Third Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avg PTA Tariff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>3.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Avg=average; MFN=most favored nation; PTA=preferential trade agreements.*
RESULTS
This section details the econometric specifications and their results. The first subsection investigates the effect of PTAs on the margins of trade. The second subsection investigates whether the recent string of PTAs has aided or harmed multilateral trade reduction, building-block or stumbling-block effect.

Trade Margins
I break the log of trade volume, \( x_{jkt} \), down by \( x_{jkt} = n_{jkt} + v_{jkt} \), where \( n_{jkt} \) is the log number of firms exporting and \( v_{jkt} \) is the average volume of exports by firm. The subscripts denote partner \((j)\), product \((k)\), and year \((t)\). This breakdown of trade margins results in the extensive margin being defined as the number of firms exporting a product to a destination. This definition of the extensive margin differs from that of Buono and Lalanne (2012), in which the extensive margin is the number of firms in a sector exporting to a destination. When the extensive margin is defined at the product level, the gains from trade due to more varieties can be analyzed. Now as more firms export a product, the number of varieties available to consumers increases.

Defining the margin of interest as \( M_{jkt} \) and exploiting the fact that tariffs vary across destination, product, and year, the regression of interest is specified as

\[
M_{jkt} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{Tariff}_{jkt} + \alpha_2 \text{Pref}_{jkt} + \delta_{jt1} + \delta_{st2} + \varepsilon_{jkt}
\]  

(1)

\( \text{Tariff} \) is defined as \( \ln(1 + t_{jkt}) \), where \( t_{jkt} \) is the ad velorem tariff rate; \( \text{Pref} \) captures the importance of the preference margin, the difference between the MFN tariff at the preferential tariff; \( \delta_{jt1} \) and \( \delta_{st2} \) represent destination-year and HS2-sector-year dummies; and \( \varepsilon_{jkt} \) is the error term.

As seen in Table 3, the traditional gravity controls are of expected sign and magnitude. Distance is negative and of similar size to the results in Buono and Lalanne (2012). With Colombia, colonial ties are strictly with Spain, so the colonial-ties variable is not included. The inclusion of country-year dummies greatly lowers the coefficients on both the tariff and preference margin, as seen in Table 4.

Without including the preference margin, the coefficients on the tariff take similar values and significance to those in Buono and Lalanne (2012). Once the preference margin is included, however, the importance of the tariff is cut in half and there are large drops in significance. As with the tariff, the preference margin plays a larger role than the intensive margin. The main takeaway from Table 4 is that trade agreements increase trade volume by granting lower preferential tariffs. This importance is demonstrated by the fact that \( \text{Pref} \) is large and statistically significant in the last three columns of Table 4 while \( \text{Tariff} \) is often insignificant, as well as magnitudes smaller. Additionally, trade agreements do not increase the number of firms that export (extensive margin); rather, the increase in trade is due to more volume (intensive margin). The results on the extensive margin are similar to those shown in Buono and Lalanne (2012); however, I analyze preferential tariff cuts rather than WTO tariff cuts.
### Table 3. OLS Trade Margins, Gravity Controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Without variable Pref</th>
<th>With variable Pref</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariff</td>
<td>–4.013*** (0.556)</td>
<td>–3.394*** (0.447)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pref</td>
<td>4.551*** (0.383)</td>
<td>4.357*** (0.313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>0.375*** (0.0179)</td>
<td>0.245*** (0.0152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>–1.122*** (0.0528)</td>
<td>–0.697*** (0.0452)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landlocked</td>
<td>–0.0418 (0.0923)</td>
<td>–0.0142 (0.0803)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Language</td>
<td>0.447*** (0.0745)</td>
<td>0.178*** (0.0641)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obs</td>
<td>165,162</td>
<td>165,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.308</td>
<td>0.317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: GDP=gross domestic product; Obs=number of observations; OLS=ordinary least squares; Pref=preference margin.

Standard errors are two-tailed and clustered at the HS6 product level.

Year fixed effects are used in each.

* p < .1   ** p < .05   *** p < .001

### Table 4. OLS Margins, Equation 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Without variable Pref</th>
<th>With variable Pref</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariff</td>
<td>–1.698*** (0.438)</td>
<td>–1.568*** (0.352)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pref</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>166,116</td>
<td>166,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>0.348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: OLS=ordinary least squares; Pref=preference margin.

Standard errors are two-tailed and clustered at the HS2 sector level.

Country-year and sector-year fixed effects are used in each.

* p < .1   ** p < .05   *** p < .001
The first investigation is of the building-block or stumbling-block effect of preferential trade agreements. To test, I ran a regression similar to that of Estevadeordal et al. (2008) and Tovar (2012):

\[ \Delta \text{MFN}_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L.\Delta \text{MinPref}_t + \beta_2 L.MRG_t + \beta_3 L.s_t + \beta_4 L.(MRG^s)_t + \delta_{st}^2 + \varepsilon_t \] (2)

The \( L. \) in front of all variable names indicates that the value from the previous year, or lagged value, is used. \( L.\Delta \text{MinPref}_t \) is the change in the minimum preference margin. (As a reminder, the preference margin is defined as the MFN tariff minus the preferential tariff.) \( L.MRG \) is a dummy variable that takes the value of 1 if the preference margin is greater than 2.5. The variable \( L.s \) represents the share of imports from all partners with preferential agreements. \( L.(MRG^s) \) is an interaction term. HS2-sector-year dummies (\( \delta_{st}^2 \)) are included. Unlike the previous section, which looked at how changes in the tariffs faced by Colombian exporters affected their export decisions, this section of the paper relies on import tariffs set by Colombia.

Although Tables 1 and 2 indicate that there might be some building-block effect as MFN rates are also falling, it is important to note that in 2013, more than 65 percent of imports were from PTA members. Combine the percent of imports from PTA members with the fact that 17 percent of all imports originated in China; a large portion of trade is under preferential agreements or with China.

The results in Table 5 show neither a stumbling-block nor a building-block effect. The lack of subsequent multilateral tariff reductions could be a result of the Doha Round failing to materialize in large tariff cuts. With the failure of the Doha Round, there have been worries that the WTO is becoming outdated and that multilateral trade reductions could be difficult going forward, although there is little evidence from Colombia that the new PTAs have hurt tariff concessions to nonmembers. The coefficient on the preference-margin dummy is weakly significant, however. The negative sign on \( L.MRG \) could indicate that Colombia also reduced MFN tariffs on products for which the country offered larger tariff concessions on in PTAs.

As Estevadeordal et al. (2008) found, any stumbling block effect is driven by the formation of customs unions (CUs). Colombia did not enter into any CUs during the years analyzed, but it is a part of the Andean Community (CAN), which contains Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. Columns two and four categorize trade from agreement members based on whether the member is in a PTA (\( sPTA \)) or CU (\( sCU \)) with Colombia. This extra classification does not affect the results. Also in line with Estevadeordal et al. and Tovar, I used the preferential tariff cuts of Colombia's cosigner to instrument Colombia's preferential cuts. The IV approach does not alter the results. As can be seen in Table 5, the IV regressions cannot be performed at the HS10 level, as after the HS6 level, product classifications need not be the same across countries; therefore, there are fewer product lines. Even with the IV specification and the separation of CU members and PTA members, there still does not appear to be evidence that Colombia’s
trade liberalization between 2007 and 2013 was either a stumbling block or a building block to future tariff reductions.

### Table 5. Building Block or Stumbling Block, Equation 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) OLS</th>
<th>(2) OLS</th>
<th>(3) OLS-IV</th>
<th>(4) OLS-IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.ΔMinPref</td>
<td>0.00102 (0.0270)</td>
<td>-0.00136 (0.0238)</td>
<td>-0.0114 (0.00764)</td>
<td>-0.0119 (0.00764)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.MRG</td>
<td>-2.203*** (0.913)</td>
<td>-1.065** (0.519)</td>
<td>-1.658** (0.658)</td>
<td>-1.411** (0.755)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.s</td>
<td>6.020 (4.978)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.064 (1.196)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.(MRG*s)</td>
<td>-0.188 (0.122)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0494 (0.107)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.sCU</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.704 (2.910)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.990 (1.964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.(MRG*sCU)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.883 (2.944)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.918 (1.978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.sPTA</td>
<td>6.020 (4.978)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.064 (1.196)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.(MRG*sPTA)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-6.180 (5.003)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.021 (1.227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>13,564</td>
<td>13,564</td>
<td>6,196</td>
<td>6,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.571</td>
<td>0.576</td>
<td>0.719</td>
<td>0.719</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: OLS=ordinary least squares; OLS-IV=ordinary least squares-instrumental variable. Columns 1 and 3 treat all trade agreements as the same; columns 2 and 4 break up s based on the type of trade agreement. Standard errors are two-tailed and clustered at the HS2 sector level. Sector-year fixed effects are used in each.

* p < .1    ** p < .05    *** p < .001

### CONCLUSION

Using a unique firm-level data set for Colombian trade flows, I was able to analyze two separate implications of Colombia entering into PTAs between 2007 and 2013. The first main results are that PTAs increase the amount that Colombian firms export, an increase in the intensive margin of trade; however, the PTAs do not increase the number of Colombian firms that export, the extensive margin of trade. Thus, I find that essentially all of the increase in trade after an agreement is due to existing exporters.
increasing the sizes of their shipments. Previous papers were not able to provide this level of firm and product detail.

The second main result is that more-recent Latin American PTAs do not seem to act as either stumbling blocks or building blocks to future trade liberalization. Whereas previous papers looked at older trade agreements, to find stumbling blocks or building blocks, I analyzed recent trade agreements that took place during the failed Doha Round of WTO negotiations. My finding that the agreements functioned as neither a stumbling block nor a building block further complicates the open question regarding the role of trade agreements promoting future trade liberalization.

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A Spatial Perspective*

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ABSTRACT
The index of dissimilarity is the most widely used method for measuring racial segregation. When applied to Indianapolis, this index has returned results showing the city to be among the most segregated in the country. The resulting measure, however, suffers from two shortcomings. First, the index of dissimilarity is sensitive to the census-defined geographic unit chosen for the analysis; thus, this index returns different (though proportionate) results depending on whether the population data are aggregated to larger or smaller enumeration units. Second, the index of dissimilarity cannot account for the influence of spatial proximity; adjacent census blocks interact regardless of administrative boundaries. In place of the index of dissimilarity, we apply the segregation index in order to treat the phenomena as a surface that is simultaneously smooth and continuous.

In this article, we calculate the segregation index for Indianapolis from 1990 to 2010 using the kernel density estimation method. The results of the analysis are presented in three pairs of decennial maps. These maps add to the understanding of residential segregation by resolving in a statistically reliable manner the phenomenon’s geographic component. Our visualization of segregation confirms its presence in distinct clusters, its growth over time, and a strong bias of this growth to be contiguous. In a manner akin to examinations of residential segregation’s impact on education attainment and health outcomes, careful description of segregation’s spatial aspect leads to a more nuanced understanding of phenomenon’s pervasiveness across social life.

KEY WORDS Segregation; Index of Dissimilarity; Segregation Index; Indianapolis

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Nationally, residential segregation is in decline: In 1970, 61 percent of African Americans lived under conditions described as “hypersegregated”; in 2010, the percentage was 32 (Massey and Tannen 2015). Significantly, these declines are not evenly distributed across the country. Older industrial cities, especially in the Midwest, continue to report scores on segregation indices in excess of national averages (Massey and Tannen 2015). Indianapolis is emblematic of these trends; residential segregation remains an enduring aspect of the city’s human geography. Although the proportion of African Americans living in segregated conditions in Indianapolis decreased between 1990 and 2010, the decline is modest in that two-thirds of African Americans continue to reside in census blocks that are racially homogeneous. The relative lack of change in Indianapolis’s segregated spatial distribution is anomalous in the face of segregation’s national decline and of the ongoing trend toward residential suburbanization. The enduring fact that African Americans in Indianapolis continue to reside in neighborhoods that are nearly homogeneously black and contiguous to one another suggests the persistent operation of segregation’s post-de jure drivers: economic disparity, white residential preferences, and discrimination (Glasmeier 2014; Kaplan and Holloway 1998). Clearly, change is underway at the national scale, but its impact is differentiated by region. What is it about residential segregation in the Midwest—and Indianapolis in particular—that makes it more stubbornly resistant to change than in other regions of the country? Indianapolis is ideally situated as a case study, given its Midwestern location and its economic growth above the regional average. Simply put, if a growing city like Indianapolis remains segregated to such a high extent, what’s going on?

One necessary step toward unraveling the regional conundrum of segregation’s uneven decline is to carefully describe the pattern. This paper reports the results of a geographical analysis of residential segregation in Indianapolis from 1990 to 2010. The results demonstrate that even in the face of a modest decline in the city’s segregation statistics, the city’s residential landscape remains thoroughly segregated. The resulting maps depict the city’s changing landscape of segregation at a finer scale than has been done in the past. As a result, we can see the operation of continuous expansion—parcels converting from heterogeneous racial composition to nearly homogeneous African American composition—associated with a tipping-point dynamic (Clark 1993). Combined with evidence of ongoing real-estate agent practices of steering and discriminatory lending (Kaplan and Holloway 1998), the presence of a tipping point suggests that social processes first disclosed in the 1950s remain salient (Lipsitz 2011).

Implicit in our approach to mapping segregation is the proposition that conventional statistical methods for examining segregation produce maps that obscure the finer-grained patterns associated with the phenomenon (O’Sullivan and Wong 2007). This lack of small-scale visibility is troublesome for two reasons. First, by relying on geographic parcels defined by the Census Bureau, conventional segregation maps overlook the segregated conditions within parcels. This lack of intraparcel specificity matters because amenities are not equally distributed within parcels; the same census tract (i.e., the typical unit of spatial analysis of segregation) may have blighted and gentrified residences in close but statistically overlooked proximity. Related to this matter of scale is a second reason to reconfigure how we map segregation: Traditional measures of
residential segregation do not consider the influence of adjacent areas—neighborhoods, street corners, transit centers, interstate highway corridors—on a parcel’s demographic makeup (O’Sullivan and Wong 2007). This condition of spatial autocorrelation—the influence of proximity understood in a probabilistic manner—requires specialized statistical techniques. Among techniques for considering proximity’s influence, kernel density estimation (KDE) is ideal for our purposes because the resulting maps clearly depict segregation’s geographic footprint. Visualizing segregation with KDE maps allows activists and researchers to take the small but necessary step of accurately reporting segregation’s location. What is more, visualization lends rhetorically powerful credence—seeing is believing—to the efforts of those who call attention to segregation's deleterious social effects.

BACKGROUND

Longitudinal measures of residential segregation indicate that it has simultaneously declined and endured as a social phenomenon (Massey and Tannen 2015). Indianapolis is emblematic of an emerging regional pattern in which segregation has declined nationally but differs significantly among regions. For instance, residential segregation in cities in the American South and Midwest appears more resistant to change than in cities in the Southwest and Northwest (Massey and Tannen 2015). Indianapolis is an exemplar of this regional variation: a Midwestern city in which the overall proportion of African Americans residing under segregated conditions is decreasing, yet the decrease is modest compared to the overall national trend.

One approach to setting this spatial variation among regions into context is to recall the inherently spatial ideal that was among the motivations of those who designed fair-housing legislation 50 years ago (Lipsitz 2011). Prior to the 1968 Fair Housing Act and several congressional measures from the 1970s that targeted discriminatory lending practices, the legality of housing discrimination varied among state and local governments. These local variations, widely interpreted as prima facie evidence of discriminatory practices of various types, changed abruptly from one jurisdiction to another. In the wake of fair housing and lending legislation, however, local variation (discrimination) was, theoretically, replaced by the application of an overarching national regulatory plan that upheld notions of justice and equal access. Ideally, the consistent application of such law was to result in a map of uniform housing and lending practices across jurisdictions and administrative units. Cartographically, the map of housing and residential finance-related regulation and practice was intended to move from being a complex, fractured, jurisdiction-specific patchwork quilt to a smooth, continuously uniform regulatory surface.

The ongoing reality of residential segregation makes clear that the ideal of fair housing has not been realized. African American residential choice remains constrained. Subsequently, African Americans are disproportionately exposed to disamenities associated with food deserts, ambient lead, failing schools, and police profiling (Wilson 2007). What we propose here is to use a technique that begins with the assumption of uniformity, and measures how far we are from that ideal. When we consider the crucial...
where of segregation and model the city’s residential landscape as a smooth, continuously variable phenomenon, how has the map of segregation in one city—Indianapolis—changed over time in response to a new judicial environment?

The dissimilarity index (Duncan and Duncan 1955) has been used extensively to describe segregation because of the index’s ease of calculation and the wide availability of census data (Massey and Denton 1989; O’Sullivan and Wong 2007). It also has the added advantage that it allows us to compare regions across the country longitudinally, regardless of differences in area and population. There are, however, several drawbacks to indices of segregation such as the dissimilarity index for a study like ours. Though useful in quantifying the level of segregation, it does not show where the phenomena are distributed geographically in a local sense—for example, among a city’s neighborhoods.

These tabular indices of segregation rely on the tacit assumption that the observations are independent and identically distributed (IID). The assumption of independent and identical distribution, however, confounds a fundamental principle of spatial analysis. Stated as an epigram, this key insight into the condition of spatial phenomena reads, “Everything is related with everything else, but near things are more related than distant things” (Tobler 1970). The assumption that individual observations are independent of their surroundings does not adhere in instances such as racial segregation, wherein adjacency and proximity clearly matter (Dwyer and Jones 2000; Lipsitz 2011). Spatial statistical analysis examines the likelihood that adjacent neighbors have an impact on one another. For example, if there is a high prevalence of influenza cases in Marion County, there is a higher likelihood of influenza spreading to neighboring counties than to counties farther away. That is, the likelihood of influenza spreading to adjacent counties is much higher than the likelihood of spreading to nonadjacent counties. Additionally, this likelihood of transmission reduces in proportion to a county’s distance from Marion County. This, setting aside the assumption of independent and identically distributed observations that underpins tabular indices in favor of carefully examining the influence of adjacency and proximity—more technically, spatial autocorrelation—is important in analyzing spatial phenomena such as segregation.

A second, related, problem arises when the results of conventional indices of segregation are depicted on maps using census geography. These maps rely on arbitrary, administratively defined spatial units—e.g., census block, tract, or county—that misrepresent the phenomena of segregation. Counted for census enumeration, people are discrete phenomena. The necessity of privacy concerns, however, dictates publishing population counts as sums and proportions aggregated to enumeration units ranging in size from blocks to the entire country. The maps that derive from these aggregated data are problematic for spatial analysis because residents are not uniformly distributed within enumeration units. In the most basic case, residents cannot be uniformly distributed in, for instance, a county because some territory is uninhabitable or is zoned for nonresidential use. In the more specific case of residential segregation, the assumption of uniform population distribution is unhelpful because the very essence of de facto segregation is the geographic sorting of racial groups into spatially dependent clusters; for example, the fact of proximity among
groups in turn influences their residential choices. These clusters may or may not conform to the boundaries of census enumeration units. When we map demographic phenomena such as residential segregation using administratively defined units, our map reflects the published data rather than the underlying phenomena (Krygier and Wood 2016).

One response to this problem of segregation maps marred by data artifice (e.g., misleadingly abrupt boundaries separating enumeration areas) is to treat segregation as a smooth, continuous varying phenomenon that is independent of enumeration units. Among methods that incorporate proximal space into the investigation phenomenon, KDE offers a reliable alternative to tabular calculation of segregation in which the phenomenon is conceived as varying across a surface (O’Sullivan and Wong 2007). KDE infers a probability density function of a population from finite data samples, extended to the spatial domain (Diggle 1985; O’Sullivan and Unwin 2003:68–71). KDE allows us to control for the aspatial assumptions described above as well as to visualize the changing spatial distribution of racial segregation. A brief description of KDE extended to spatial domain follows.

KDE is a nonparametric method of estimating probability distribution function of a random value about a population from data based on a finite data sample (Silverman 1986). It is written as

\[ y(x) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K \left( \frac{x - X_i}{h} \right) \]

where \( y \) is the estimated probability density function, \( X_1, \ldots, X_n \) are the sample data, and \( K \) is a kernel function with bandwidth \( h \). The commonly used kernel functions are the Gaussian function and the quartic function. The quartic function is defined as

\[ K(x) = \begin{cases} 
  c(h)(1 - \frac{x}{h})^2 & \text{where } x \leq h \\
  0 & \text{otherwise}
\end{cases} \]

and

\[ c(h) = \frac{15}{16h} \]
where $h$ is the kernel bandwidth and $c(h)$ is a scaling factor to ensure that the function sums to 1. KDE can be extended to the spatial domain by incorporating some distance, usually radially symmetric, from some central point (Diggle 1985), which changes the kernel function to

$$K(r) = \begin{cases} c(h)(1 - \frac{r}{h})^2 & \text{where } r \leq h \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

and

$$c(h) = \frac{3}{\pi h^2}$$

where $r$ is a radius around a central point. Because we are using block-level aggregation data, the population is treated as multiple data points at a single location, the block centroid. The only stipulation that we have to ensure is that the radius of the kernel function crosses the boundary of the administrative units to capture interaction of populations across administrative boundaries.

KDE has been used in crime analysis (Chainey, Reid, and Stuart 2003) and population visualizations (Wood et al. 1999). We apply KDE to see how segregation has evolved over time. A segregation measure can be derived from KDE by using the following formula:

$$S = \frac{\sum_i \max(p_{w_i}, p_{b_i}) - \sum_i \min(p_{w_i}, p_{b_i})}{\sum_i \max(p_{w_i}, p_{b_i})} = \frac{\sum_i |p_{w_i} - p_{b_i}|}{\sum_i \max(p_{w_i}, p_{b_i})}$$

where $p_{w_i}$ and $p_{b_i}$ are proportions of populations of two subgroups in $n$ areal aggregation units with \{w_1, ..., w_n\} and\{b_1, ..., b_n\} population counts and

$$\sum_i p_{w_i} = \sum_i \frac{w_i}{W} = 1 \text{ and } \sum_i p_{b_i} = \sum_i \frac{b_i}{B} = 1.$$
A more thorough treatment of the relationship between segregation index and KDE can be found in O’Sullivan and Wong (2007).

DATA AND METHODS

Data

Decennial demographic census data at the block census enumeration level for the years 1990, 2000, and 2010 were downloaded from http://www.census.gov. Since the merger of the City of Indianapolis and Marion County in 1969, the city and county boundaries have become coterminous, forming a single statistical and administrative entity (Blomquist and Parks 1995). The Marion County boundary geographic shapefile was also downloaded from the Census website. The demographic data were joined with the geographic shapefile. All census blocks within 10 kilometers (O’Sullivan and Wong 2007) of Marion County boundaries were selected for this analysis so the generated surfaces needed for the calculation do not have abrupt values due to edge effects. The centroids of these blocks, with the demographic attributes, form the points used for KDE surface generation. The block centroids within this 10-kilometer buffer are shown in Figure 1, and the demographics associated with these blocks are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Totals for Marion County plus 10-Kilometer Buffer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White residents</td>
<td>845,917</td>
<td>941,544</td>
<td>1,016,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black residents</td>
<td>170,845</td>
<td>211,765</td>
<td>259,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other residents</td>
<td>15,108</td>
<td>56,858</td>
<td>129,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total residents</td>
<td>1,031,870</td>
<td>1,210,167</td>
<td>1,404,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks within 10 km of Marion County</td>
<td>16,936</td>
<td>21,565</td>
<td>27,652</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Method

As discussed in the previous section, KDE is a method of capturing the local density of a pattern at any location in the study region by counting the number of events in a region, or kernel, centered at the location where the density is to be estimated. Different geometric shapes can be used as kernels, and empirical heuristics exist for choosing various parameters that accompany these kernel functions. Instead of using the simple circular kernel, we used the quartic distance-weighted kernel-fitting procedure, which accounts for the distance of point to be estimated from events in the pattern. This requires selecting a simple kernel bandwidth, r, which will be used in the kernel function. This bandwidth will have a strong effect on the resulting estimated surface. Selecting too small a bandwidth results in a surface that focuses primarily on local individual events and on assigning zero values to remote locations from any events. Selecting too large a
bandwidth yields a smoother surface at the cost of missing the local pattern in the event data. The choice of a bandwidth can be made less arbitrary by selecting a distance derived from a heuristic or that reflects the situation’s empirical context. For instance, crime investigation might warrant a bandwidth that reflects patrol-vehicle response time or precinct boundaries (O’Sullivan and Unwin 2003:70). In the context of segregation, a bandwidth that reflects the culturally relevant borders is desirable—for example, a kernel that mimics the area of a suburban housing development, an urban street-gridded block, a district bounded by disamenities.

Figure 1. Census Block Centroids in 10-Kilometer Buffer around Marion County

Legend
- Marion County
- 10-Km buffer
- Block Centroids
We used SAGA GIS (Conrad et al. 2015) to perform KDE analysis of the decennial census data because it allows us to choose different kernel functions and parameters needed for running KDE. We used similar parameters as were used for the Washington, DC, and Philadelphia case studies listed in O’Sullivan and Wong (2007). We chose a quartic kernel with a 2,500-meter radius for the kernel function and a cell size of 250 (meters). The changes in the distribution of white and black population are shown in Figures 2 and 3, respectively.

Figure 2. Kernel Density Estimation of White Population, 1990–2010

Figure 3. Kernel Density Estimation of Black Population, 1990–2010

RESULTS

The results of applying the dissimilarity index and segregation index to the blocks around Indianapolis are listed in Table 2. The segregation index \( S \) can be interpreted in the same way as the dissimilarity index \( D \). Both indices range in value from 0 to 1; a completely integrated population will have the value \( S \approx D = 0 \), and a completely
A segregated population will have the value $S \approx D = 1$ (O'Sullivan and Wong 2007). Integration in this model is the presence of identical portions of blacks residing in both the city and its constituent subareas; for example, a city with a population that is 15 percent African American would be considered integrated if every subunit within its borders included the same proportion of black residents. The value of $S$ indicates the proportions of blacks that would need to relocate elsewhere in the city so each subarea would conform to the proportion of African American population in the entire city.

### Table 2. Dissimilarity Index and Segregation Index for Indianapolis, 1990–2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissimilarity index ($D$)</td>
<td>0.8026</td>
<td>0.7555</td>
<td>0.7045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segregation index ($S$)</td>
<td>0.7686</td>
<td>0.7711</td>
<td>0.7366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The maps in Figures 2 and 3 display the population probability surface by decade for whites and blacks. The grayscale on the map ranges from areas that are lighter in color (integrated, heterogeneous) to those darker (segregated, homogeneous). The grayscale intensity of these blotches and smudges allows us to visually recognize the extent of residential homogeneity (darker color) and heterogeneity (lighter color) that characterizes Indianapolis’s landscape of racial concentration and clustering. Significantly, the relatively sharp boundaries of African American clusters correspond to the high score of $S$ for each decade and depict the presence of a highly segregated population.

### SEGREGATION AND INDIANAPOLIS, 1990–2010

The maps for 1990 show five racially homogeneous residential areas: four white and one black. The four homogeneously white residential districts occupy ground stretching outward in broad arterial wedges from downtown’s margins toward the city’s ring road, Interstate 465. Clockwise from the north, the first cluster is a compound of several swarms of white neighborhoods that focus on either side of Meridian Street and then reliably drift northeast. North of 38th Street, Meridian Street has hosted several elite white neighborhood developments since the early 20th century (Monroe 1994; Pierce 2005). The compound cluster is bound on the west by Michigan Road and on the east by Interstate 69. The second cluster straddles the city’s original east-west artery—Washington Street/U.S. 40/National Road—and then curls north along I-465, wedged on the east between Interstate 70 and a vast network of rail-repair and siding yards to the south. This eastern cluster corresponds to a welter of neighborhoods developed shortly after World War II. The third cluster, extending south alongside Interstate 65 toward the neighboring city of Greenwood, intersects the second cluster near downtown to form a kidney-shaped swarm of white neighborhoods stretching east and southeast of downtown. The fourth cluster visible on the 1990 map is a constellation of neighborhoods in and around Speedway and stretching beyond the I-465 ring to define the city’s west side. The fifth cluster, a dense collection of majority–African American neighborhoods—trends
northeast from a point near downtown at the intersection of Lafayette Road and the White River, centered east to west along 38th Street. Importantly, this black residential cluster is located on land—soggy and poorly drained, dissected by highway interchanges and industrial brownfields—that corresponds neatly to the gap near the center of the four white residential clusters (Thornbrough 2000).

For whites, the maps for 2000 and 2010 show erosion among clusters within the I-465 ring and widely dispersed well beyond bounds, trending north and east toward Carmel and Fishers, and south toward Greenwood along interstate highways. In contrast to the white pattern of erosion and dispersion, the main body of black residential clusters has been augmented east and west, moving toward the city's original suburban developments along Arlington Road and Lafayette Road. Three smaller African American clusters visible on the 1990 map—at that time satellites of the larger body, visible to the east across I-465, west near Eagle Creek Reservoir, and northwest along Michigan Road—have all grown in directions that reinforce the impression of a homogeneous distribution of black residential concentration along the main east-west orientation of 38th Street, with a northern arc along Michigan Road. Whereas white concentrations gravitate toward areas outside the ring road served by limited-access highways, black neighborhoods gravitate toward the city’s older suburbs served by surface streets. This specific pattern of sprawling, leapfrog growth among whites and of adjacent accretion by black residential areas corresponds to the more general understanding of constrained residential choices for African Americans, neighborhood racial transition, and subsequent white flight (Clark 1993; Massey and Denton 1993).

DISCUSSION

Four decades since Congress acted to eliminate discrimination in housing and lending, residential segregation affects a smaller proportion of African Americans than in the past (Massey and Tannen 2015). In Indianapolis since 1990 (Table 2), however, these scores remain above the threshold established by researchers when studying hypersegregated metropolitan areas (Massey and Denton 1989). Although housing and lending-related law is national policy—in effect, a de jure level playing field, to use another spatial metaphor—local variation in its application persists, as evidenced by stubbornly resistant levels of de facto segregation reported by D and S.

KDE and the segregation index allow us to cartographically visualize residential segregation in Indianapolis. Maps of the segregation index show that African Americans remain clustered in a contiguous area within the city’s ring road. This black residential cluster has grown since 1990 and remains distinct from surrounding white clusters. Clearly, residential segregation remains a systemic characteristic of the city’s housing market. Specifically, Midwestern cities such as Indianapolis appear stuck in an old dynamic of racial residential change. Given the ongoing salience of residential segregation as a factor contributing to a raft of societal ills and injustices (e.g., compromised civil rights, hazardous environmental conditions, health and educational disparities, and the necessity of unraveling the seeming contradiction of present-day segregation—and specifically its de jure illegality and de facto endurance), it is critical
that researchers and activists seek to understand social (in)justice under present conditions of capital accumulation and the ongoing divestment from African American lives (Lipsitz 2011; Wilson 2007). Carefully describing the geography of segregation in Indianapolis by tracking segregation within parcels and examining the influence of spatial contiguity offers a modest contribution to a larger vital project.

REFERENCES


Race and Racism in the Historical Imagination: Slavery and Civil Rights in Popular Culture*

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ABSTRACT
Because Hollywood films often lack black representation, films on slavery and civil rights often fail to recognize the roles that black Americans have played in their own emancipation from slavery and in the civil rights movement. Our contention is that historically inaccurate films perpetuate inaccurate understandings of Black history and thus inform contemporary race relations. We selected a more and a less accurate film about slavery and about the civil rights movement, discussing these four films in terms of their historical context.

We also conducted an experiment. After watching one of the four movies, or after viewing no movie, participants answered questions about their perceptions of slavery or the civil rights movement. Our hypotheses were that films with inaccurate depictions of race would (1) encourage viewers to believe that white Americans were the primary actors in emancipation and civil rights, (2) promote the idea that white America has progressed beyond problems of racism, and (3) reinforce the postracial colorblind complex that views racism as a black American problem. Less-accurate movies resulted in less-accurate knowledge about these eras. More-accurate movies left viewers with a greater perception of black empowerment.

KEY WORDS White Savior Complex; Colorblind Racism; Slavery; Civil Rights

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This project was supported by a grant from the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Southern Indiana.
This project revolves around the question *Does mass media change perceptions of race and civil rights in America?* Racial theorists have come to recognize a disturbing trend in contemporary racial thought: a belief among Americans that racism is a thing of the past and that the United States has evolved into a postracial society, thus meaning that institutional racism can be ignored and dismissed as minorities’ inability to compete successfully with white America because of innate cultural deficiencies. This “colorblind racism” allows Americans to dismiss racism in the past, as well as black America’s present relationship with white supremacy.

This study considers how the issue of colorblind racism is perpetuated in film depictions of race and how these films allow Americans to see race and racism as historical problems that no longer affect the United States. This paradigm supports research on colorblind racism and a so-called meritocracy in which all people are afforded equal opportunities in society and all are rewarded equally for their hard work. Major studies have proven that postracial thinking promotes the idea of the colorblind meritocracy, promotes racism, and supports white privilege by negating historic and contemporary racial inequality.

Our contention is that historically inaccurate films perpetuate inaccurate understandings of black history and thus inform contemporary race relations. Our hypotheses are that films with inaccurate depictions of race (1) encourage viewers to believe that white Americans were the primary actors in emancipation and civil rights, (2) promote the idea that white America has progressed beyond problems of racism, and (3) reinforce the postracial colorblind complex that views racism as a black American problem.

**METHODOLOGY**

*Participants*

A total of 97 people participated in this study, including 31 men and 52 women. The average age was 19.88 years (SD = 3.10). Around 75 percent of the sample was Caucasian, 12 percent African American, and 12 percent of Asian or Hispanic descent.

*Design*

We conducted a between-subjects experiment. The independent variable was movie condition, including historically more-accurate movies, which included *Twelve Years a Slave (N = 20)* and *Selma (N = 21)*; less-accurate movies, including *Amistad (N = 24)* and *Mississippi Burning (N = 17)*; and a no-movie control condition *(N = 15)*. We asked participants open-ended questions about either the civil rights era or slavery, then coded their answers for historical accuracy, perceptions of Black empowerment, and perceptions of the white-savior paradigm. (The white-savior paradigm describes the propensity of Hollywood to repeatedly exaggerate the role of white Americans and underestimate the role of black Americans in struggles of race and civil rights.)
Measures

In the postmovie survey, we asked open-ended questions about the role of white people in preventing blacks from obtaining their freedoms or civil rights. We also asked questions about the role of black people in obtaining their freedoms or civil rights. In addition, we asked questions about the role of religion during these eras, and about the use of violence as justification to obtain freedoms/rights. Lastly, we asked how these events influenced race relations today. Those who watched *Amistad* or *Twelve Years a Slave* answered questions about slavery, and participants who watch *Mississippi Burning* or *Selma* answered questions about civil rights. Participants in the no-movie control condition were randomly assigned to either the slavery or civil rights questions. Participants then answered a subset of nine questions from the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al. 2000).

Procedure

This project was approved by our institutional review board. All three researchers first watched and evaluated the movies in terms of accuracy and time given for dialogue for white and black characters. Participants were recruited through fliers around campus, word of mouth, and an online recruiting system. Participants were age 18 or older. Those who watched a movie received either (1) $15 or (2) $5 and research credit that counted toward extra credit or course requirements. Participants in the no-movie condition received $5. Upon arrival, each participant signed an informed-consent document and watched the movie that their group was assigned to. Groups contained between three and seven people. After the movie was over, participants were administered the survey.

Coding

Survey responses were given unique identification numbers, and the movie that they were associated with was kept separate. All three researchers blind-coded responses to six open-ended questions for (1) historical accuracy, (2) acknowledgement of black empowerment, and (3) the white-savior paradigm, using a scale from 0 (no comments) to 3. We first practiced on a subset of randomly selected responses not used in the final analyses, discussing conflicting answers. We then coded all essays individually. In cases of coder disagreement, we used the modal response.

Stimulus Movies: Slavery

Choosing an historically accurate film on slavery in the United States presented a challenge. Every movie from the last generation or so that was set in the antebellum period shares a similar story arc: Whatever the story, however heroic or persevering the black characters are, a messianic white character eventually comes along, shows that not all white people are bad, and somehow rescues the black characters. A subplot often involves a white father-type figure teaching a black character some life-changing or crucial skill. Less
noticed are some white characterizations that relate to the African American experience and the loss of black agency in film for generations. This trope is so ubiquitous, it was impossible to find a Hollywood film set in the antebellum period in which the final hero of the movie—the person who saved the day—was not a white person—no matter how big or small the role. The white-savior complex in film created another trope of blacks in film: those sitting around and waiting for help, guidance, or to be somehow fixed. This “waiting room” black character may be driven by noble emotions, but it is the white man who ultimately shows the black character the way to freedom.

The film Amistad is representative of the white-savior paradigm. The movie is about Joseph Cinque, a man from Sierra Leone who in 1839 was kidnapped by Portuguese slave traders. He and about five hundred men, women, and children traversed the treacherous Middle Passage on the ship Tecora to the waters off the coast of Cuba. The British abolished the slave trade; thus, the captain of Tecora waited until nightfall to transport his kidnapped human cargo to land, where they waited to be sold at market in Cuba, where the domestic slave trade was alive and well. At market, Cinque, along with 53 other people, was bought by two Spanish men, Ruiz and Montes. The Spanish men loaded their human cargo onto their ship, the Amistad, and headed to Puerto Principe (Horne 2007; Jones 1987).

The journey to Puerto Principe did not go as planned, however. In the dark bowels of the ship’s hull, Cinque freed himself. He then freed the other men, and together, they took over the Amistad, killing all the crew members except for Montes and Ruiz, who promised to take them back to West Africa. Ruiz and Montes had no intention of going back to Africa, though, and secretly steered the ship toward Long Island, where they were spotted by American military personnel who commandeered the ship and took the ship to Connecticut, a slave state. The Africans were taken to jail, and thus began a complicated legal fight between several parties. Montes and Ruiz claimed that they were the rightful owners of the Africans because they had purchased them in Cuba, but the Africans themselves, aided by American abolitionists, claimed that they should be free because they had been kidnapped from their homes and illegally sold in Cuba. What followed was a two-year legal battle that went from the lower courts in Connecticut all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. Cinque and the others won their freedom because they were illegally brought from Africa to Cuba and then sold. According to treaties from 1817 and 1819, they were to be released and sent home (Jones 1987:50-51).

The 1997 Stephen Spielberg film Amistad gets several major points of Cinque’s travails right, but in the process does great harm to history and does a disservice to viewers who believe they are watching an historically accurate film. Instead of focusing on the heroic acts of the rebellion, Spielberg et al. made a movie about white saviors and their personal and emotional journeys to self-awareness. In the end, the film dehumanizes black characters and aggrandizes white characters and made abolitionists out to be capricious and naïve fundamentalists who will do anything to aid their ideological cause.

The black characters are generally silenced throughout the movie. They do speak, but in the West African language of Mende. There are some subtitles in the movie, but often, there are none. Indeed, Cinque is the only one of the group of Africans who has a name; the rest of the group is a mass of victims either waiting to be freed or expressing
anger in Mende through song or yelling. Their time in the United States is seen to civilize Cinque and the other Africans, turning them to noble savages. Cinque and the Africans yell a lot and are inappropriately dressed at first, but over the course of the film, they learn when to sit and to be quiet, and they are dressed in American clothes. Perhaps the most compelling civilizing moment is when one African man is converted to Christianity after he studies a bible and correctly interprets Jesus as a savior figure.

A second major disservice to viewers and to the telling of history is the portrayal of abolitionists. Though in reality they were largely responsible for winning the freedom for those aboard the Amistad, abolitionists are portrayed in the film as untrustworthy idealists who will do anything to further their cause. At one point in the film, the famous abolitionist Lewis Tappan suggests that the people of the Amistad be allowed to be martyrs for the cause. Whether Tappan ever said this is debatable, but the scene serves the purpose of making the abolitionists seem capricious. The only black abolitionist in the film, played by Morgan Freeman, is a fictional character. It is a questionable decision of the filmmakers to create a black abolitionist rather than use a real black abolitionist from history. This choice serves as another silencing of black people.

Finally, Amistad is a film that relies on the white-savior paradigm couched in white men’s journeys to self-discovery and moral growth. In the film, abolitionists who want to work on behalf of the Africans reluctantly hire Roger Baldwin, portrayed in the movie as a young, low-level lawyer. Baldwin was a forty-something abolitionist at the time of the Amistad trial. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the movie, Baldwin sees the Africans only as property and asserts that this is a simple case of property. At one point when he wants one of the African men to move, he grabs and pulls the chains around the African man’s neck until the man complies. As he works to find out Cinque’s story and argue the case, however, Baldwin finds that he has abolitionist sentiments and he sees at least Cinque as a true human being. In a scene that would have never happened in reality because Cinque was not in the Supreme Court at the time of the decision, Baldwin shakes Cinque’s hand as an equal.

A second white savior who experiences moral growth due to his involvement in the case is none other than John Quincy Adams. He is initially reluctant to aid the people of the Amistad but later successfully argues for their freedom in front of the Supreme Court. In this way, the Africans of the Amistad are foils for self-discovery for the important white men.

The film Amistad gets a lot of history wrong. It falsely insinuates that the case was a step in the direction toward civil war and the freeing of enslaved people in the United States. In fact, the several references to civil war, including an actual battle scene, are anachronistic, as no politician in 1839 would have been talking about a war more than twenty years in the future. Indeed, the case was not even about the morality of slavery. The Amistad case revolved around the Atlantic slave trade and had nothing to do with slavery in the United States. The United States had banned the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, which did not slow down slavery, as the number of enslaved people more than doubled between the ban on the transatlantic trade and the start of the Civil War. In the film, because of John Quincy Adams’s inspiring closing remarks, the courts see the light and admit the humanity of the people of the Amistad; however, in reality, the majority of
Amistad justices were still on the Court in 1857 when it ruled in the Dred Scott case, a decision that asserted that blacks could never be citizens and had no rights that a white man was bound to respect (Foner 1998).

Though not quite as invested in the white-savior paradigm as Amistad is, the 2013 film 12 Years a Slave is plagued by many of the same limitations as Amistad. To its credit, the film, directed by Steve McQueen, does not shy away from the brutality of the South’s curious institution, and it proceeds very closely to the original narrative (Dargis 2013). The film is based on the 1853 book by the same name, which was written by Solomon Northrup and edited by David Wilson. In the narrative, Northrup chronicles how he, a free man, was kidnapped in 1841, taken south, and brutally enslaved for 12 years.

Northrup was born free in Saratoga, New York, and made his livelihood as a carpenter and violinist. While his wife was away working for another family, two circus agents offered Northrup a lucrative engagement playing his violin. He traveled with the agents to Washington, DC, and woke one day to find that he had been drugged and was in shackles in a slave pen. Northrup protested, attesting that he was a free man, but slavers gave him a vicious beating and told him never to mention this again. They said that he should relinquish hope of ever being free again, and they threatened further beatings if he did not comply. In the end, Northrup was sent to New Orleans, into slavery, via boat.

In the film, while Northrup is on the vessel, a slave trader attempts to rape an enslaved woman. Another enslaved man comes to her defense, only to be murdered by the slaver. Although this scene was not in Northrup’s original narrative, it serves an important historical fact: enslaved women were at risk of both physical and sexual abuse. Furthermore, black men were nearly helpless to do anything about the assaults. This reality devastated families and communities, both physically and psychologically, as people had no idea when violence was imminent, and they could do anything about such violence without fear of the ultimate punishment, death.

Northrup endured and witnessed incredible cruelty in the 12 years he was enslaved. He moved to several plantations while in the South, but his most notorious owner was a man named Edwin Epps. Northrup lived on Epps’s plantation for about 10 years. During this time, Epps assigned Northrup to different jobs, including cotton picker. Northrup wrote both about the horrendous treatment and the perseverance of body and spirit of himself and other enslaved people on the plantation. Weigh-in times, for example, were exceptionally brutal. If an enslaved person picked less than the plantation quota or less than their personal load on the previous day, the person would be beaten mercilessly. Northrup’s account goes into detail about the young enslaved woman Patsey to illustrate the brutality of cotton plantation life, describing Patsey as a “joyous creature, a laughing lighthearted girl” (Northrup [1853] 2016). Patsey routinely held the record for picking the heaviest load of cotton each day. On the rare occasion that she did not meet the cotton-picking standards, Epps beat Patsey. In fact, Patsey sustained multiple beatings for arbitrary reasons, as well as regular sexual assault.

Again, 12 Years a Slave is unflinching in its portrayal of violence, including sexual violence. This is an important part of history and a formative piece of the African
American experience. Patsey endures the back-breaking labor forced upon her, as well as beatings, psychological terror, and rape by her master. Other films and television shows have explored these topics, but not to the extent seen in *12 Years*. This film, like Northrup’s narrative, intimately links the ruthlessness of the institution of slavery with the sexual abuse that so many women endured at the hands of their masters.

Violence was not a habit of only the man of the house, however. Northrup wrote about the sadism of Epps’s wife, who was enraged by Epps’s sexual attraction to Patsey. In the film, Mistress Epps treats Patsey just as cruelly as an overseer on the plantation would. She beats Patsey, scratches her face, hits her with a glass object, and encourages her husband to whip Patsey when her only offense was to find soap for bathing. This treatment from the plantation mistress diverges greatly from the ubiquitous trope of the Southern lady who either remains a background character or garners sympathy from the audience as she tries to lighten the burden on the enslaved people on the plantation. (Even the 2012 film *Django Unchained*, which emphasizes slave masters’ cruelty, shows the lady of the plantation as gentle and as following her brother’s wishes.)

Northrup endured psychological trauma, as well. Epps was frequently inebriated and made sport of whipping and beating the enslaved people on his plantation. On the occasion that Patsey left the plantation to find a bar of soap, Epps became enraged that he could not find her. When Patsey returned to the plantation, Epps was furious and was ready to beat her. He demanded that Northrup take over and lash Patsey, who was Northrup’s friend. After forcing Northrup to brutally whip Patsey, Epps took the whip himself. Northrup wrote that he watched as Epps flayed Patsey’s body over and over again. This horrific event left Patsey within inches of her life and psychologically scarred Northrup for the rest of his.

After hiding his identity for nearly 10 years on the Epps plantation, Northrup confided in a white Canadian man named Samuel Bass whom Epps had hired to do some carpentry. Bass secretly sent letters to Northrup’s wife and friends in Saratoga, New York. Eventually, the letters found Henry Northrup, the white lawyer whose family had owned and manumitted Solomon Northrup’s family. New York state gave financial help to Henry Northrup to travel to Louisiana, and Henry went through the many steps necessary to find Solomon, force Epps to release him, and return Solomon home to Saratoga.

The film *12 Years a Slave* was more historically accurate than *Amistad*, proceeding quite closely to the narrative by Solomon Northrup, with few Hollywood embellishments. Despite these accomplishments, it also sticks to the white-savior paradigm. The story ends, historically, with a white Canadian deciding to help Northrup connect to his white friends in New York, who force Northrup’s sadistic master to release him from bondage. The perpetuation of the white savior removes agency from a black man who is so very persevering throughout the film. Because the film is primarily historically accurate, a question then arises: Why was a slave narrative with a white savior given screen time, when so many other slave narratives exist that show more black agency? The answer is that white saviorhood and the taking away of black agency sell (Vera and Gordon 2003). This setup is so ingrained in American culture that even when choosing a true slave narrative, movie makers decided on one with a white savior. For generations, African Americans
have found their voices to be muzzled and silenced because of the ubiquitous and profit-making story of the white savior. When will the story of Frederick Douglass get the Hollywood treatment? Douglass, with the help of free blacks, escaped slavery in Maryland, escaped to New York, remained a freeman, and became a vocal abolitionist (Douglass 1881). This is a story of black perseverance, determination, intellect, and ingenuity that Hollywood is perhaps still not ready to acknowledge.

**Stimulus Movies: Civil Rights**

Civil rights historian William Chafe has described the film *Mississippi Burning* as an “atrocious distortion of history” that makes the incidents during Freedom Summer (1964) appear to be a fight between “local white racists” and the “heroic FBI agents” who were sent to Mississippi to rescue the “submissive, illiterate, quaking black people,” who were depicted as “unable and unwilling to stand up for themselves. The film is set during Freedom Summer, one of the most pivotal civil rights episodes in American history, yet unless you are familiar with that history, you would never know it from watching the movie (Chafe 1996).

Freedom Summer’s goal was to get thousands of activists to come to Mississippi and volunteer their summer to registering black Mississippi voters and to promoting voter education. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) trained volunteers and helped organize the summer campaign. The SNCC expected violence and urged the Department of Justice and Lyndon Johnson to provide protection for the Freedom Summer volunteers. The committee received no response. At 3:00 a.m. on 20 June 1964, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney, both trained Congress of Racial Equality fieldworkers, along with Andrew Goodman and four other volunteers, drove from the SNCC training site in Ohio for Meridian, Mississippi. Chaney, who had long worked in Neshoba County, encouraging voter registration, along with Michael Schwerner, who had been in Mississippi preparing for Freedom Summer since January, had recruited Andrew Goodman in Ohio. The three men left Meridian after dropping off the other volunteers, then went to investigate a church bombing in Philadelphia, Mississippi. The three men were never seen alive again. Their bodies were not discovered for six weeks.

The film *Mississippi Burning* depicts law-enforcement efforts to locate the men during those six weeks, and though the film is obviously based on the events of that summer, Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman are never once referred to by name. The massive voting-rights efforts initiated by the SNCC and the Council of Federated Organization (COFO) are neither part of the narrative nor seen as a motivation for the brutal murder of the three men. The men’s civil rights credentials alone are meant to be an explanation for the reaction by the local KKK and law enforcement. There is also no mention in the film of the efforts on the part of Mississippi blacks to vote in the face of racist terrorism.

The heroes of the movie are two white agents of the FBI, which was no friend to the civil rights movement and whose leadership under J. Edgar Hoover did all it could to thwart the efforts of civil rights leaders. Kenneth O’Reilly has argued that the progress made in the 1960s toward civil rights was done without the cooperation of the FBI. To
make two white FBI agents the hero of a film about civil rights in the heart of 1964 Mississippi is an egregious example of offensive misrepresentation and demonstrates the white-savior paradigm used in films of black history (O’Reilly 1988).

The film’s focus is entirely on the heroic FBI agents Allan Ward, who displays liberal racial egalitarianism and is played by Willem Dafoe, and Rupert Anderson, who is played by Gene Hackman and uses Southern charm, quick wit, and occasional violence to get the locals to let down their guard. Dafoe’s character, Ward, is obnoxiously altruistic, having been in the heat of the civil rights movement, helping James Meredith integrate the University of Mississippi, for which he sustained a bullet wound. Ward makes waves in the little Mississippi town immediately when he “integrates” the “colored section” of the local diner; this leads to the one black man he talks to being badly beaten and dumped in the middle of town. Though Ward and Anderson refer to the work of the missing “boys,” and the efforts at voter registration and the agents are regularly looking at images from King’s 1963 Birmingham campaign, lynchings, and the KKK, there is not a single civil rights activist, let alone a black person, with any meaningful role in the film. Anderson asks, “Don’t they know they could end up dead?” Of course they did know, because it was part of their training, but as the sympathetic Ward claims, “some things are worth dying for.”

The local population unleashes its own form of justice on the black population, presumably in retaliation for the FBI investigation. It was not just locals feeling the heat that summer, however; the hundreds of trained civil rights activists and volunteers, and the violence they confronted, are never mentioned. The film gets distracted from its focus on the FBI investigation and becomes about the white FBI trying its best to protect local blacks from the KKK in the face of Southern intransigence and desperate attempts of the white working class to preserve white supremacy with terrorism. The participation of local law enforcement in KKK activity makes it appear more essential that the FBI swoop in. The only anger on the part of the black community in the film is at the funeral of James Chaney, who is not allowed to be buried with Goodman and Schwerner as the men’s families requested, because gravesites were segregated—but you would not know it is Chaney’s funeral, as his name is never mentioned in the film.

What happened to the three men—often referred to in the film as boys—was not the focus of the film, but what did happen to them turned out to be perhaps more dramatic than was depicted. On 23 June, the car they were driving was discovered near Bogue Chitto Creek. The interior of the car was completely burned out. The FBI then began trying to locate the bodies, assuming the men were dead, while 200 sailors dredged the nearby swamps, looking for bodies.

What the film fails to show is the desperate efforts on the part of civil rights workers, including Stokely Carmichael, Charlie Cobb, James Farmer, and John Lewis, to locate the missing men. When Carmichael, Cobb, Farmer, and Lewis volunteered their services to local law enforcement, they were denied, allegedly for their own safety. Undeterred, however, they searched in the dark of the night without permission, until the KKK got wind of what they were doing.

There is no mention whatsoever in the film of the continued efforts of Freedom Summer volunteers to work on the project after hearing of the disappearance and likely
murder of their colleagues, or of the harassment and violence meted out through the summer. Just in the period after the burnt-out car was located, COFO gathered reports of shots fired at a black minister’s home and at a black cafe, the firebombing of a meeting hall, and reporters being chased out of Ruleville by Molotov cocktails (Watson 2010).

The FBI eventually obtained a confession from James Johnson, one of the murderers. He told the FBI that Goodman had been pulled out of the car after Schwerner but had been shot first in the chest. Schwerner had also been shot in the chest. Chaney had been the last to be pulled from the car, and he had been shot in the back, stomach, and head.

Johnson’s confession led the FBI to the bodies on 4 August 1964 at an earthen dam on the property of Olen Burrage that was known as the Old Jolly Farm. Goodman’s body was clutching soil from the dam, which suggests he was still alive when he and the others were buried (Barnette 1964:1–9; King 1988; “Report” 1964:419).

Film reviews in 1988 were quick to point out the problems in the film regarding the misrepresentation of the civil rights movement. The author of one New York Times editorial claimed that although artistic license is to be expected in historical films, there are moral issues at play when exploring issues as important as civil rights. More importantly, the author took issue with the failure of the movie to acknowledge Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney, claiming that they were worse than forgotten and were instead “defamed” (“Civil Rights, Burned” 1988).

The movie did show some level of historical accuracy regarding who found the car, the role of local law enforcement in the murder, and the informants who helped the FBI locate the murderers, but the desires of white moviegoers to be forgiven for the racist sins of the past and to congratulate themselves for racial progress today trumps the agency and activity of black Americans who sacrificed their time, energy, and sometimes lives for the movement. Mississippi Burning is not just historically inaccurate; it is a miscarriage of the entire civil rights movement.

Although Mississippi Burning dominated civil rights films for years because of its box-office successes, the 2014 release of Selma finally introduced mainstream audiences to an authentic representation of black people in the civil rights movement. Critics of the film, however, immediately distracted from its emancipatory potential to cry foul about the inaccurate representation of Lyndon Johnson as an opponent of black voting rights. Some have claimed that the filmmaker, Ava Duvernay, took creative license but in so doing misrepresented some major historical moments. The film portrays King and Johnson as “antagonists” when they were “cautious and cordial allies.” Julian Zelizer fears that for Americans who generally get their history from the movies, the representation of Johnson is a “missed opportunity” to understand the complexity of Johnson and the “contentious and transformative period in American history” (Zelizer 2015).

To be fair to Johnson, the evidence suggests that he was firmly behind expanding voting rights to Southern blacks well before the events in Selma. Focus on the misleading characterization of Johnson has distracted from a more important conversation about the film, however. The film represents the first time a major motion picture depicted the American civil rights movement with black protagonists in the lead roles. Historian
Jonathan Scott Holloway takes issue with critics whose sole focus has been on the representation of Lyndon Johnson, arguing that what “raised the hackles” of these critics was the “African American experience and ... African American accomplishment” that has been routinely “diminished, ignored and erased.” Holloway is convinced that much of the rancor against Johnson’s representation is because those complaining are hysterical at watching “their” history disappearing” and that looking specifically at the black past has become “fundamentally destabilizing” to the white historical narrative (Holloway 2015).

Perhaps a more damning reflection of the discomfort around facing black history for white folks is that although *Mississippi Burning* won four Oscar awards, including Best Picture, and was nominated for three other awards, *Selma* was nominated for only two and won only one, for Best Achievement in Music for Motion Pictures, Original Song. One academy voter was offended when the film’s cast wore “I can’t breathe” T-shirts, referring to Eric Garner’s strangulation death at the hands of police. As David Oyelowo, the actor who played Martin Luther King Jr. in the film, pointed out, “We, as black people, have been celebrated more for when we are subservient, when we are not being leaders or kings or being at the center of our own narrative.” White America remains uncomfortable with both black civil rights history and present (Anderson 2016).

Historian Emilye Crosby has criticized *Selma* for its top-down perspective ignoring the work of locals who had been organizing for voter registration under the aegis of the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) since its founding in the 1930s. It was the work of SNCC and local activists such as Amelia Boynton that prepared the community and the activists for the later campaign. As in many other civil rights actions, locals put their bodies on the line. Under Sheriff Jim Clark and the watchful eye of the local White Citizen’s Council, local blacks faced seemingly insurmountable barriers to voting. They often faced violence for their efforts long before the infamous events on Bloody Sunday. The FBI offered no help despite the violence, and later, the agency orchestrated a smear campaign against the white activist Viola Liuzzo, who was killed as she traveled back from Montgomery to Selma after the march. Despite abuses and clear violations of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the Justice Department did not intervene (Crosby 2015; Holsaert et al. 2010; Zinn 2014).

The Selma-to-Montgomery march was conceived after Jimmy Lee Jackson, a local activist, was murdered by police during a civil rights march in nearby Marion, Alabama. As the film depicts, at the first march attempt, marchers were set on by police with tear gas and bully clubs. That day is known as Bloody Sunday. SNCC as an organization did not officially participate in the march, but it also did not restrict its members from participation. As James Foreman claimed, the group opposed the march because of threats of police brutality, limited resources, and difficulty working with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SNCC activists such as John Lewis and Robert Mants were present at Bloody Sunday, and hundreds more came to support the second attempt at the march (Garrow 2015).

There are, of course, basic historical inaccuracies. For example, King did not decide to go to Selma after frustration with Johnson’s refusals to push federal legislation; he was invited there by the DCVL. King wanted to find a community to highlight the barriers to black voting, and Selma, with its violent racist sheriff and its
decades-long effort to organize, fit the bill. Though James Bevel, played by Common, says briefly, “A lot of groundwork has already been made by the people here,” these are not the folks who get credit, and not much credit is given to the work SNCC had been doing. As is usually the case, women who did much of the groundwork get virtually no credit. Amelia Boynton (played by Lorraine Touissant), the Selma schoolteacher who played a leading role in the local movement working with SNCC, plays a background role in the film. Diane Nash, played by Tessa Thompson, is present and has a minimal speaking role that downplays her important work as an organizer and leader in Selma and beyond (Garrow 2015).

Despite the film’s inconsistencies and historical inaccuracies, it is an important historical narrative. While Mississippi Burning fails despicably to represent a fair, let alone accurate, portrayal of the civil rights movement, Selma, with its black-led cast, gives names to some of the most important and influential civil rights activists of the time. In many ways, Selma is a biopic of Martin Luther King Jr., arguably the most well-known and beloved civil rights hero, but James Farmer, John Lewis, and Diane Nash, among others, were influential and important leaders in their own right. It is significant that the movie introduces them, perhaps for the first time, to American audiences. This movie is an important part of black history and does a good job at introducing audiences to this history. More importantly, it is American history, and it is significant that it is available to a wider audience.

RESULTS

We were first interested in whether watching more-accurate movies (in this case Selma and 12 Years a Slave) resulted in more-accurate knowledge about the era involved. To test this, we tallied the number of historically accurate responses across the six questions regarding historical events and conducted a one-way ANOVA to compare responses between the three movie conditions (more accurate, less accurate, no-movie control). We found a significant effect of movie type on number of historically accurate responses: $F(2, 74) = 5.58, p = .006, \eta^2 = .13$. Although the effect size was small, we successfully established that historically more-accurate movies resulted in significantly more-accurate responses ($M = 7.62$, $SD = 2.23$) than either the less-accurate movies ($M = 5.82$, $SD = 2.51$) or the no-movie control ($M = 5.42$, $SD = 3.45$).

Qualitatively, Amistad and Mississippi Burning did indeed promote less-accurate ideas of the roles of whites and blacks in these eras, by eliminating the voices of black characters. An analysis of screen time given to dialogue for white vs. black characters supported this hypothesis. Of 117 minutes of dialogue in Amistad, black actors spoke approximately 26 percent of the time, whereas white characters spoke 74 percent of the time. In contrast, 12 Years a Slave gave 65 percent of the 118 minutes of talk time to black characters, and 34 percent to white characters. Similarly, Mississippi Burning gave only around 6 percent of dialogue to black characters, whereas Selma gave more than 67 percent of dialogue to black characters. The discrepancy in dialogue shows that in some historical depictions, black voices are indeed silenced, which may reinforce perceptions of the white-savior paradigm.
We thought that watching more-accurate movies would result in greater viewer recognition of the roles that black people played in obtaining their own freedoms and rights. Two specific questions asked about this topic. We compiled the total number of related comments across the two questions and used a one-way ANOVA to compare responses between the three movie conditions. Again, we found a significant effect of movie type on the number of comments about black empowerment: $F(2, 76) = 6.75, p = .002, \eta^2 = .15$. Historically more-accurate movies resulted in significantly more responses about black empowerment ($M = 2.60, SD = 1.67$) than did less-accurate movies ($M = 1.21, SD = .90$). The control condition fell somewhere in the middle ($M = 2.23, SD = 2.17$). Similarly, we examined whether viewing less-accurate movies led to more spontaneous responses reflecting the white-savior paradigm. We compiled spontaneous responses across the six open-ended questions regarding historical events but found no differences in responses related to the white-savior paradigm across movie types: $F(2, 74) = 1.81, p = .17, \eta^2 = .05$.

We next investigated whether less-accurate movies promoted the idea that white America has progressed beyond problems of racism. We did so by comparing scores on the CoBRAS between the movie types. Using a one-way ANOVA, we found no significant differences in color-blind racism across movie types: $F(2, 80) = .68, p = .51, \eta^2 = .016$.

Finally, we believed that people who viewed less-accurate movies about race would be more likely to view racism as a black American problem. One question asked how participants thought America’s history affected current race relations in the United States. Participants were coded as perceiving a negative impact leading to current prejudices, no impact, or a negative effect perceived by black Americans only. Most participants who answered this question ($N = 84$) responded that there were still effects of historical events that negatively affected treatment of black Americans ($N = 66$), and 18 participants responded in such a way that made it seem as if any negative effects were only perceived by black Americans. We compared responses across the three movie conditions using a chi-square test of independence but found that movie type was not related to responses about racism: $\chi^2(2) = .89, p = .642$.

**DISCUSSION**

Our perceptions of history are altered by the media we use. In this study, we found that older movies such as *Amistad* and *Mississippi Burning* (often shown in history classes or otherwise seen as historically accurate) resulted in less-accurate understanding of historical events. When inaccurate representations of history are depicted, this affects more than our understanding of those historical events. Media use contributes to people’s understandings of their social world. Research conducted on the impact of media use on societal issues demonstrates that the mass media does influence perceptions of gender roles (Behm-Morawitz and Mastro 2009) and racial stereotypes (Ford 1997). There is evidence that media use also contributes to our understanding of history, often wrongly. Many times, the only exposure to an historical topic that people may have is through film. On the one hand, this can have positive effects: “Engagement with film can expand
discussion and may support the development of historical empathy” (Marcus 2005:65). On the other hand, Hollywood films, although engaging and entertaining, can and do frame narratives from modern perspectives, as well as sacrifice accuracy for entertainment. In one study, researchers showed clips of films with historical themes. When clips mirrored history textbook material, participants correctly recalled more information. In contrast, when clips did not accurately reflect historical texts, participants often recalled the false information, even when warned of possible inaccuracies in the movies (Butler et al. 2009). We replicated these findings in our study.

More specifically, we found that more-accurate movies about black rights resulted in greater understanding of the role that blacks played in these historical events. We did not find that less-accurate movies resulted in a greater promotion of the white-savior paradigm. The lack of variability in this response is likely because we asked no specific questions about how white people aided in the fight to end slavery or to gain civil rights for black Americans. We chose not to do so because asking this type of question directly would have overly focused participants on the role of whites, and thus affected discussion of black empowerment.

We did not find any differences in color-blind racism depending upon movie condition. This is unsurprising, because internalized racism is unlikely to be changed by viewing a single movie. Similarly, we did not find that people who viewed the less-accurate movies were more likely to comment that current racial issues were merely perceived by black Americans, rather than factual. It is likely that a lifetime of experiences in addition to media consumption shape both racist beliefs and perceived current race relations. It is interesting to note that color-blind racism score predicted responses about current race relations. More specifically, those who did comment that any current race-relations issues were only perceived black problems held more color-blind racist beliefs (M = 3.32, SD = .79) than did participants indicating that current race relations were the result of historical events (M = 2.84, SD = .84): t(70) = 2.06, p = .043, d = .60. This indicates that racist views should be accounted for when conducting similar research. Because we had small sample sizes for each movie condition, it is possible that preexisting racism influenced how the movies were processed and how participants related the movies to current events.

CONCLUSION

Black representation in films about American history is severely lacking and perpetuates the belief that black history is apart from the larger American historical narrative. Our study supports the contention that people who watch historically inaccurate films hold historically inaccurate views of black American history. This is significant in larger conversations about how white Americans understand black oppression and thus dismiss civil rights demands, how historical experiences with oppression perpetuate racist ideas, and the ways in which Americans can work to correct these historical abuses. Indeed, Americans are reluctant to even acknowledge our slave past, let alone the continual uphill battle for civil rights. Movies, television shows, and other popular-culture outlets are not value-neutral, and work needs to be done to encourage accurate historical narratives to an
American public that, more often than not, consumes American history in these formats rather than in the classroom.

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Effects of Cisnormative Beauty Standards on Transgender Women’s Perceptions and Expressions of Beauty*

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ABSTRACT
The authors conducted a qualitative study exploring the effects of cisnormative beauty standards on transgender women’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Twelve self-identified Caucasian transgender women completed a semistructured interview that provided descriptive data related to the women’s perceptions of societal beauty standards. Analysis of the data revealed the following primary themes: Participants viewed the beauty of transgender and cisgender women as diverse or as encompassing a broad range of variability; societal beauty standards were influential on participants’ expressions of beauty; and participants’ viewed out-group transphobia as a factor contributing to discriminatory and prejudicial perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.

KEY WORDS: Transgender; Cisnormativity; Societal Beauty Standards; Passing; Qualitative Research

According to recent estimates, approximately 1.4 million adults in the United States identify as transgender (Flores et al. 2016). “Transgender” is a term used to refer to individuals whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth and who do not adhere to culturally defined or socially constructed classifications of gender. Conversely, “cisgender” is a term used to refer to individuals whose gender identity is congruent with the sex they were assigned at birth (Bockting 2014). Within the United States, transgender individuals experience “widespread prejudice, discrimination, violence, and other forms of stigma” (White Hughto, Reisner, and Pachankis 2015:222) because of their gender identity (Bockting et al. 2013; Grant et al. 2011). Across various

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settings in the United States, many transgender individuals are treated unjustly compared to their cisgender counterparts, as institutional laws and social constructs reinforce biases, prejudice, and discrimination that exclude and stigmatize transgender individuals.

Within the transgender population, experiences of gender-related stigma and discrimination have been correlated with psychological distress and adverse health outcomes such as high incidences of suicide, substance abuse, and depression (Bockting 2014; Chang and Chung 2015; White Hughto et al. 2015). Repeated exposure to discrimination, as well as perceived discrimination, serves as a social stressor that may influence adverse health outcomes among individuals from stigmatized populations. Research has suggested that repeated exposure to discrimination functions in a manner that lends to an accumulation of stress, which in turn decreases an individual’s ability to engage in adaptive health behaviors and potentially increases involvement in unhealthy behaviors (Pascoe and Richman 2009). Accordingly, those who experience or perceive ongoing discrimination are at higher risk of poor mental health.

**SOCIETAL BEAUTY STANDARDS**

Transgender individuals are evaluated by society according to cisnormative gender stereotypes that include many components of gender characteristics and traits (Burkett 2015; Daniels 2012). A dominant component of gender stereotypes—and the focus of this current study—were the perceptions of beauty, particularly the perceptions of transgender women’s beauty. Stereotypes related to physical attractiveness have been found to be a dominant component of gender stereotypes, as they are strongly and consistently associated with other components of gender stereotypes (Poran 2002). Representations of women in U.S. media and society are highly cisnormative, as transgender women are “underrepresented, stereotyped, or assimilated” and cisnormative ideals are reinforced (Capuzza 2014). Perceptions of beauty in U.S. media and society portray highly cisnormative standards of beauty as well. Accordingly, cisnormative beauty standards are a component from which transgender women are judged and correspondingly treated by society.

One component by which individuals may evaluate the self and others is one’s beauty. Cisnormative beauty standards can influence society’s perceptions and treatment of transgender women, potentially perpetuating prejudice, discrimination, violence, and stigma. Furthermore, cisnormative beauty standards may affect how transgender women view themselves, their own beauty, and the legitimacy of their gender identity. For the purposes of this study, cisnormative beauty standards are defined as beauty standards that are represented or conceptualized in a manner that is exclusionary of transgender individuals and presents the beauty of cisgender individuals as standard or ideal (Capuzza 2014).

It is imperative that the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of transgender individuals, and specifically transgender women, are seen as a priority in the United States. In the United States, the prevalence of documented suicide attempts among transgender women is 42 percent, which enormously exceeds the prevalence of suicide attempts of the overall population, at 4.6 percent. (Grant et al. 2011; Haas, Rodgers, and Herman 2014).
The U.S. National Transgender Discrimination Survey also suggests that prevalence of suicide attempts is elevated for individuals who disclose to others that they are transgender or gender nonconforming (50 percent). Research has identified higher rates of discrimination (e.g., verbal harassment, physical assaults and/or attacks, and unequal treatment) for individuals whose transgender identity is more visibly discernable or who have disclosed their transgender identity (Grant et al. 2011). It is thus important that research and clinical professionals address factors that influence the mental health of transgender individuals, including factors that lead to the harassment, discrimination, violence, and rejection of transgender individuals. Cisnormative beauty standards are one component in which transgender women are judged and correspondingly treated by society. It is important to identify and evaluate this social component and the effects it has on the well-being of transgender women. The results of this inquiry may provide research and clinical professionals a foundation from which they can begin to establish social supports and resources for transgender women, and foster cultural acknowledgment, representation, and celebration of transgender identities.

OVERVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the effects of cisnormative beauty standards on transgender women’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Given that the research on these topics is nonexistent, this study utilized the consensual qualitative research (CQR) approach. The CQR method utilizes open-ended questions as a means of data collection, a research data-analysis team consisting of several judges, consensual data analysis, auditors to review the work of the research team, and the use of within- and cross-case data analysis (Hill et al. 2005). The use of the CQR approach allows for a richer, more in-depth understanding of participants’ inner experiences, attitudes, and perceptions regarding cisnormative beauty standards (Hill 2012; Hill, Thompson, and Williams 1997; McCormack 2014).

The aim of this study was to examine transgender women’s perspectives on cisnormative beauty standards and to identify related concepts regarding societal beauty standards as they pertained to transwomen. This study sought to assess how transgender women perceive societal beauty standards for both cisgender and transgender women, how these societal standards influence the ways in which transgender women perceive and express their own beauty, and how transgender women perceive the beauty of other transgender women. This study also sought to identify and evaluate whether protective factors within the transgender community exist that serve to diminish or eliminate perceived adverse pressures of cisnormative beauty standards.

The study utilized semistructured interviews and a demographic questionnaire to explore the perspectives and experiences of transgender women with regard to cisnormative beauty standards. The authors sought to explore the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes and perceptions transgender women have regarding beauty?
2. In what ways have cisnormative beauty standards in the United States influenced participants’ perceptions of their own beauty and the beauty of transgender and cisgender women?

3. In what ways have cisnormative beauty standards in the United States influenced participants’ expressions of beauty?

4. Do participants perceive any discriminatory or prejudicial factors contributing to societal perceptions of the beauty of transgender women? If so, what are these factors?

The CQR method utilizes an inductive approach that involves forming conclusions via the collection and analysis of data rather than from preconceived hypotheses or a priori notions (Hill et al. 1997); therefore, formal hypotheses were not provided.

**METHODS**

**Participants**

Participants of this study included 12 self-identified transgender women between the ages of 23 and 64. Participants resided in Indiana, Rhode Island, or Massachusetts. The sample size of 12 participants is consistent with the CQR method (Hill 2012).

Inclusion criteria also mandated that participants had undergone some form of gender transition to more authentically live their identity or express their experience of gender. This mandated inclusion criterion regarding participants’ transition status was an attempt by the researchers to more accurately capture the lived experiences of transgender women. It is important to acknowledge that there is no single or correct way to transition and no “uniform measure of a completed transition” (American Psychological Association 2009). For many transgender individuals, undergoing some form of gender transition is a way in which they can “more accurately live their identity or express their experience of gender” (Brewster et al. 2014:160).

For the purposes of this study, the word “transition” encompasses a variety of steps that individuals may take to express their gender identity. These steps may include but are not limited to appearance-based changes (e.g., clothing, grooming), medical or physical transformations (e.g., hormone therapy, cosmetic surgeries, gender-affirmation surgery), and social changes (e.g., changing legal documentation, adopting different gender pronouns to refer to oneself, coming out as transgender; Budge, Adelson, and Howard 2013; Devor 2004).

**Procedures**

Participants were recruited for the study using a convenience sampling design, particularly snowball sampling methods. Snowballing methods were utilized given...
documented challenges in the identification of and access to LGBT populations for research studies (Bettinger 2010; Meyer and Wilson 2009; Sullivan and Losberg 2003). Recruitment took place in the U.S. Midwest and Northeast. Participants were recruited through U.S.-based LGBT centers, college and university LGBT offices and student organizations, transgender organizations and groups, transgender blogs, social-networking websites and platforms via email, and flyers. The recruitment information briefly explained the purpose of the study, inclusion criteria, what participation would entail, and the incentives offered. Prospective participants were provided information on how to contact researchers and schedule a time to complete a demographic questionnaire and an estimated 60-minute interview. Additionally, participants were asked to forward researchers’ contact information to other transgender women who would be interested in taking part in the study. Participants were provided a $20 Amazon gift card as monetary incentive for completing in the study. All participants who were interviewed met the inclusion criteria for the study, and all interview data was included in the data analysis.

Audio-recorded semistructured interviews were conducted in mutually agreed-upon settings (i.e., agreed upon by participant and researcher) that were deemed sufficient in maintaining the privacy, confidentiality, and comfort of participants. The primary researcher provided a verbal and written explanation of confidentiality. Participants were informed that they would be asked to respond to a series of semistructured interview questions designed to elicit experiences and attitudes related to their perceptions and expressions of beauty. The consent form also indicated that the interviews would last approximately 60 minutes and requested permission for the interview to be audio-recorded. Once participants provided consent, a demographic questionnaire was completed. Each participant subsequently took part in a semistructured interview that lasted approximately 30–60 minutes. Following completion of the interview, each participant was provided monetary incentive for completing the study. Participants were also provided debriefings following their interviews. During the debriefing, the participants was provided with the researchers’ contact information in the event that participants had additional questions.

Measures
The study included a demographic questionnaire as well as a semistructured interview. The demographic questionnaire provided background information about participants and included a question asking participants to describe the current status of their transition process (Bockting 2014; Budge et al., 2013; Devor 2004). The semistructured interview questions were developed by the authors to assess the proposed research questions. The semistructured interview lasted approximately 60 minutes. All interviews were conducted by the same researcher. After the interviews were conducted, the researcher transcribed the interviews verbatim. Participant responses were analyzed for themes using the CQR method (Hill et al. 1997).
RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

Twelve self-identified transgender women participated in the study and were included in the data analysis (see Table 1). Although recruitment efforts sought participants from all racial/ethnic backgrounds, the participant pool represents only those who identify as Caucasian/white. Participants ranged in age from 23 to 64 (M = 40). Participant ratings on the transition-status scale (Budge et al. 2013; Devor 2004) ranged from 3, “I have taken several steps towards transitioning but do not consider myself living full time with my transgender identity,” to 5, “I have made most of the changes I have wanted to make and consider myself living full time with my transgender identity” (M = 4).

Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) Method

The CQR process involved consensual within-case analysis as well as cross-analysis processes. Within-case analyses involved dividing responses from the interview questions into general and broad categories called domains and constructing brief summaries (core ideas) of participants’ statements. Cross-analysis consisted of generating categories that represented general themes within domains and across participants’ statements. Each domain and category was then organized, and the frequency of categories was assessed for representativeness across all participants. Categories were subsequently given the following frequency designations (Hill 2012): general (applied to all participants or all but one participant), typical (applied to half or more of the participants), and variant (applied to either two or three, but no more than half, of the participants).

Data analysis consisted of two auditors outside the primary analysis team. At each stage of the CQR process, the auditors reviewed and provided feedback and recommendations on the analysis conducted by the research team. The researchers then jointly decided whether to accept or reject auditors’ recommendations (Hill 2012).

Qualitative Findings

The final qualitative findings included key domains, categories, and frequencies as presented in Table 2. A few general themes were identified from the collected data. Overall, participants viewed the beauty of transgender and cisgender women as diverse or as encompassing a broad range of variability. All but one participant indicated that societal beauty standards have influenced their expressions of beauty. Another common theme emerging from the data revealed that all but one participant viewed out-group transphobia as a factor contributing to discriminatory and prejudicial perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.

Personal Perceptions of Trans vs. Cis Beauty. Participants were asked about their personal perceptions of beauty for transgender and cisgender women. Questions within this domain were intended to assess whether participants’ perceptions for transgender and cisgender women were similar or different. All but one the
participants indicated that they viewed the beauty of all women (i.e., transgender and cisgender) as diverse or as encompassing a range of variability. One participant indicated, “Everything. I mean everybody is different so it’s just like we choose to go to different places. There’s as many different concepts of beauty as there are stars in the universe, and there’s at least one for everyone if not more. So, I think that’s how I think of beauty. I think of beauty as for everyone.”

Table 1. Participant Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23–26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41–47</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50–57</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Race/Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caucasian/White</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School Diploma/GED</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graduate Degree</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Relationship Status</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In Relationship</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Transition Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1—I have been thinking about transitioning, but have not taken any steps towards transitioning</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2—I have taken one or two steps towards transitioning</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3—I have taken several steps towards transitioning but do not consider myself living full time with my transgender identity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4—I have taken several steps towards transitioning and consider myself living full time with my transgender identity</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5—I have made most of the changes I have wanted to make and consider myself living full time with my transgender identity</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participants spoke of more fluid assessments and considerations of beauty and described a wide range of subjectivity when speaking of their perceptions:

I think beauty as it relates to transwomen again is strength and authenticity.

Table 2. Frequency Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain, Category, and Subcategory</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Personal Perceptions of Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadly Defined</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Characteristics</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonphysical Characteristics</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 Perceptions of Societal Beauty Standards</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilized for Appraisals</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unattainable</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varies</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3 Attitudes about Societal Beauty Standards</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilized for Appraisals</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealistic</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problematic</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needs Modification</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positively Changing</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 Societal Perceptions of Trans vs. Cis Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different Standards</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Standards for Transwomen</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influenced by Cisnormativity</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misconceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar Standards</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5 Personal Perceptions of Trans vs. Cis Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverse</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Evaluations of Transwomen</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Evaluations of Ciswomen</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonphysical Evaluations of Transwomen</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonphysical Evaluations of Ciswomen</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar Standards</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing as Goal</td>
<td>Variant</td>
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Table 2. Frequency Analysis, concl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain, Category, and Subcategory</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effects of Societal Beauty Standards on Participant’s Personal Perceptions/Expressions of Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence Expressions</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases Efforts to Pass</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence Perceptions</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt Pressure to Conform</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noninfluential</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effects of Societal Beauty Standards on Participant’s Perceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence Perceptions</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passing</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noninfluential</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes about Passing</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viewed Negatively</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognizes Utility</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Discriminatory or Prejudicial Factors Contributing to Perceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-Group Transphobia</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Evaluations of Transwomen</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misconceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-Group Transphobia</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Treatment</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Protective Factors Contributing to Perceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Protective Factors</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Negative Perceptions</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote Positive Perceptions</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce Negative Perceptions</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote Positive Perceptions</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transgender Community</td>
<td>Typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online Support</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Variant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Well, I think people have different ideas about what beauty means to them and however they want to express that is their right. So, if they think they’re beautiful then that’s their opinion. What I think is beautiful is mine. But I wouldn’t think badly about a person or judge them based on whether I perceive them as beautiful. Beauty is subjective. But I will say confidence goes a long way. If you’re confident that radiates a lot of beauty.

Further analysis of responses revealed that 50 percent of participants indicated the use of physical appraisals when assessing transwomen’s beauty while approximately 58 percent of participants indicated the use of nonphysical appraisals when assessing transwomen’s beauty; however, only 25 percent of participants reported having similar standards of beauty for transgender and cisgender women.

Effects of Societal Beauty Standards on Participants’ Personal Perceptions/Expressions of Beauty. Participants were asked about the effects (or lack thereof) of societal beauty standards on their personal expressions and/or perceptions of beauty. Questions within this domain were intended to assess whether societal beauty standards influenced participants’ perceptions of beauty and whether these standards were influential in how participants expressed their gender identity. Additional questions were included to evaluate whether participants felt pressure to conform to societal beauty standards. All but one of the participants indicated that societal beauty standards had influenced their expressions of beauty. Further evaluation of the data revealed that half the participants felt pressure or the need to adhere to societal beauty standards as a means to pass. Explanations regarding why passing was important for participants included safety purposes, efforts not to be misgendered, and ways in which they wanted to express their gender identity. One participant indicated,

I try to meet the societal standards as much as I can. I won’t leave the house anymore without putting on a face. I tend to even go a little more than a cisgender woman would with more noticeable makeup or perfume or bright colors because I know that if society just senses or they see you out the corner of their eye, and they see a pink outfit and long hair, generally they’re really not going to look around. Their brains are just going to tell them subconsciously there’s a woman standing there. So, I’m always basically trying to sell myself.

Another indicated, “I do. I think my safety in part depends on my ability to be in stealth mode when I want to be or when I need to be. So yeah, I do think the closer I can get, the more safe I’ll be. And certainly, the more opportunities I hope in to be, you know.”
Additionally, one-third of participants indicated that societal beauty standards influenced their expressions of femininity, in that they felt pressure to adhere to conventional expressions of femininity and/or they believed that they needed to express themselves in a more feminine manner:

Of course they have. I’m just like any other—well I wouldn’t say any other women—most women, I assume. I’ve watched the beauty commercials and I’ve watched the YouTube tutorials, and I’ve been down to Sephora and had my makeup done professionally. I have some of their makeup and some of those things. So, you’ve always got, you know, what society expects from a woman because we’re just trying to blend in. We’re trying to look more feminine. We’re trying to look less masculine, more feminine.

Although not identified as common themes, typical responses within this domain revealed that 50 percent of participants believed that societal beauty standards have influenced their personal perceptions of beauty. Additionally, 50 percent of participants also felt pressure to conform to societal beauty standards.

**Discriminatory or Prejudicial Factors Contributing to Perceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty.** Participants were asked about the effects, if any, of transphobia on the perceptions of transwomen’s beauty. All but one of the participants indicated that they viewed out-group transphobia as a factor contributing to discriminatory and prejudicial perceptions of transwomen’s beauty. Further evaluation of the data revealed that half the participants attributed out-group misconceptions of transwomen’s beauty as an influential factor in the evaluation of beauty for transwomen. As indicated by one participant:

Well I think people have misconceptions about transwomen and in turn have misconceptions about their beauty. People think it’s taboo to perceive a transwoman as beautiful. People think for example, if you’re a cisgender straight guy who perceives a transwoman is beautiful, then they’re gay. And that’s definitely not the case and highly problematic.

Additionally, approximately 42 percent of participants indicated out-group violence as a factor that reinforces negative perceptions of transwomen’s beauty. Participants further elaborated on efforts by transwomen to circumvent potentially violent encounters or events by altering or enhancing the manner in which they express their gender identity, with particular emphasis on their expressions of femininity.

Although not identified as common themes, typical response patterns related to the study’s research questions were identified within the following domains: personal
perceptions of beauty, societal perceptions of trans vs. cis beauty, attitudes about passing, and protective factors contributing to perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.

**Personal Perceptions of Beauty.** Participants were asked how they generally defined beauty. Data from these responses revealed that approximately 58 percent of participants viewed beauty in terms of physical characteristics, 50 percent of participants viewed beauty in terms of nonphysical characteristics, and approximately 42 percent of participants expressed broad definitions of beauty:

I also still harbor a lot of the more popular stereotypical images in my mind that are unattainable for me. Victoria Secret models and that kind of thing. Ideally my best beauty standard would be along those lines.

Strength and authenticity I think. I think that’s the best way to put it. Just like not conforming, you know what I mean. Being yourself. I think that’s beautiful. I don’t think beauty is limited to different body types or different people necessarily. I think it’s beautiful when people are comfortable as themselves and strong.

Beauty is in the eyes of the beholder. Representation, presentation, god there’s so many ways to define beauty. Some people can look at a dead tree and be like oh that’s horrible and some people can see beauty in it. So, I think it’s in the eyes of the beholder.

Overall, participant responses expressed variability in their understanding and perception of beauty. Several participants did not subscribe solely to one of the three presented categories (physical characteristics, nonphysical characters, and broad definitions) but defined beauty utilizing a combination of these categorical elements.

**Societal Perceptions of Trans vs. Cis Beauty.** Participants were asked about their perceptions of societal evaluations of beauty, particularly differences or lack thereof, between the evaluations of transgender and cisgender women. Data from these responses revealed that approximately 75 percent of participants believed that society holds different standards of beauty for transgender and cisgender women and subsequently utilized different standards of evaluation. Further evaluation of the data revealed that approximately 58 percent of participants attributed these differences in evaluations to misconceptions about transgender beauty:
Typically, when a transwoman is perceived as beautiful and their beauty comes with some microaggression or backhanded compliment. Like ‘oh I would’ve never know you weren’t a real woman’ or ‘you look just like a real woman.’ It’s like yeah because I am a real woman, I’m not pretending, this is me. It’s like the equivalent of saying you look good for a fat girl or for a black girl. Like what! If you’re seen as a cisgender woman, you’re just seen as beautiful without any strings attached.

But I think society when they hear the word trans, I think they automatically think oh short dress, high heels, you’re a tranny on the street corner.

Participants expressed discontent regarding societal evaluations of transwomen’s beauty. Participants highlighted the influence of gender-related stigma and cisnormativity on the evaluations of transwomen’s beauty. Many participants viewed societal perceptions of transwomen’s beauty as prejudicial and pejorative.

**Attitudes about Passing.** Participants were also asked about their general feelings about the term “passing.” Data from these responses revealed that approximately 66 percent of participants recognized the utility of the term (i.e., for safety purposes, opportunity, to avoid being misgendered), 58 percent of participants had negative evaluations of the term, and approximately 33 percent of participants viewed passing as a goal for transwomen (both personally and generally).

It’s complicated because on the one hand it can mean safety for a lot of people. For some, passing is necessary so they aren’t perceived as trans and subjected to violence and discrimination. On the other hand, it’s problematic because it implies that there’s a right way to be trans or to express one’s gender, and the implication is that you need to be perceived as cisgender. So yeah I don’t like the word but it’s complicated.

I know it’s a controversial term nowadays particularly in the realm of activism. It’s a personal goal for me. It’s like I said before, you would like to be just assimilated into society so nobody takes a second look to see what I am. They take a second look to appreciate what I look like.
Many participants expressed difficulties with defining and providing a definitive viewpoint on the term, viewing it as problematic, necessary, and/or as a personal objective. There does not appear to be consensus on the nature of the term within our participant pool, and per participant responses, there appears to be variability in sentiments regarding the term within the transgender community. Further research into these dynamics will be necessary to better understand the concept.

Protective Factors Contributing to Perceptions of Transwomen’s Beauty. Lastly, participants were asked several questions to assess whether protective factors exist within the transgender community that serve to diminish or eliminate perceived adverse pressures of cisnormative beauty standards. Data from these responses revealed that approximately 66 percent of participants identified friends as protective factors, with 66 percent of these participants highlighting ways in which friends have helped to reduce negative perceptions of transwomen’s beauty, and 50 percent of these participants also highlighting ways in which friends have helped to promote positive perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.

Additionally, 50 percent of participants identified factors within the transgender community as influential in their perceptions of transwomen’s beauty, approximately 42 percent of participants identified family members as protective factors, and approximately 33 percent of participants identified online support (i.e., blogs, Facebook groups, forums, and chat rooms) as protective factors. Approximately 42 percent of participants were unable to identify protective factors within their personal lives and/or specifically indicated a lack of protective factors within the transgender community (i.e., isolation from others, disengagement from the transgender community, lack of social supports).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to establish foundational knowledge and insight on the effects of societal beauty standards on transgender women’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Researchers sought to understand the ways in which participants defined beauty and the extent to which societal beauty standards influenced participants’ understanding of beauty. Additionally, questions were posed to assess whether societal beauty standards influenced how participants evaluated their own beauty as well as the beauty of other cisgender and transgender women. Lastly, the researchers sought to identify whether there were resources or protective factors that helped to minimize or negate negative perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.

Overall, the participants’ responses suggested a variation in perceptions of beauty consisting of both physical and nonphysical characteristics, as well as broad definitions of beauty. Societal beauty standards also appeared to be noninfluential in participants’ personal perceptions of beauty yet very influential in participants’ personal expressions of beauty. Many participants indicated felt pressures to adhere to societal beauty standards as a means to pass, to avoid being misgendered, and to ensure their safety. Data also suggested that the influence of societal standards on participants’ perceptions of
beauty for other cisgender and transgender women as varied. All but one of the participants indicated that they viewed the beauty of all women (i.e., transgender and cisgender) as diverse or as encompassing a broad range of variability. Participants’ evaluations of beauty included physical and nonphysical appraisals for both transgender and cisgender women; however, only 25 percent of participants reported similar standards of beauty for transgender versus cisgender women. Finally, participant responses varied in the identification of protective factors. Several participants identified protective factors that helped to promote positive perceptions of transwomen’s beauty as well as reduce negative perceptions of transwomen’s beauty (i.e., friends, family, the transgender community, and online support). Several participants also indicated a lack of resources and/or support.

Data from the current study have highlighted ways in which cisnormative beauty standards affect how transgender women view themselves, their own beauty, and the beauty of other transgender and cisgender women. Positive and negative appraisals of beauty, whether direct or indirect, influence ways in which transgender women are judged and correspondingly treated. Participant responses shed light on the highly prevalent and fundamentally exclusionary, discriminatory, and/or assimilatory standards that society holds for transwomen’s beauty. When speaking of societal beauty standards, participants shared general sentiments of discontent, dysphoria, felt pressure, restrictiveness, unattainability, and the unrealistic and problematic nature of such standards while also noting a need for modification and indications that some progress is being made. Various themes presented in the data serve as potential social stressors that may influence adverse health outcomes among the transgender community. Additional evaluation of themes will provide enhanced understanding of application, context, and consistency of such themes among transgender women.

Utilizing the primary findings of the study, future research should further evaluate the validity of these themes within a larger pool of participants. Future research should consider nationally conducted surveys that measure the constructs obtained in the research data in order to further establish its validity, context, and applicability within the transgender community. These efforts should include additional qualitative measures to gain more foundational knowledge and understanding as well as quantitative measures to assess to uncover prevalent frequencies and trends within the United States.

Limitations and Future Research

One key limitation of this study is the absence of ethnic/racial diversity in the participant pool. Accordingly, results of the study cannot be generalized to transgender women of color. Historically, normative beauty standards have often represented European or Caucasian American traits as ideal (Poran 2002). Accordingly, transgender women of color are being evaluated not only by cisnormative standards of beauty but also by racially biased standards of beauty. Given the intersectionality and compounded minority stress experienced by transgender women of color (James et al. 2016; Nadal 2013), it is important for future research to assess the effects of cisnormative beauty standards as
they pertain to transgender women of color. Furthermore, future research should identify and evaluate protective factors for transgender women of color.

Although not directly measured and assessed, participant responses appeared to reflect generational differences regarding perceptions and expressions of beauty. Differences in how gender expression in particular appeared to be conceptualized differently among older participants versus younger participants (i.e., viewed as more dichotomous vs. fluid). Future research should evaluate whether generational differences exist and should identify these differences. Research should also evaluate the effects, if any, of recent changes in the social-political climate within the United States (i.e., increase in transgender visibility, protections, and prohibitions) and the potential effects those changes may have on transwomen’s expressions and perceptions of beauty.

Informal evaluations of participant data also appeared to reflect differences in responses by participants from the Midwest versus the Northeast. Specifically, participants from the Northeast appeared to more readily identify connections with the transgender community and/or resources that served as protective factors against negative perceptions of transwomen’s beauty. Meyer (2003) suggests that individuals who belong to minority groups generally develop coping strategies and resilience as protective factors against prejudice and discrimination. Examples of strategies include interacting with and/or developing relationships with those who share similar experiences. Accordingly, these individuals begin to compare themselves to their minority culture rather than against dominant group culture (Hendricks and Testa 2012; Meyer 2003). Such interactions and comparisons may serve as corrective experiences in that they provide opportunities of validation and positive self-evaluation that effectively counteract felt stigma (Hendricks and Testa 2012). Given the small participant pool, it is difficult to determine the validity of these observations. Future research should evaluate the potential effects of geographical influences on transwomen’s connections with the transgender community, and the extent to which regional social-political climates affect perceived and tangible connections.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research study was to explore the effects of societal beauty standards on transgender women’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Researchers conducted semistructured interviews with 12 self-identified Caucasian transgender women to assess the effects of societal beauty standards on transwomen’s perceptions and expressions of beauty. Participants’ responses were analyzed via the CQR method (Hill 2012), which utilizes within- and between-case analysis of reoccurring themes across all interview transcripts. Analysis of the data revealed the following primary themes: Participants viewed the beauty of transgender and cisgender women as diverse or as encompassing a broad range of variability; societal beauty standards were influential in regards to participants’ expressions of beauty; and participants viewed out-group transphobia as a factor contributing to discriminatory and prejudicial perceptions of transwomen’s beauty.
REFERENCES


Antidiscrimination Ordinances in Northwest Indiana: 
An Event-History Analysis of Municipal Policies Since 1992*

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KIMBERLY PALMER FIELDS 
Valparaiso University

ABSTRACT
In recent years, municipalities throughout Indiana have passed antidiscrimination ordinances that protect the rights of individuals who belong to racial, ethnic, or sexual minorities. Political scientists have proposed competing theories of policy-adoption processes that suggest a number of internal factors (such as socioeconomic characteristics, governmental capacity, or issue salience) or external factors (such as mandates/incentives from higher-level governments or influence from neighboring communities) as predictors of policy adoption; however, most existing studies focus on state-level processes, and those that focus on municipalities consider only large cities in different states. To more clearly distinguish between state-level effects and local effects, this study focuses on municipalities of all sizes within one particular region (Northwest Indiana) since 1992 and considers various theories of municipal policy processes in order to develop a model that explains the intraregional variation in whether municipalities adopted antidiscrimination ordinances and when they did so. An event-history analysis (Cox proportional hazards regression) finds the strongest empirical support for a model of antidiscrimination-policy adoption that uses municipality size and the extent of local mediareporting on bias-motivated incidents as predictors.

KEY WORDS: Antidiscrimination Policy; Municipal Politics; Event-History Analysis; Northwest Indiana

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In recent years, municipalities throughout the United States have passed ordinances protecting persons from discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, sexuality, and other characteristics. Often, these ordinances incorporate existing federal-and state-level protections into municipal codes so municipalities can take a more active role in protecting their residents’ rights. In other cases, municipal ordinances establish protections that go beyond existing federal and state law in recognizing protected classes and prohibiting forms of discrimination (Johnson 2016). Clearly, some municipalities see it as their responsibility to protect their residents from discrimination and have enacted policies to achieve this end, while others have not taken such steps. Even when municipalities have adopted these policies, there is considerable variation, often within the same state and region, as to when they did so.

There are many reasons why municipal governments decide to adopt or not adopt particular policies and when they do so. Although the body of literature considering state-level policy adoption is extensive and sophisticated (Karch 2007a, 2007b), the literature on municipal policy adoption is less developed. Most municipal-level studies compare larger cities in different states and regions of the United States. Given that municipal-level data for many key measures is difficult to obtain, these studies sometimes substitute state-level measures for independent variables such as ideology or interest-group organization; however, this technique does not account for differences between cities within the same state and can confuse external influences (for example, pressure from statewide interest groups) with internal influences (from local interest groups). This study will focus on a group of municipalities within one region of a state and will use only measures that are available for each municipality. Although this approach presents challenges for data collection, if successful, it will provide a clearer picture of the policy processes within these smaller municipalities. Furthermore, the existing literature that specifically considers antidiscrimination-policy adoption is somewhat limited and focuses almost entirely on state-level policy. The only published study of municipal antidiscrimination-policy adoption (Wald, Button, and Rienzo 1996) does not consider issues of timing and pace of policy adoption.1

This study contributes to the existing literature on municipal government adoption of antidiscrimination-policy ordinances with an event-history analysis of the adoption of antidiscrimination ordinances by municipalities in the Northwest Indiana region between 1992 and 2018.2 Through this empirical, longitudinal approach, the study can test competing models of the policy-adoption process, comparing the influence of external factors (such as state legislative action) and internal factors (including the demographic and political characteristics of each municipality). Specifically, this study finds that local media coverage of bias-motivated incidents plays a crucial role by increasing issue salience and influencing the timing of antidiscrimination-policy adoption among municipalities in Northwest Indiana.

BACKGROUND

Northwest Indiana is a region that has a strong regional identity but also has clearly defined internal divisions. Although located within the state of Indiana, it is more closely
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linked economically and culturally to the Chicago area than to the rest of Indiana. In fact, much of Northwest Indiana is located within the Chicago metropolitan area. As a whole, it has a high level of racial and ethnic diversity, but the different racial and ethnic groups tend to live in highly segregated municipalities. Cities located in the northwestern part of Northwest Indiana, closest to Chicago and Lake Michigan, generally have more industrialized economies and larger minority populations, while the southern and eastern parts of the region are more rural and white. In recent years, southern Lake County and parts of Porter County have experienced a surge in development of suburban-style subdivisions targeted at upper-middle-class families. Additionally, a number of lakefront municipalities are located in Porter and LaPorte counties, and these small, exclusive towns have property values and income levels substantially higher than the rest of the region (Table 1). Because of these extreme racial and economic differences among the various municipalities, their residents and leaders often have regarded each other with suspicion. Efforts at regional intergovernmental cooperation have been fairly rare and limited in scope, although some cooperation has emerged in recent years on economic-development planning and public-transportation initiatives.

Table 1. Profile of Northwest Indiana Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Form of Government</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Minority Residents</th>
<th>Per Capita Income</th>
<th>College Degree or Higher</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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Table 1. Profile of Northwest Indiana Communities, concl.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Form of Government</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Minority Residents</th>
<th>Per Capita Income</th>
<th>College Degree or Higher</th>
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</thead>
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<td>14.4%</td>
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<td>$51,523</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Town</td>
<td>Porter</td>
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<td>5.7%</td>
<td>$30,774</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
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<td>Town</td>
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<td>35.8%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13.2%</td>
<td>$32,686</td>
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<td>Town</td>
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<td>277</td>
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<td>16.7%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Lake</td>
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<td>34.0%</td>
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<td>$21,380</td>
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<td>Town</td>
<td>LaPorte</td>
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<td>$26,287</td>
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<td>Valparaiso</td>
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<td>Wanatah</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>LaPorte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westville</td>
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<td>LaPorte</td>
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<td>$11,243</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiting</td>
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<td>Winfield</td>
<td>Town</td>
<td>Lake</td>
<td>4,383</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>$32,055</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Notes: All data from 2010 US Census. * indicates municipalities excluded from study.

Although these high levels of segregation, income inequality, and division are undesirable from many perspectives, they do provide an opportunity for political scientists interested in studying local government. The relative insularity of Northwest Indiana’s municipalities allows for the study of the politics of municipalities that are located in the same region of the country, are exposed to similar economic trends, and possess nearly identical formal political structures. At the same time, these municipalities are very different from each other, which allows researchers to concentrate on the effects
of the variables unique to each municipality, such as socioeconomic characteristics, political culture, and local issue salience.

Though several Northwest Indiana municipalities have a long history of ordinances against discrimination, the majority have no such ordinances (Table 2). The larger cities, including Gary, East Chicago, Hammond, and Michigan City, established human rights commissions as early as the 1960s, well before the time frame of this study. These commissions are empowered to investigate complaints of discrimination, promote reconciliation, and when necessary, enact penalties against discriminators. Fair housing ordinances that protected racial and ethnic minorities in the sale or rental of housing were passed by many Indiana municipalities, including a few in Northwest Indiana such as LaPorte and Hebron, beginning in the 1990s. Around 2010, a small number of municipalities in Northwest Indiana began to establish protections for LGBT persons.

THEORIES OF POLICY ADOPTION

The most common approach to the study of policy adoption is the policy-diffusion approach, which focuses on the processes through which policies spread across or within political systems as well as on how internal factors, such as political culture or demographics, make municipalities more susceptible to policy diffusion (Biesenbender and Tosun 2014; Godwin and Schroedel 2000; Karch 2007a; Lozner 2004; Rogers 2003; Vasi and Strang 2009). Although diffusion studies address a wide range of policy innovations, they all share the assumption that policy making at one level of government affects the likelihood of policy making in other governments (Gray 1973; Karch 2007b). Scholars have found evidence of policy diffusion as a result of vertical influences (both top-down and bottom-up) through processes of coercion, imitation, or policy learning (Gray 1994; Mintrom and Vergari 1996, 1998; Shipp and Volden 2006, 2008). Other studies have found evidence of horizontal diffusion, facilitated through communication and information pooling between municipalities in close geographic proximity to each other (regionally, intrastate, and so on) or of similar size and demographic composition (Berry and Berry 1990; Mitchell 2018; Mooney and Lee 1995). Only a few studies of antidiscrimination-policy adoption have found evidence of either vertical or horizontal diffusion, however. Grattet, Jenness, and Curry (1998) found that as more states enact hate-crime laws, other states experience more pressure to do so as well. Taylor et al. (2012) found that states whose neighbors have passed gender-identity-protection legislation are more likely to pass similar policies.

Policy-diffusion studies also account for various internal factors that can increase the likelihood of policy diffusion (Shipp and Volden 2008). Factors such as a jurisdiction’s socioeconomic characteristics or dominant political culture can make it more or less likely to be influenced by external policy diffusion. The presence of a large number of members of a particular racial group or religious denomination might make a state more or less likely to pass antidiscrimination policies, but findings in this area are mixed. Berry and Berry (1990) and Wald et al (1996) found that a concentration of fundamentalist Christians decreased the likelihood of adoption of policies that offended those groups. Colvin (2008) found that cities with high levels of racial diversity, same-sex households,
and college graduates were more likely to adopt public-employment protections for transgendered persons; however, other studies found that the concentration of nonwhite or Jewish populations had no measurable effect on the likelihood of states passing antidiscrimination measures (Grattet et al. 1998; Soule and Earl 2001).

Table 2. Anti-Discrimination Policies Enacted by Northwest Indiana Municipalities, 1992–2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hammond</td>
<td>Fair Housing Ordinance</td>
<td>5/12/1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>Revised Civil Rights Ordinance</td>
<td>12/20/1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaPorte</td>
<td>Fair Housing Policy</td>
<td>2/6/1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>Fair Housing Policy</td>
<td>4/18/1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Chicago</td>
<td>Revised Civil Rights Ordinance</td>
<td>9/25/1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan City</td>
<td>Prohibited Sexual Orientation Discrimination</td>
<td>9/18/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munster</td>
<td>Fair Housing Policy</td>
<td>4/20/2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merrillville</td>
<td>Fair Housing Policy</td>
<td>4/27/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobart</td>
<td>Fair Housing Policy</td>
<td>5/1/2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valparaiso</td>
<td>Established Advisory Human Relations Council</td>
<td>6/27/2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammond</td>
<td>Prohibited Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Discrimination</td>
<td>4/13/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaPorte</td>
<td>Re-established Human Rights Commission</td>
<td>9/21/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan City</td>
<td>Prohibited Gender Identity Discrimination</td>
<td>12/1/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>Updated Fair Housing Policy to Include Families with Same-Sex Partners</td>
<td>12/15/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munster</td>
<td>Anti-Discrimination Ordinance including Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity</td>
<td>4/25/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valparaiso</td>
<td>Anti-Discrimination Ordinance including Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity</td>
<td>5/23/2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portage</td>
<td>Established Human Rights Committee</td>
<td>1/23/2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Anti-Discrimination Policies Enacted by Northwest Indiana Municipalities, 1992–2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Pre-1992 policies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michigan City</td>
<td>Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Chicago</td>
<td>Human Rights Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary</td>
<td>Human Relations Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammond</td>
<td>Human Relations Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>Fair Housing Ordinance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>Fair Housing Ordinance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another internal factor that can influence policy diffusion is governmental capacity. Governmental capacity can be understood in terms of the size and scope of units or government or in terms of fiscal health. Wald et al. (1996) found that city size was one of the strongest predictors of cities adopting gay-rights ordinances, and Soule and Earl’s (2001) measure of political innovativeness, which looked at how often states had adopted new policies in the past, was predictive of the passage of hate-crime legislation. Per capita income is often used as a measure of fiscal health and size of tax base. These kinds of measures are more common in the literature on economic-development policies (for example, Feiock and West 1993) but are sometimes included in studies of moral issues such as the establishment of lotteries or antidiscrimination measures. Soule and Earl found that higher per capita incomes increased the likelihood that states would pass hate-crime legislation.

Political culture also can make a jurisdiction more susceptible to policy diffusion; however, findings related to antidiscrimination policy are mixed. Studies that look at measures of mass opinion, such as voting in presidential elections (Wald et al. 1996) or liberal attitudes of voters (Soule and Earl 2001) have not found a clear connection to the adoption of antidiscrimination ordinances. Soule and Earl (2001) found that the percentage of Democratic legislators in a state increased the likelihood of passage of hate-crime legislation.

In summary, the existing policy-diffusion literature finds limited evidence of either external policy diffusion or internal factors influencing state-level antidiscrimination-policy adoption and, with few exceptions (Colvin 2007, 2008; Wald et al. 1996), has ignored municipal-level antidiscrimination-policy adoption. Additionally, very few existing antidiscrimination studies (see Grattet et al. 1998; Soule and Earl 2001) focus specifically on the varying pace of antidiscrimination-policy adoption. To put it simply, most diffusion studies tend to exclusively focus on the spread and adoption of policy innovations (Biesenbender and Tosun 2014) instead of the timing of policy adoption and the impact of specific factors on the timing of policy adoption. This means that our understanding of the antidiscrimination policy-making process is incomplete, as is our understanding of how various factors influence municipal governments’ decisions about when to adopt such policies. This is unfortunate, because other research suggests that the timing of policy adoption has consequences for its content, implementation, effectiveness, and subsequent evaluation (Pavalko 1989; Pindyck 2000).

As an alternative to diffusion models, some scholars have studied the adoption of antidiscrimination policies using a morality-politics model. In this body of literature, scholars attempt to determine the circumstances under which political systems are most likely to create policies that are consistent with public preferences. Morality policies are policies in which the government regulates social norms by endorsing one set of values over a different set of values (Gusfield 1963). Compared to other kinds of policies, these policies tend to be highly salient in public debate and engaging to many citizens because they do not require acquiring new information to have or express an opinion; “Everyone is an expert on morality” (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996:333, 2003:672).

While both diffusion models and morality-politics models attempt to explain why jurisdictions adopt new policies, and both consider that policies can move between
jurisdictions vertically and horizontally, they suggest different means of transference. Diffusion models assume that diffusion happens when political elites in one jurisdiction seek out and learn about new policy options in neighboring jurisdictions. Morality-politics models focus on the activities of interest groups or activist coalitions (Haider-Markel 2001), either internal or external to a jurisdiction, that lobby on behalf of policies and thus influence the strategic decisions of political actors. These studies indicate that as policy debates take on the characteristics of morality politics, there is a greater probability that political actors will take actions that reflect public preferences (Haider-Markel 2001:7; Lax and Phillips 2009:383). This suggests the potential importance of issue salience in determining antidiscrimination-policy adoption, as high issue salience is one of the characteristic features of morality politics; however, issue salience itself varies across time and is influenced by various factors including interest-group presence, mobilization, and resources; media campaigns; and specific triggering events (Becker 1999; Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Swarts and Vasi 2011).

Although the morality-politics model improves on the diffusion model with its emphasis on issue salience, still missing from this literature is a focus on how factors influencing an issue’s perceived salience affect the pace of policy adoption. For example, although some scholarship recognizes the impact of media coverage of hate and other bias-motivated crimes and specific triggering events on citizens’ perception of an issue’s salience (Becker 1999; Feinberg 2002; Rabrenovic 2007), these studies stop short of examining the connection between that phenomenon and the varying pace of antidiscrimination-policy adoption. Soule and Earl found that “states in regions where there is a great deal of media attention to hate crimes are quicker to enact hate crime laws than are states in regions with little or no media attention” (2001:294), but it is unknown whether this phenomenon also explains the variation in the timing of when municipalities adopt antidiscrimination policies. This research lacuna is particularly surprising, as a growing body of research highlights the significance of local media’s influence on the policy-making process (Crow 2010).

Research on the local policy-making process often involves a direct or indirect analysis of the role of the media. These studies provide evidence that media reports, particularly those about crime, help shape public opinion (Colomb and Damphousse 2004). Furthermore, related studies demonstrate that frequent exposure to stories about crime from local news sources increases individual and aggregate levels of fear (Haghighi and Sorensen 1996; Liska and Baccaglini 1990). Such increases in fear may mobilize people to put pressure on elected officials to address the problem. Government officials, particularly local elected politicians, facing these circumstances are likely to respond. As such, it is possible that media stories about bias-motivated incidents may be a catalyst for the development and adoption of local antidiscrimination ordinances. If this is the case, it is expected that localities where large volumes of local newspaper coverage highlight bias-motivated crimes and other incidents will have adopted antidiscrimination policies earlier than similarly situated municipalities with less coverage.
METHODS AND DATA

The process through which a municipality decides to pass an antidiscrimination ordinance happens over time. Because many of the independent variables that might predict passage can occur before or after the actual time of passage, it is not sufficient simply to demonstrate correlation between the two variables; the relationship must occur in the correct chronological order. For example, the mere fact that bias incidents occurred in a city that passed an antidiscrimination ordinance does not provide evidence that the incidents influenced the ordinance’s passage unless it is also the case that the incidents occurred before the ordinance’s passage. The cross-sectional analysis techniques used in many studies of policy adoption cannot account for chronology, however. To account for this, the present study uses Cox regression, a form of event history analysis (EHA), to evaluate its models. EHA is a method that was originally developed in the healthcare field as a means of understanding how pathologies and treatments contribute to the survival or death of patients. Social scientists have adopted this methodology to study a number of phenomena, including policy innovation and diffusion (Berry and Berry 1990; Box-Steffensmeier and Jones 2004). As used by social scientists, EHA is a kind of longitudinal analysis that predicts the probability of an event happening within a particular frame of time, based on the values of the independent variables. Each case in the data is a particular time frame for a particular government unit. In this study, each case is one month for one municipality. The first month included in the study is January 1992, and the last month included is January 2018.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable coded 1 for months during which a municipality adopts an ordinance establishing or expanding antidiscrimination protections and 0 for months when a municipality does not. These ordinances include establishment of human rights commissions, fair housing ordinances, or broader antidiscrimination policies, or addition of new protected classes to existing policies (Table 2). Current compilations of municipal codes were examined for antidiscrimination provisions and for annotations indicating the specific ordinances that established the protections. Only ordinances that expanded the level of legal protections were counted; ordinances that made only minor changes to the functioning of the municipalities’ antidiscrimination processes—such as changing the membership or quorum rules of the human rights commission—were not counted as expanding protections against discrimination. Among the 34 municipalities included in the study, 17 antidiscrimination ordinances were passed and included.

Model 1: Diffusion Model

Policy diffusion can be vertical, such as when a municipality adopts a policy in response to policies at the state or federal level, or horizontal, such as when a municipality imitates a policy adopted by a nearby municipality with which it shares relevant characteristics,
emulates policy successes in a nearby municipality, or adopts policies similar to those in nearby municipalities in order to remain economically competitive (Karch 2007b). Because all of the municipalities in this study are within the same state, vertical external influence will be constant among them; however, vertical influences might affect the timing of when new policies are adopted. If the state or federal government is encouraging municipalities to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances, then multiple municipalities in the state should be passing them at approximately the same time. City codebooks were reviewed for existing antidiversity ordinances and passage dates. Of 110 cities outside Northwest Indiana, 91 (82.7 percent) had codebooks online that could be searched. This study counts the number of antidiscrimination ordinances passed by Indiana cities outside of Northwest Indiana during the previous year as a measure of vertical influence.

Horizontal (or neighborhood) influence also should be relatively constant, and there are a number of reasons to expect that it will not be a significant determinant of antidiscrimination-policy adoption in Northwest Indiana. Horizontal influence is more likely in policy areas where the impacts of a policy are likely to spill over and be experienced across jurisdiction boundaries, such as gun control, gambling, or bottle-and-can deposit laws (Tucker, Stoutenborough, and Beverlin 2012). Because the effects of antidiscrimination laws are less likely to spill over, horizontal influence is less likely in this case. Additionally, Northwest Indiana’s history of municipalities not coordinating on policy makes horizontal influence less likely, especially for antidiscrimination policies, because any of the divisions between these municipalities are rooted in racial and ethnic differences.

There are two common strategies for measuring possible horizontal diffusion, both of which were developed in studies focusing on states. One is to measure the percentage of contiguous states that have adopted the policy being studied (Haider-Markel 2001); the other is to measure the percentage of states within the subject state’s region that have adopted the policy (Lott 1998). Neither of those strategies is appropriate for this study. Some of the municipalities in Northwest Indiana are completely surrounded by other municipalities, but some have no contiguous municipalities. The three counties (Lake, LaPorte, and Porter) could be used as subregions, but many municipalities will be much closer to municipalities across county lines than to municipalities on the other side of their own county. Furthermore, a percentage measure is not appropriate in this study because municipalities can enact multiple antidiscrimination measures. As an alternative, this study counts the cumulative number of antidiversity ordinances passed in neighboring municipalities (including those passed before the time frame of this study) and then uses the square root of that number. Neighboring municipalities are defined as those that are less than half the mean distance between the municipality and all other municipalities included in the study.4

**H1:** A higher number of antidiversity ordinances passed in Indiana cities outside of Northwest Indiana within the past year will increase the probability of municipalities in Northwest Indiana passing an antidiversity ordinance.
**H2:** A higher cumulative number of antidiversity ordinances passed in neighboring municipalities will increase the probability of a municipality passing an antidiversity ordinance.

**Model 2: Socioeconomic Model**

Models based on socioeconomic internal factors predict that policy innovations are related to the presence of various populations that are likely to benefit from (or be harmed by) a policy (Berry and Berry 1990:402) or that are likely to approve (or disapprove) of it (Wald et al. 1996:1156–58). In terms of antidiscrimination ordinances, members of racial, ethnic, or sexual-identity groups likely to be discriminated against would most likely support these policies. Information about the size of racial or ethnic minorities in a municipality is readily available through census data. Antidiscrimination policies also would likely be supported by those with higher levels of education.5

**H3:** The percentage of minority residents in a municipality will increase the probability of adoption of an antidiscrimination ordinance.

**H4:** The percentage of residents attaining at least a bachelor’s degree will increase the probability of adoption of an antidiscrimination ordinance.

**Model 3: Government Capacity Model**

Models that focus on government capacity suggest that larger city governments and those with more resources will be more likely to adopt policy innovations. Government capacity can be measured through municipality size, budget size, tax base, or the structure and powers of government. Larger municipalities are likely to have larger governments that have more experience dealing with various kinds of issues and will be more likely to take on new issues. City size has been found to be a strong predictor of policy innovation (for example, Green 2014; Swarts and Vasi 2011). Furthermore, wealth disparities between cities leave some cities of similar size with different levels of financial resources, which gives wealthier cities more capacity to initiate new policies. This study follows Feiock and West (1993) in using per capita income as a measure of a city’s tax base. Because the per capita income data include outliers and are heavily right-skewed, the natural log of per capita income was used in the model. The U.S. Census Bureau’s Census of Governments provides data on municipalities’ annual budgets.6 Because population size is already accounted for, this study uses annual expenditures per resident. Finally, to account for differences in the type of government, a dummy variable is included to distinguish between municipalities organized as cities and those organized as towns (City = 1, Town = 0).

**H5:** Larger overall populations will increase the probability of a municipality adopting an antidiscrimination ordinance.
H6: Higher per capita incomes will increase the probability of a municipality adopting an antidiscrimination ordinance.

H7: Higher per-resident municipal expenditures will increase the probability of a municipality adopting an antidiscrimination ordinance.

H8: Municipalities that are organized as cities will be more likely to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances than will those organized as towns.

Model 4: Political-Culture Model

Studies of state-level policy diffusion and studies of larger cities often include measures of residents’ ideological or political preferences, which can be obtained through various national-level surveys. Municipalities whose residents hold more liberal attitudes are expected to be more open to various kinds of policy innovations, particularly to antidiscrimination measures. This kind of data is difficult to obtain for smaller municipalities, since existing national surveys are not large enough to contain data on every small municipality. Presidential elections are a more promising option, given that presidential-election results exist for every precinct in this country. Political scientists are attempting to collect as many of these returns as possible; however, complete precinct-level returns are not yet available for many of the presidential elections within the timeframe of this study. Instead of presidential-election returns, this study will use partisan control of the city or town council, which can be determined through articles published in local newspapers. A dichotomous variable is coded 1 when the Democratic Party holds a majority on the council and is coded 0 for evenly divided councils or those with Republican or third-party majorities.

H9: Municipalities with Democratic majorities in control of the city or town council will be more likely to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances than those without Democratic majorities.

Model 5: Morality-Politics Model

Morality-politics studies have found that high-salience levels make state legislators more willing to innovate with policies that are responsive to the demands of popular majorities or vocal interest groups, and these findings seem particularly strong for morally charged issues, such as antidiscrimination policies (Haider-Markel and Meier 1996; Lax and Phillips 2009). This study uses local newspaper reports of bias-motivated incidents as a measure of political salience. The Community Research and Service Center (CRSC) at Valparaiso University has tracked newspaper reports of bias-motivated incidents in Northwest Indiana since 1990. This database includes each bias-motivated incident that has been reported in local newspapers during this time period, along with information on the date, location, target, and severity level of the incident. With this database, we can
determine the number of reported bias-motivated incidents in each municipality in each month. Reported incidents are also scored for severity on a scale of 1–5 (5 = most severe, 1 = least severe), and composite bias-incident severity is defined as the sum of the severity scores of all bias incidents in a particular time frame.

Because municipalities take time to develop and implement new ordinances, there will likely be a significant lag time between initial reporting on an incident and the adoption of an antidiscrimination ordinance. This study uses composite bias-incident severity for the previous two years as the measure of political salience. The expectation is that as more bias-motivated incidents occur and are reported in local newspapers, the municipality, including both political activists and elected leaders, will become more aware of discrimination within it and that political salience will increase, creating more pressure on elected leaders to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances.

H10: A higher composite severity score for reported bias-motivated incidents over the previous two years will increase the probability of adoption of an antidiscrimination ordinance.

RESULTS

Before analysis was completed, the model was checked for problems related to multicollinearity and the proportional hazards assumption of the Cox regression model. The variables measuring per capita income and education level exhibited a substantial level of multicollinearity (VIF = 8.42 and 7.18, respectively). A combined model including all variables was run and then run again, first without the education variable and then without the per capita income variable, but the results of the three models were not substantially different; therefore, both variables are included in the final model. The proportional hazards assumption was confirmed for all reported models.

The results are reported in Table 3. These results confirm only two of our ten hypothesis: H5 and H10. Five variables—percentage with a bachelor’s degree or higher, per capita income, municipal expenditures per resident, influence of external cities’ ordinances, and neighborhood effect—resulted in coefficients with signs opposite the direction predicted, although none of these were statistically significant. The other five variables—percentage of residents who belong to a racial/ethnic minority group, overall population, form of municipal government, Democratic control of city/town council, and composite bias severity—demonstrated coefficient signs that were positive, as predicted, and two of these—population and composite bias severity—were statistically significant.

The Government Capacity model is the strongest of the five initial models (LR chi-squared = 27.93). The only significant variable in the model is population size; as a municipality’s population increases, the likelihood of the municipality passing an antidiscrimination ordinance increases, a finding consistent with previous studies of municipal political innovation. Additionally, the city/town variable is nearly significant (p = 0.06), indicating that the hypothesis that cities are more likely than towns to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances may be worth further exploration.
Table 3. Factors Influencing Passage of Anti-Discrimination Ordinances

Cox Proportional Hazard Regression Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>External</td>
<td>Socio-Economic</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Political/</td>
<td>Salience</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Trimmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diffusion Model</td>
<td>Economic Model</td>
<td>Capacity Model</td>
<td>Ideological Model</td>
<td>(Morality</td>
<td>Model</td>
<td>Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
<td>Politics)</td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
<td>β (SE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Cities' Ordinances</td>
<td>0.18 (0.077)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.023 (0.078)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood Effect</td>
<td>2.58 (0.298)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.393 (0.405)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority Population</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.016 (0.010)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.007 (0.018)</td>
<td>-0.067 (0.055)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelors Degree</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.026 (0.023)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population/1000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.033 (0.010) ***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.045 (0.017) **</td>
<td>42 (0.009) ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Capita Income (log)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.212 (0.861)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.235 (2.096)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditures per Resident</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.255 (0.251)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.060 (0.218)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>City/Town</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.427 (0.759)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.506 (0.869)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Council</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.749 (0.532)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.318 (0.884)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite Bias Incident Severity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.011 (0.002) ***</td>
<td>0.009 (0.003) **</td>
<td>10 (0.002) ***</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Log Likelihood: -130.609, -127.538, -117.057, -129.945, -124.029, -112.615, -114.831
LR Chi Squared (df): 0.82 (2), 6.97 (2) *, 27.93 (4) ***, 2.15 (1), 13.98 (1) ***, 36.81 (10) ***, 32.38 (2) ***

Notes: n=10,606

No. of Failures (Ordinances passed) = 17

* p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001
The socioeconomic model was significant at the $p < 0.05$ level; however, none of the variables in this model were significant.

When all variables included in all five models were combined into a single model (model 6), the combined model is stronger than any of the separate models ($LR$ chi-squared $= 36.81$), but only two variables—overall population and composite-bias incident severity—have positive signs and are statistically significant. The city/town variable is much weaker in the combined model ($p = 0.56$) than it was in the government-capacity model.

A trimmed model (model 7) that included only the two variables that were statistically significant in any of the original five models was created, and it was nearly as strong ($LR$ chi-squared $= 32.38$) as model 6, which included all ten variables. Composite-bias incident severity and population are both significant at the $p < 0.001$ level in the trimmed model.

**DISCUSSION**

This study provides support for the morality-politics model of municipal antidiscrimination-policy adoption. Our findings indicate that when local media report on bias-motivated incidents, municipal governments are more likely to adopt antidiscrimination ordinances. We also find that larger municipalities, which are likely to have more developed political systems, are more likely to take such action than are smaller municipalities. It should be noted that although Wald et al. (1996) also found that city population correlates with adoption of gay-rights ordinances, that study treated city size as a measure of urbanization and social diversity. Because this study did not find any other evidence that social diversity predicts antidiscrimination-policy adoption, population appears best understood as a measure of government capacity; however, further research could clarify this relationship.

This study did not find support for policy-diffusion models based on the geographic spread of antidiscrimination policies among jurisdictions. Variables in this study that measured municipalities’ internal characteristics, such as sociodemographic characteristics, financial capacity, and political culture, were not significant, except for municipality size.

The strength of the morality-politics model in this study is perhaps its most important finding. Although government capacity is important, bias-motivated incidents must be brought to the attention of governments before the governments are likely to act to address them. This study confirms that local media coverage of bias-motivated incidents increases the probability of antidiscrimination-ordinance adoption. Of course, the political processes through which adoption occurs are likely more complex than members of the city council simply learning about an incident by reading the newspaper and deciding to pass a new ordinance. It is far more likely that local interest groups are alerted to these incidents by local media reports and then mobilize to place pressure on municipal governments to address the incidents. This study was not able to find reliable data on interest-group membership or activities in these municipalities over the time frame of this study, which suggests that interest-group activity in small
municipalities is another avenue for future research. Because of the difficulty in finding reliable comparative data on interest groups in small municipalities, a more qualitative, case study-based approach is likely to be more useful in understanding how these processes function.

There is some variety in the kinds of ordinances that were passed by municipalities over the time frame of this study. In the early part of the timeframe, these ordinances were primarily fair housing ordinances that protected racial minorities’ and, in some instances, same-sex couples’ access to public housing programs. Later in the timeframe, many of the ordinances passed were broader antidiscrimination ordinances protecting racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities from discrimination in a broader range of activities. Taylor et al. (2012) found that policy-adoption processes for antidiscrimination ordinances that protect different kinds of groups and activities can be very different, and this study found anecdotal evidence supporting that argument. A number of the newspaper articles that we read for this study indicated that fair housing ordinances were often passed or amended in order to qualify for grants from the state government but that broader antidiscrimination ordinances were driven more by local concerns. Because of the small number of ordinances included in this study \((n = 17)\), separate models for the different kinds of ordinances were not viable. If this study can be expanded to include data from other parts of Indiana or perhaps to regions of other states, it might be possible to account for these differences. This article offers a first attempt at understanding the factors that lead municipalities within a particular region to adopt antidiscrimination policies; further studies, including both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, will be necessary to expand our understanding of these complex processes.

ENDNOTES

1. This study does not include public-sector employment-discrimination policies, which are considered in Colvin (2007, 2008).
2. For the purposes of the study, Northwest Indiana is defined as Lake, Porter, and LaPorte counties, which include 41 incorporated cities and towns. Six of these (Kingsbury, Kingsford Heights, LaCrosse, Pottawattamie Park, Schneider, and Town of Pines) were excluded because their municipal codes were not available online and their town halls do not maintain regular office hours. One (New Chicago) was excluded because its municipal codebook was recodified in 2017, which removed annotations regarding when ordinances were originally adopted. Attempts were made to contact officials from all excluded towns but were not successful. The town of Winfield was incorporated in August 1993 and did not have a functioning town council until January 1995.
3. Indiana passed a Home Rule Act in 1980, although the state legislature frequently passes legislation restricting the scope of municipal home rule. Even prior to passage of the Home Rule Act, municipalities were authorized to create human rights commissions under the Indiana Civil Rights Law, which dates to the 1960s.
4. Distances were calculated by entering the two municipalities into Google Maps and using the shortest in miles of the suggested routes.
5. This study uses decennial census data for 1990, 2000, and 2010, and American Community Survey (ACS) five-year estimates beginning in 2012. Census and ACS data were assigned to the month of April for each year. Gaps between data points were interpolated assuming an even, linear rate of change. Data points after April 2017 are estimated using an exponential smoothing algorithm.

6. The Census Bureau surveys all municipal governments in years ending in 2 and 7. In intervening years, a much smaller sample is surveyed, but some data are available. All Census of Governments data have been compiled into a single data set (Pierson, Hand, and Thompson 2015). Gaps between data points are interpolated assuming a linear rate of change. Data points after 2012 are estimated using an exponential smoothing algorithm.

7. The Harvard Elections Data Archive includes precinct-level returns for presidential elections for 2002–2012; however, returns for Indiana are not included. The Record of American Democracy data include precinct-level returns for some presidential elections in Indiana prior to 1990.

8. The CRSC’s data are available at nwibiasincidents.org. These data include incidents reported in the Times of Northwest Indiana (Munster) from 1990 to the present, Post-Tribune (Merrillville) from 1990 to the present, Herald Argus (LaPorte) from 2000 to the present; News-Dispatch (Michigan City) from 1997 to the present, and Vidette-Messenger (Valparaiso) from 1990 through 1995. Newspapers are the primary source of local news in Northwest Indiana.

REFERENCES


“We Are a Very Happy Family”:
19th-Century Familial Power Dynamics*

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the roles of family members in the mid-19th century in America, using the Willard family as a case study. Ultimately, this thick description of the Willard family demonstrates that power within the family structure was neither intrinsic nor static; moreover, one person did not control the family and its decisions at all times. Instead, each family member, depending upon circumstances, situations, and his or her own nature, negotiated and laid claim to power through various sources of authority. Josiah Willard’s authority stemmed from his role as father and husband; society crowned him king of the household, and he had the physical size to maintain it. His wife, Mary Hill Willard, often won power struggles through love and through demonstration of her moral superiority. The children, Oliver, Frances, and Mary, exhibited their power through a variety of acts—negotiation, playing to their positions as inferiors within the family, and simple rebellion. In these ways, the Willard family provides us with a template for understanding many of the middle-class families of the mid-19th century as well as the power dynamic between parents and their children.

KEY WORDS: Family; 19th Century; History; Social History

A middle-aged man, distinguishable by his tall stature, vivid blue eyes, dark brown hair parted on his left, and a strong, slightly cleft chin lounges in an easy chair by the fire. Everyone in the family knows that this easy chair is his; on the relatively rare occasion when Josiah Willard is home in the afternoon, he spends many hours in this chair, reading from the bible or from one of his many treasured horticulture books. He looks around at his family lazily, contentedly. His wife, the beloved matriarch, Mary Hill Willard, sits across from him on the sofa. Occasionally, her square face lights up and her full lips part into a smile. She casts amusing remarks into the animated conversation held by her children.

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Their son, Oliver, ever the rapscallion, interjects humor into the conversation whenever he can. He sits on the floor and plays with the family dog. Frequently, he pushes his overly long, straight hair away from his face. His full, curly brown beard adds age and authority to this young man of 26. Perhaps his spirit is more elated than usual, as he has recently fallen in love. Little more than a year after this casual family gathering, he will graduate from the nationally renowned Garrett Biblical Institute, marry his love, and move to Wisconsin to start a family of his own.

The position of Oliver’s sisters within this scene is a mystery, but one can be assured that they sit near each other, as Mary and Frances Willard were ever close to one another. The older daughter, Frances, looks severe, but she laughs easily and naturally. Her ginger-colored hair is pulled back tightly, and her bright blue eyes purposefully survey the situation. Always protective of her younger sister, Frances probably steals frequent glances at her out of the corner of her eye. This sister, Mary, a tender girl of 18 years, might at this very moment be envying Frances, or Frank, as she calls her elder sister. Mary greatly admires her sister, and she can barely contain her jealousy throughout the pages of her diaries. Like her sister’s, Mary’s hair is parted down the middle, the fashion of young ladies of the day. She is more jovial than the rest; later, family members often remembered Mary as full of life and humor. As Mary and Frances take leave of the sitting room, Mary thinks, **Indeed, we are a very happy family**” (Willard 1885:108).

Gleaned from the journal of the young Mary Eliza Willard, the glimpse of the Willard family in the introductory passage demonstrates the kind of day-to-day interactions that occurred between adults and their children in the mid-19th century. In an attempt to illuminate the power structure inherent in families, this case study examines the Willard family from the early 1850s through the late 1860s: father Josiah, mother Mary, son Oliver, and daughters Frances and Mary Eliza. This family’s story sheds light on a “new” understanding of power dynamics between parents and children that developed in the 19th century—one that allowed for a more fluid interpretation of the roles between fathers, mothers, and their offspring. In the Willard household, no one person had absolute control, as everyone, parents and children alike, wielded power at times. Power within the family structure was neither intrinsic nor static; moreover, it was not controlled by one person at all times. Instead, each family member, depending upon circumstances, situations, and his or her own nature, negotiated and laid claim to power through various sources of authority. The Willards’ was no patriarchal, authoritative family structure, and they were not alone in this.

**THE FAMILY: A LITERATURE REVIEW**

Despite the fact that family units provide the foundational structure of most societies, the study of families as a historical subject of inquiry is relatively new and developed only in the 1960s with the rising popularity of the “new” social history. In those first decades, family histories focused on the relationship of the family with larger institutions, such as the community itself, and often used demographic data and analysis to uncover the changing dynamics within the home, and the resultant impact on the larger society (Boyer and Nissenbaum 1974; Demos 1970; Easterlin 1980; Goode 1963; Harevan and
Vinovskis 1978; Seward 1978). Though meticulous in their methods and (at times) audacious in their findings, studies such as these often obscured the individual within the family. As the feminist movement emerged in the culture at large, academics and feminists alike used it as a tool to guide their research questions. This sometimes meant focusing on qualitative social and cultural analyses in lieu of quantitative demographic data. In family studies, it translated into a bevy of publications that examined women’s roles within the home specifically (Alter 1988; Anderson 1981; Bloch 1978; Boydston 1986; Tilly and Scott 1978), as well as ensuing scholarship that focused on men’s roles (Furrow 1998; Griswold 1994; Pleck 1979; Pleck and Pleck 1980; Rotundo 1991). Meanwhile, others extended family roles beyond mothers and fathers to look at their children, intersecting with a new area of inquiry, the history of childhood and youth (Aries 1962; Demos and Demos 1969; Fass 1977; Mergen 1975; Mintz 2004; Sammond 2005; Sommerville 1972; West and Petrik 1992; Zelizer [1985] 1994).

In more recent decades, scholars, particularly of childhood and youth, are using both age and gender as categories of analysis. These historians started examining not children in general but rather male and female children in particular. Their works highlight the gender and age differences inherent in children’s varied life experiences (Alexander 1995; Douglas 1995; Kasson 2014; Rotundo 1993; Schrum 2004). Despite the influx of scholarship in this area, family-area scholars have not kept abreast. Few have attempted to examine the roles of mothers, fathers, and their offspring in a single manuscript or study, although doing so illuminates not only the various experiences these persons had but also the associated structures of power and authority inherent in their familial relationships.

POWER AND AUTHORITY IN A FAMILIAL CONTEXT

In his groundbreaking work Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, political scientist James C. Scott articulated the nature of power, examined those who wielded it, and revealed the ways in which the powerless resisted it. For Scott, power and authority were inextricably linked to discourse and performance: Those in power shaped both the public transcript (i.e., the discourse and performance that the subjugated used in front of the powerful) and the hidden transcript (the discourse and performance used behind the backs of the powerful; Scott 1990:4). As family historian Shawn Johansen shows, power, or the ability to control, and authority, the right to do so, are inextricably linked (2001:9). Power is the action, and authority is the motor. Authority usually comes from institutions, such as society, religion, and even the family itself; power, in contrast, is manifested in the individual (e.g., physical size). In any social interaction, power and authority are given, taken, accepted, challenged, and/or negotiated. In the aforementioned excerpt from Mary Willard’s diary, a power dynamic is evident from the physical positions of the family members to the last person left in the sitting room.

Heavily indebted to Johansen and his findings, this paper ultimately agrees with Johansen’s overarching assumption: the belief that, at least in the 19th century, “it is more accurate to see familial power as varied, shared, and negotiated, and even as something for which family members vied” (2001:86). Johansen’s book, however, relies
on sources left behind by a select group of 20 fathers. He examined their letters, journals, autobiographies, and wills. Thus, the story that he tells is that of fathers. Because of the nature of the primary sources used in this study—that is, the diaries of Mary and Frances—the focus shifts from parent to child. In this way, fathers do not lose authority, but rather, children gain power.

Josiah Willard’s authority stemmed from his role as father and husband; society crowned him king of the household, and he had the physical size to maintain it. His wife, Mary Hill Willard, often won power struggles through love and through demonstration of her moral superiority. The children, Oliver, Frances, and Mary, demonstrated their power through a variety of acts—negotiation, playing to their positions as inferiors within the family, and simple rebellion. In these ways, the Willard family provides us with a template for understanding many of the middle-class Yankee families of the mid-19th century and the power dynamic between parents and their children.

PROBLEMATIZING THE WILLARDS AS A CASE STUDY

The Willard family is atypical in that the family cultivated in Frances fierce ambition, stubbornness, and a propensity to turn her back on gender norms. Perhaps because of this, she became a local, national, and international celebrity; she was a visionary leader, social reformer, and women’s rights advocate. In other words, Frances Willard grew up to be an avid supporter of worker’s rights, a temperance leader, and a suffragist, to name only a few. By some accounts, she was the most well-known woman in America, and upon her death, more than 18,000 people waited in Chicago’s snow and cold to view her casket and say their good-byes (Anonymous 1898). Her accomplishments and fame were obviously uncommon.

Moreover, Josiah and Mary Hill Willard did not subscribe to all aspects of the domestic sexual division of labor expected of middle-class women of that era. These activities were defined by Madame Willard’s contemporary, author and abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe, as the “mak[ing] and keep[ing] of a home” or the “training and guiding of a family” (Easton-Flake 2013:37). Frances Willard noted in her autobiography, Glimpses of Fifty Years, “Mother never said, ‘You must cook, you must sweep, you must sew’” (1889:25). Instead, Mary Hill Willard allowed her children to pursue their own interests, which for a young Frances meant constructing the toys she and her siblings played with. The Willard parents also practiced what they prescribed and shared in the household chores such as cooking. When the family lived on the farm in Wisconsin, for example, Sunday-evening dinner preparation and cooking rotated between all members of the family. As historian Anne Scott Macleod suggests, the Willards’ disregard for the sexual division of labor within the home made them representatives of an open-minded parenting style that was atypical (2000:89). Thus, in many ways, the Willard family was unusual.

By other markers, however, the Willard family was not extraordinary; in fact, they exhibited characteristics of many middle-class families of the mid-19th century. One of those characteristics was their physical mobility. For example, like many other families of the time, they migrated west from New York to settle in the southwest portion
of Wisconsin. In the decades between 1810 and 1860, the Old Northwest, comprising what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, grew, as western historian James Belich noted, from less than a half million to more than seven million (2009:82). In the 1840s, the same decade that the Willards moved to Wisconsin, that territory grew tenfold. Thus, the Willards were a part of a great migration to the Old Northwest Territory that transformed the borders of our nation.

Likewise, the growing force of urbanization and the transformation from the agrarian to the market economy resultant in the expansion of the white-collar workforce also played key roles in the life of this family. In 1858, Josiah uprooted his family from their farm in rural Wisconsin to settle in the outskirts of Chicago. Instead of farming in Janesville, Josiah became a banker in Evanston (Gifford 1995:8–9). In his article about the stages of urbanization, scholar David Goldfield notes that in 1790, only 5 percent of Americans lived in urban centers. By 1870, however, that number had jumped to 25 percent (1990:27). The growth of the market economy fueled this shift from rural farms to urban centers. Already familiar with a pioneering lifestyle, Josiah took a gamble, and it paid off. The Willards enjoyed a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in a city that provided them with all the amenities and comforts they could ask for.

Finally, in addition to the moves, first from the east to the west, and then from rural to urban America, the family also lived through other fairly common life-changing events: the father’s change in careers, the education and marriage of children, as well as the death of loved ones. Thus, a thick description of the Willards illuminates the complex family ties and power dynamic within a rather typical American family of the mid-19th century.

**JOSIAH WILLARD: BENEOLENT PATRIARCH**

Josiah Willard, born in Wheelock, Vermont, in 1805, was the eldest child of farmers and pioneers Catherine (Lewis) and Oliver Atherton Willard. Josiah grew up in Churchville, New York, however, as his family looked for better farming prospects and more available land. They were not alone. Indeed, between 1790 and 1820, more than 700,000 New Englanders migrated to New York state in search of much of the same (Covart 2012:4). Through the practice of dividing larger tracts of land between male heirs, New England plots were getting smaller and smaller, all but ensuring primogeniture in later generations. Thus, many Yankee families migrated westward as new land opened up. Churchville was, in fact, along a well-tread migrant path between Albany and Buffalo (Meinig 1986:226). Perhaps not surprising, then, it was in Churchville that Josiah met and married another Vermont transplant, his neighbor Mary Hill. They began their family in Churchville but did not stay there too long, as in 1841, Josiah, like hundreds of thousands during this Second Great Awakening, heard the call; he could no longer live on the farm, as he needed to save others. He packed up his family and followed evangelical minister Charles Finney to Oberlin, Ohio, where Finney was professor of religion. Both Josiah and Mary would take classes there; his focused on theology and languages, hers on domesticity and piouness (Baker 2006:138–39).

Their time in Oberlin was fleeting as well, as just before his matriculation, Josiah started to show signs of tuberculosis, a nagging and painful illness from which he and
many of his family members suffered. Following the best practices and advice of the
time, the Willards moved to an area that had a climate that better suited those afflicted
with consumption. They wound up in Janesville, Wisconsin, very near the large Yankee
he came from rather modest and humble beginnings, Josiah transformed his fortunes and
became a gentleman farmer. He did this first in New York, then in Wisconsin. Willard
had a knack for growing business. The farm in Janesville, for example, developed from a
mere 360 acres into a sizable estate of 1,000 acres by the time the Willards left in 1858
(Bordin 1986:19).

That year, Josiah and his wife moved to Evanston, Illinois, to reunite with part of
their family. Their daughters, Frances and Mary, began classes at the North Western
Female College in 1858, and their parents wished to be near them. Their son, Oliver,
joined them within the year and enrolled at Garrett Biblical Institute. The move to
Evanston proved permanent; although some members of the Willard family left
periodically, they always returned to this place. In fact, all were eventually buried just
outside the city limits in Rose Hill Cemetery (Gifford 1995:255).

Despite his wife’s description of Josiah as a “fine caretaker of the children,
sharing with [her] far more than husbands usually do … the work of bringing up [the]
little ones,” among most of Frances Willard’s biographers, Josiah is not remembered
favorably (Willard 1889:4). Often, they portrayed him as domineering in the home,
reserved in nature, and irritable on account of his perpetual bad health. For example,
Frances Willard’s friend and biographer, Anna Gordon, said that Josiah Willard had an
“inflexible will” (1898:3). Biographer Mary Earhart simply argued, “Mr. Willard held the
reins too tightly” (1944:39). Ruth Bordin described him as an “autocrat of the household”
who “made most domestic decisions, did all the family purchasing, and oversaw
household expenditures in detail” (1986:16). More recently, Jean Baker called Josiah
“often ill, absent, and authoritarian” (2006:140). According to these interpretations,
Josiah Willard distanced himself from his family through his hard-line stance on religion,
education, and family, and through his command over all domestic matters; he controlled
his household and was the ultimate authority on all matters. In some ways, he was what
historian Joseph Pleck might refer to as a remnant of the early-19th-century type of
father, the “father as moral overseer” (1987:351). In this interpretation, fathers ruled the
household because mothers were too morally weak to do so.

In truth, evidence does suggest that Josiah Willard was strict, and in some cases,
his authority was not to be challenged. When Frances was born, for example, she was
almost named after the English matriarch, Queen Victoria. Indeed, her “mother was quite
bent upon it” (Willard 1889:9). Her father, however, had another name in mind—that of
his recently deceased fourteen-month-old daughter, Carolyn Elizabeth. He not only
wanted to honor the memory of his beloved infant but also feared that in naming his
daughter after the queen of England, his family would appear un-American and
undemocratic (Willard 1889:9). In the end, he won out, and Frances Elizabeth Carolyn
Willard was named accordingly.

In another demonstration of his power, Josiah Willard allowed his daughters to
leave the protective cocoon of his home only upon the constant barrage of Frances, who
promised “to give Father no peace of his life, till he sends me to some school away from home” (Earhart 1944:35). Both Frances and Mary were allowed to study at Milwaukee Female College while their aunt, Sarah Hill, was a history professor there. Alas, the arrangement was a temporary one; it lasted for a mere semester. Much to Frances’s chagrin, the girls’ aunt returned to the east coast and Josiah, upon converting from Congregationalism to Methodism, wanted them to attend a school of that denomination (Willard 1889:97). Frances and her sister were not permitted to return to Milwaukee to further their formal education at that time. The 17-year-old Frances defiantly wrote in her journal on August 15, 1857, “Had ‘final conference’ with Father, in which he said he should not send me to Milwaukee.—I am able, I can do, I will send myself! Note the vow!” Despite her best efforts, Frances knew that this was one battle she could not win. For the time being, she resigned herself to her father’s decision.

Although not evident in the above incidents, Josiah Willard’s power in the household was neither all-encompassing nor constant. His authority within the family was contested and anything but absolute. In one Frances Willard biography, Mary Earhart describes a battle between father on one side and mother and daughters on the other (1944:32). During one of Josiah’s signature long absences from the home, and without his approval, Madame Willard hired a tutor for her daughters and began their formal education. Upon his return, he purportedly realized that education was important and beneficial for his daughters. Not only did he acquiesce to their schooling, he raised funds to actually build a facility!

Despite Josiah Willard’s strict religious upbringing of his children and “his funny ways, his sterling manliness … his sheltering of [his children],” in her March 6, 1862, diary entry, Frances remarked that her father meant the world to her. Though he spent most of the hours in his average day working outside the home, reading alone in his study, or on long sabbaticals in distant locations to care for his ailing health, his children regularly sought their father for advice on matters of utmost importance. Josiah Willard often bailed his son out of financial trouble, for example. In her November 22, 1867, diary account, Frances Willard reported that even upon his deathbed, when he tried to make financial arrangements for his wife, Josiah Willard knew that he was crippled by his “heavy obligations on Oliver’s account.”

Josiah’s role as father and confidant, however, extended beyond the financial realm. On a few occasions, Mary Eliza Willard lamented when her sister engaged their father in a conversation about her “deeps” (a common term of the era used to describe a vexing thought, emotion, or feeling). One such conversation took place in late January of 1862, an especially trying time for Frances as she debated whether to call off her engagement with Charles Fowler. In her journal later that evening, Frances lovingly wrote, “A long, kind, Fatherly talk from Father…He was never nicer to me; —how frankly, humorously & then seriously, he advised me.” Thus, for a man often depicted as stoic, standoffish, and surly, Josiah Willard showed remarkable depth of character and understanding of his fatherly responsibilities. His economic power was evident in his control over domestic duties, yet he also commanded emotional power over his children. The simple truth remains, with either strong, harsh actions or soft, mild words, Josiah Willard was there when his children needed him the most. Perhaps as Shawn Johansen
argues, using “a mixture of reason, affection, and force to control [his] children,” Josiah Willard was very much a typical middle-class Protestant father (2001:99).

MARY HILL WILLARD: THE ANGEL IN THE HOUSE

Mary Hill Willard shared many things in common with her husband. They not only grew up in the same town but lived on adjoining farms. In addition, both of their families were actively involved in the Methodist Episcopal Church (Bordin 1986:155). They were even born in the same year. Whereas Josiah is described by biographers, perhaps mistakenly, as controlling, ill-tempered, and unapproachable, Mary Hill Willard is memorialized as gentle, affable, and an easy conversationalist. According to biographer Ruth Bordin, unlike Josiah, who lacked affection, Mary Hill Willard exuded “understanding and love” (1986:18). Indeed, Mary Hill Willard opened her house and her heart to all of the young ladies involved in the Women’s Christian Temperance Union; in many respects, she was mother to them all.

Though it might be accurate, this loving portrayal of Mary Hill Willard is one-dimensional. Indeed, historians of this period tend to focus on the differences between the mother and the father in the family; those who have studied the Willards are no different. Contrary to the description of the father as demanding, historian Collen McDannell noted in her 1986 text The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900 that antebellum mothers were often perceived as Christlike in their devotion to family (p. 130). Historian Steven Mintz examined the dissimilarities between mothers and fathers in his 1983 family study, A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture. According to Mintz, the most recurrent image of mothers stressed their supposed selflessness (Mintz 1983:51). By describing mothers as complete antitheses to their husbands, scholars have effectively hidden or masked mothers’ authority and power within the family dynamic, but Mary Willard was powerful. Though quiet, helpful, and dutiful, Mary Hill Willard often got what she wanted. Like her husband, however, she did not need to use fear or corporal punishment to maneuver and influence the dealings of her children and her spouse; love and the moral high ground worked just as well.

Mary Willard’s authority came from her role as wife and mother; part of her authority came from her designation as one half of the parental unit, and the other part came from society’s value of the mother herself. It was during this time, for example, that mothers were considered angels. In her 1991 book Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children’s Fiction, 1857–1917, Scholar Claudia Nelson explains how there was a single definition of the ideal woman: the Angel in the House. A life lived in the house (i.e., the very real life of a dutiful wife and mother) was conducive to producing this model, as the dog-eat-dog world outside the home was seen as cruel, insensitive, and capable of producing men in its hardened image. Thus, the idealized image of the mother was necessary to combat the commercial values of the public world. A wife’s praiseworthy ethics, hopefully mirrored in her children, encouraged her husband to pursue a path of righteousness. This Angel in the House is moral, obedient, sensible, honest, courteous, self-disciplined, and, above all, influential (Nelson 1991:9). According
to her biographers, Mary Hill Willard fit this model perfectly; her influence within the home was substantial and unparalleled.

It was her idea, for example, to allow her daughters to cultivate skills outside the world of domesticity. Frances remembered that her mother, lambasted by friends and family for not educating her daughters in the arts of domesticity, countered with her theory that children should not be forced to do housework but to find work that pleases them (Willard 1889:661). In another show of their mother’s strength, the children often went to her to challenge the authority of their father. One such instance occurred when the Willards were living in rural Janesville. At this time, her maturing son, Oliver, felt stymied by life on the farm, but because Oliver’s services were needed at home, his father refused to allow him to attend school away from the family unit. Knowing that his options were limited, Oliver went to his mother, the only person who exhibited enough strength, resolve, and authority to challenge his father on this decision. Oliver implored his mother, “Unless you put this thing through, I see no way out of the wilderness” (Earhart, 1944:31). Madame Willard intervened on his behalf and cajoled her husband into letting Oliver attend Beloit College in 1852.

Mary’s authority was not always in direct opposition to her husband’s. Sometimes she went head-to-head with her children when they questioned her. Once, when she returned to Janesville after a prolonged visit with her family in New York, she was aghast at her children’s manners, which she believed had “fallen away to some extent” (Willard 1889:57). Frances Willard remembered how, to eradicate the wild behaviors that her children had developed while in the charge of their father, their mother made her and her sister “walk with books upon our heads so as to learn to carry ourselves well, and she went with us through the correct manner of giving and receiving introductions” (Willard 1889:57).

More often, however, Madame Willard simply used kind gestures and words to manipulate her children into doing her bidding. Thus, her greatest power is demonstrated through the long-lasting influence and effect she had on her household and on her children. She encouraged each and every one of her children to keep journals, a lifelong practice they all pursued.

Mary’s children were so close to their mother that they would get sick without her. After poring over and painstakingly transcribing all of Frances’s journals, historian Carolyn De Swarte Gifford suggested that Frances’s love for her mother was so great that when Madame Willard died, Frances was suicidal. In the introduction to her work on Willard’s diaries, Writing Out My Heart: Selections from the Journal of Frances E. Willard, 1855–96, Gifford wrote, “Willard, who once feared dying, began to welcome death because she yearned to join her mother” (1995:15).

Mary Willard wielded the authority that she received from society, yet as the quintessential Angel in the House, she used this authority as a compass to guide her children and husband to flawless morality. Her influence on the lives of each of the family members—her real power—is evidenced by all of the journals they left behind in which they cherished her.
OLIVER, FRANCES, AND MARY: FORTUNATE SON ... AND DAUGHTERS

Historians of the 19th-century family have long agreed that children enjoyed more autonomy within the household at that time than they had in previous generations. One of the most consistent and primary reasons for this phenomenon, which appears in the historiographic analysis of 19th-century childhood, is related to the supposed inherent nature of the child. Historians such as Deborah Gorham, Catherine Robson, and Gretchen Galbraith have located one distinct discussion about the inherent nature of childhood along the good/evil axis. Deborah Gorham notes how 18th-century thinkers such as Rousseau helped to establish one end of the dichotomy by creating a romantic image of the child as innocent and identifiable with nature (1978:370). This romanticized view of children gave them authority; like their mothers, they became bastions of morality and innocence. As Carl Degler has argued, children became the reason for the family’s being, its justification (1980:66). This source of authority is perhaps best understood in the person of Mary Eliza Willard.

Mary Eliza Willard was the last of Mary Hill and Josiah Willard’s children. In her journals, Mary comes across as a young woman who was judgmental, self-pitying, and irrationally jealous of her sister. She did not make friends easily. Moreover, she frequently railed against the loneliness she felt when her siblings abandoned her for school, and she loathed the relationship that Frances cultivated with Mary Bannister. Mary Eliza’s biting sarcasm is evident in this passage she wrote in December of 1860: “Mary Bannister[,] the town’s darling, in general & Frank’s in particular has come.” According to her own accounts, Mary Willard was not particularly moral or good. Her family members, however, remembered her as such. Perhaps it was because Mary died at the tender age of 19, becoming, quite literally, the angel in the house. Because she died before she reached adulthood, Mary is forever representative of one type of authority that children had within the home. As the youngest of three children, she lacked a definitive amount of power during her lifetime, but in death, she wielded a power greater than even that of her father.

Like any good Angel of the House, Mary Willard could change the hearts of men and make them more moral. Frances Willard remembered a time in her childhood when Mary had guided a party through the garden. When one in the group picked up a stick to disturb an ant farm, Mary implored, “Please don’t! Think how you would like to have your house torn down by some great ugly giant, and yourself turned out of doors!” (Willard 1885:22). People listened to Mary precisely because she was a child, and her authority over others only grew when she died tragically after contracting typhoid.

Mary best demonstrates one type of authority that children had within the home. Additionally, she and her siblings flaunted the power that accompanied their status as children: their ability to negotiate and their readiness to rebel. For example, the Willards did not force their daughters, Frances and Mary, to learn domestic tasks. In fact, when Josiah Willard really needed his children to do the chores, he often negotiated with them. In early March of 1855, a 15-year-old Frances described one such occasion in her journal (no doubt to keep her father honest): “Father made a bargain with Mary & me-viz-to give us (through the summer) two eggs for every dozen that we bring into the house.” This
scene connotes the fact that Josiah Willard did not have all of the power within the family. With regard to obeying the parents’ orders, the children were often successful in negotiating for better terms.

The Willard children did not always listen to or negotiate with their parents; sometimes they were insubordinate. Both Oliver and Frances were rebellious in nature. As he was a boy, Oliver’s rebelliousness was perhaps tolerated more openly, but it was still privately a source of concern. According to Frances, Oliver’s use of tobacco at the age of 14 perhaps alienated father and son forevermore: “I think my brother’s taking up tobacco at fourteen was a thing my father never got over” (Gifford 1995:418). And Oliver’s rebellious behavior went further than tobacco use. He struggled with alcohol abuse his entire life and, to a certain extent, poisoned his relationship with each of his family members. Whenever Oliver decided to devote his life and career to God, for example, Frances and Mary exulted in their diaries but also wondered what had taken him so long to finally do God’s will. Oliver’s ministry, however, did not keep him from the bottle, nor from other troubling acts. His surprising death at the age of 43 actually brought comfort to Madame Willard, who asked Frances to “Praise Heaven with me—I’ve grown gray praying for my son—and now to think, your brother Oliver is safe with God!” (Bordin 1986:94). Though Oliver’s authority was strengthened by his sex, it was undermined by his personal decisions that deeply troubled his family. His unruly behavior, however, was perhaps a family trait.

In fact, of all the siblings, Frances was, by far, the most rebellious. Given her precocious nature and her love of school, one of her many acts of rebellion was, not surprisingly, in regard to her education. Her father wanted her to study music. Although in February of 1859 she confided, Music … talks with me and tells me that which I did not know before, and makes me by that much, wiser than I was,” she did not think she was talented enough for this course of study. Moreover, as an admirer of a classical education, she thought that music was not challenging enough for her. She wrote in her diary in February 1859, “I have asked myself, ‘what is … the ability to strike in succession several chords upon the piano, melodeon, or organ worth?’” and answered, “I have decided with myself that it is worth comparatively nothing.” Despite her father’s wishes, Frances did not pursue a career in the musical arts.

Another example of her defiant nature is in regard to her brief romance with Charles Fowler, a minister and a friend of Oliver’s. Never head over heels for Fowler, Frances nonetheless accepted his proposal of marriage. More in love with his intellectual capacity and the fact that they had much in common, Frances agreed to marry him because, as she wrote in her journal from October 1861, she “admired him, honored him, [and] sympathized with him.” Within months of their engagement, however, she agonized over whether to proceed with the wedding. In January 1862, she wrote, “Oh! My heart aches for the wavering and darkness over us,” and continued, “Now I must face the Dilemma—Judgment goading me in one direction, Advice of Friends urging the same way, Heart fearing to take it—trembling & worrying. And yet I honor, admire, like, possibly love him somewhat—and yet not as ought—not as I would.”
She tauntingly told Fowler of her indecisiveness and her lack of love for him; she had numerous conversations with her parents about the relationship. Both of her parents encouraged her to follow through with the marriage. It was always her father’s wish to have her “married to a strong, healthy kind man who [could] take good care of [her] & make [her] happy,” she wrote in December 1867. Cautioning Frances to learn from the actions of her aunt Sarah that had led to Sarah’s single life, her mother also wanted to see Frances “comfortably and happily ‘settled in life,’” Frances wrote on February 14, 1859. Bravely, Frances made her own decision regarding her engagement to Charles Fowler. After months of trying to justify her loveless relationship with Fowler, Frances finally and plainly refused him. In a letter to him that she then copied in her journal in late January 1862, she matter-of-factly wrote, “Looking into my heart I see for you respect, honor, admiration, and regard. I do not see love.”

Frances’s family turned on her. Distressed, she confided in her journal in October 1862, “Mother blamed me without limitation and I saw that the whole family was disgusted with my conduct.” For days, Frances felt alienated from her family. She wrote, “Mother cried yesterday about my affair as I never heard her cry before. Father had a wretched day,—‘he would not have another like it for all Wisconsin’—so he said. Oliver was greatly worried.” The only person who did not seem too distraught over her decision was her sister, Mary, who, though she wanted to see Frances happy, was no doubt pleased to know that Frances would not yet leave her. Frances wrote, “Mary sympathized with me in what I have done, & didn’t mind it much. It seems to me that through it all, she has acted best, most temperately & wise.” Although her parents did not approve of Frances’s decision, in the end, they did not withhold their love and affection from her. Frances Willard’s rebellion disappointed her parents, but it did not permanently damage their relationship.

Although many scholars imagine the 19th-century family as a unit where parents in general, and fathers in particular, dominated, the Willards challenge this claim. With the time they spent listening to, disagreeing with, and trying to impose their wills upon each other, the Willards were a typical family unit. As parents, Josiah and Mary’s authority came from society at large. They ruled over their children, but at the same time, a new 19th-century interpretation of the child and childhood gave children more room to negotiate with their parents. Moreover, the Willard parents loved their children, and in many ways, this love increased their obligation to respect Oliver, Frances, and Mary’s desires (Johansen 2001:106). Thus, within a typical 19th-century Yankee middle-class family, no one person was all-powerful, just as no one person was powerless. The family unit provided a safe place where all members could experiment with their authority and the power that developed from it because, as Frances’s relationship with Fowler demonstrated, no matter what one did, for better or worse, one would always be a part of the family.

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Archival and Special Collections. Northwestern University Archives. Mary E. Willard Journal Transcriptions.


The Impact of Perspective in Identifying and Responding to Potential Sexual Misconduct: A Study of University Students*

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ABSTRACT
Recent events have demonstrated a divergent understanding of sexual harassment and other forms of sexual misconduct. Although sociocultural standards regarding sexual misconduct have changed over time, including improved social and workplace standards and protections, it is clear that not everyone views these events through the same lens. The lens is even less clear when potential misconduct is viewed from the distinct perspectives of a “victim” and a “perpetrator.” We surveyed 424 undergraduate and graduate students at Indiana University Kokomo to identify the impact of perspective and various sociodemographic characteristics that may influence perceptions of what is, and is not, sexual misconduct. In addition, we examined if these factors also influence opinions on the severity of response toward this misconduct. Students completed a gender-neutral survey that presented eight potential sexual-misconduct scenarios in a first-person narrative. In each scenario, the fact pattern was identical, but some surveys were in the perspective of the “victim” and some were in the perspective of the “perpetrator.” We find that perspective matters, as do reported preconceived attitudes toward sexual misconduct. We also find preliminary evidence that the impact of

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The evolution of sexual harassment from socially condemnable to illegal has transpired because of campaigns and efforts led by feminist activists, scholars, and lawyers, who collectively advanced the idea that sexual harassment was a form of sex discrimination as outlined in the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Brownmiller 1999). During the 1960s and 1970s, these groups brought into public view what many professionals already knew but very rarely discussed—that the American workplace was a hostile work environment plagued by sexual harassment, where women were subjected to unwanted sexual comments, actions, and behaviors with no legal protection from these events (Blackstone, Houle, and Uggen 2014). Since the 1970s, social mores and legal protections have been enacted to protect all individuals from quid pro quo harassment and/or hostile work environments (Bursik and Gefter 2011; Page, Pina, and Giner-Sorolla 2016). Even as society has become more informed about these laws and protections, however, sexual harassment remains a widespread social phenomenon, with more than half of college-aged women experiencing some form of sexual harassment during their college careers and at least 50 percent of women being subject to sexually harassing circumstances at some point in their professional careers (Blackstone et al. 2014; U.S. EEOC 2013). Evidence suggests that actual rates of sexual harassment are much higher than reported incidence because many victims never report the crimes (Blackstone et al. 2014; U.S. EEOC 2013).

A variety of theoretical foundations are useful in understanding how and why sexual harassment remains a pervasive social plight, even in light of legal protections from these harassing behaviors. From a sociological perspective, institutional and structural inequalities that naturally exist in the workplace create unequal power dynamics and provide opportunities for quid pro quo harassment and/or hostile work environments, especially within a hierarchical leadership configuration (Bourgeois and Perkins 2003; Kimble et al. 2016; Lonsway, Cortina, and Magley 2008). Furthermore, gender segregation remains salient among certain occupations in which a disproportionate number of men dominate positions of authority within specific industries (Bourgeois and Perkins 2003; Kimble et al. 2016; Lonsway et al.). From a feminist perspective, this type of gender segregation results in marginalized social roles and norms that are deemed acceptable for men and women, and as such, positions of authority allow for hypersexualized masculinity and the consequential sexual harassment of subordinate female employees (Bourgeois and Perkins 2003; Kimble et al. 2016; Lonsway et al. 2008). Any time there is a gendered structural hierarchy, either in the workplace or on a college campus, there are opportunities for sexual harassment. Identifying social structures that present the potential for sexually harassing circumstances is only one step toward resolving the issue; a more challenging need is identifying how the subjective perspective and the severity of the response may depend on whether the misconduct occurs in an organizational setting, in a date setting, or without a distinct victim.

**KEY WORDS** Sexual; Misconduct; Harassment; Perspective
perceptions of sexual harassment influence our response to victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment.

Shifting Social Trends

The recent #metoo social movement has brought the topic of sexual harassment and sexual assault to the forefront of the public’s attention. This social movement, driven largely by social media and overwhelmingly comprising women, has created a global platform for victims of sexual harassment and assault to share their experiences and simultaneously show support and solidarity with other victims. More than this, the #metoo movement has created a shift in how men and women think about and respond to sexual harassment and sexual assault.

It is difficult to fully assess the impact of an ongoing social movement, but preliminary studies examining the effects of the #metoo movement indicate that there is increased awareness of sexual harassment and sexual assault (Fawcett Society 2018). For example, both men and women report that the #metoo movement has challenged their opinions regarding appropriate and inappropriate behaviors (Fawcett Society 2018). Women report that the #metoo movement has increased their own proactive responses to overcoming issues of sexual harassment, including confronting behaviors, comments, or stereotypes that they deem to be unacceptable (Fawcett Society 2018; Weinberg and Nielson 2017). Although early evidence suggests the #metoo movement has been more influential on the beliefs and actions of women, both men and women report that the movement has resulted in a cultural and social shift regarding sexual harassment and assault. This is most noticeable among older men who report increased awareness that certain behaviors or comments once considered socially acceptable now represent present-day definitions of sexual harassment (Fawcett Society 2018; Weinberg and Nielson 2017).

Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

The #metoo movement brought incredible awareness to the number of women and men who have been victimized by sexual harassment or sexual violence. More than this, the #metoo movement demonstrated that society’s ability to define the criteria for sexual harassment is based on subjective perceptions of what behaviors constitute sexual harassment (Fawcett Society 2018; Weinberg and Nielson 2017). These perceptions are informed by a variety of sociodemographic factors, including age, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status; however, studies consistently identify gender and the type or severity of the harassment as leading factors influencing our perceptions of what constitutes sexual harassment (Fawcett Society 2018; Weinberg and Nielson 2017). To fully recognize the behaviors that constitute sexual harassment, it is imperative to discuss how individual differences affect our perceptions of harassing, and potentially harassing, behaviors.
Gender

The effect of gender on how we perceive sexual harassment has received a great deal of attention. Research consistently finds that gender influences how we identify and define sexual harassment. In this regard, gender serves a dual role in the broader identification and definition of sexual harassment, and the gender of the perpetrator will influence our perceptions of sexual harassment. For example, compared to their male counterparts, women are more likely to identify ambiguously harassing encounters as sexual harassment (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo, Nguyen, and Sackett 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). This research consistently finds that men’s perceptions of sexual harassment tend to be more tolerant compared to women’s perceptions (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). In a study by Dillon, Adair, and Brase (2015), women were also more likely to identify and define social behaviors as sexually harassing, and to rate these situations as more threatening and unwelcoming, compared to their male counterparts, who were more tolerant and accepting of these behaviors and frequently identified these behaviors as innocuous flirtations (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). The evidence indicates that women are more inclusive in their identification, interpretations, and definitions of sexual harassment compared to men (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018).

Where men and women do present shared reactions toward sexual harassment is in their perception of guilt for a perpetrator. For example, accusations against male perpetrators are more likely to be perceived as accurate and more threatening or severe (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Smith and Gayles 2018). Comparatively, accusations against female perpetrators are less likely to be considered factual, and if they are factual, the harassment is perceived as less severe (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). The actions and comments from female harassers are deemed more forgivable compared to similar actions and comments of their male counterparts (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). The differentials are dependent on the type of sexual harassment that has occurred, however. When sexual harassment constitutes a hostile work environment, including comments about someone’s physical appearance, sexual jokes, or teasing, the actions of female perpetrators are more tolerated versus these same behaviors or comments committed by male perpetrators (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). When sexual harassment is perceived to be more severe, such as sexual coercion, both female and male perpetrators are evaluated at the same level (Bhattacharya and Stockdale 2016; Cummings and Armenta 2002; Rotundo et al. 2001; Smith and Gayles 2018). These studies suggest that our subjective perceptions of sexual harassment determine how we identify and define situations, behaviors, or comments as harassing, but they may also influence our perceptions of how to respond to and penalize these actions.
Young Adults

In spite of the attention that the #metoo movement has shed on rates of sexual harassment and assault, many students and young professionals still believe that sexual harassment is very rare and that, if it does occur, it will never happen to them (Carstenson 2016; Sipe, Johnson, and Fisher 2009; Thompson and Cracco 2008). Recent studies suggest that young adults and college-aged students possess core values, such as confidence and achievement, and believe the skills and abilities that encompass these attributes will protect them from sexual harassment or assault (Carstenson 2016; Sipe et al. 2009; Thompson and Cracco 2008). Young adults in today’s modern society are less likely than older adults to identify and define behaviors or events as sexual harassment (Cummings and Armenta 2002). In mock trials and investigative proceedings, students reported skepticism about the existence of sexual harassment in today’s academic and workforce organizations (Carstenson 2016; Sipe et al. 2009; Thompson and Cracco 2008). In similar studies, students had a higher tolerance for sexually harassing behaviors and comments, self-reporting that the hypersexualized atmosphere of college, combined with the omnipresence of social media, creates situations in which students are constantly exposed to potentially sexually harassing behaviors and makes it difficult to distinguish between harmless flirtation and sexual harassment (Cummings and Armenta 2002).

Motivation and Contribution

The influence of sociodemographic characteristics such as age, gender, student and or worker status, along with the recent #metoo movement, has shifted our present understandings of what delimits sexual harassment and assault, but it has not fully bridged the gap on defining and responding to sexually harassing events. To fully understand how movements like #metoo are transforming our perception of sexual harassment, it is necessary that we ascertain how we label situations that are sexually harassing. In particular, recognizing the risks of sexual harassment or assault during their college years, suspicion about the actual rates of sexual harassment, and the sense of invincibility that is so profoundly unique to millennials, an examination of college-aged millennials warrants further examination. The purpose of this study is to explore how students at a regional midwestern university identify potentially sexually harassing scenarios; more importantly, however, this study is an examination of how these perceptions are influenced by whether the scenarios represent the perspective of the victim or the perpetrator. The overarching contribution of this research to the existing literature on perceptions of sexual harassment is a comparative assessment of the responses to victims compared to perpetrators.

SURVEY

Survey Development

We administered two versions (A and B) of our survey (see description of the differences below). Surveys A and B can be found in Appendix 1; line spaces useful for ease of survey reading and response have been removed for brevity.
Both survey versions consist of an introduction and three parts. The versions are identical except for part three. The introduction thanks the students for their potential participation and states the number of questions and estimated completion time. There is also a statement of confidentiality. The first part of the survey (questions 1–6 on both versions) asks the student respondents typical questions about demographics, including age, gender, status in school, and work experience. The intent of questions 1–6 is to determine whether demographic characteristics are related to students’ responses to scenarios of possible sexual misconduct.

The surveys did not ask about race/ethnicity. On our campus, about 90 percent of the students are white, and the 10 percent minority student population is split approximately evenly between Hispanic, black, and Asian students. As a result, our sample size does not allow for statistical tests for differences based on race/ethnicity. In addition, although we did not aggregate our completed surveys by classrooms, within a given classroom, minority students might have been concerned that revealing their race/ethnicity would reveal their identities.

The second part of our survey (questions 7–11 on both versions) measures students’ attitudes toward and perceptions of sexual misconduct. Throughout this paper and the surveys, we use the term “sexual misconduct” rather than more specific terms such as “sexual harassment” and “sexual assault” that might influence student responses. This broader definition may allow survey respondents more flexibility in identifying bad behavior. Indiana University (home of our student respondents) defines sexual misconduct as “sex or gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual violence including sexual assault, dating and domestic violence, sexual exploitation, and stalking.” In this section, the survey asks the students about their perception of the magnitude of the sexual-misconduct problem and the corresponding societal concern. It also asks why incidents of sexual misconduct might go unreported. Later, we test whether the students’ responses to specific potential misconduct incidents are related to these premeasured attitudes and beliefs.

The third part of our survey differs between versions A and B. Each survey presents eight scenarios of possible sexual misconduct. The eight scenarios include interactions between boss and subordinate, work peers, professor and student, student and student, and dating participants. The scenarios were designed to range from subjectively minor or with zero misconduct to more overt situations (some based on recent news events) that are more likely to be judged misconduct. Each scenario is presented twice; the essential fact pattern remains the same, but one version is presented from the viewpoint of the “perpetrator” and the second is presented from the viewpoint of the “victim.” All versions of all scenarios were written to be gender-neutral so students can potentially see themselves in the role of the potential victim or the potential perpetrator. Each survey includes four scenarios from each perspective (victim and perpetrator). The scenarios alternate in perspective on both versions.

The two survey documents (A and B) were randomly distributed to students for completion. Students were unaware there were two versions. On Survey A, questions 12, 14, 16, and 18 (relating to scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7) are presented from the perspective of the “perpetrator,” and questions 13, 15, 17, and 19 (scenarios 2, 4, 6, and 8) are presented
from the perspective of the “victim.” On Survey B, the reverse is true: Questions 12, 14, 16, and 18 (scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7) are presented from the perspective of the “victim,” and questions 13, 15, 17, and 19 (scenarios 2, 4, 6, and 8) are presented from the perspective of the “perpetrator.” From both perspectives, students were asked whether each scenario portrayed sexual misconduct and what level of response they would likely have if they were the victim or what level of response they would expect the victim to have if they were the perpetrator.

Institutional Approval of the Surveys and Procedures for Administration

The survey instrument and process were approved by the Indiana University Human Subjects Committee that approved our survey questionnaire and methodology. Faculty members were recruited from across campus from multiple academic units, and the survey was administered during the last 15–20 minutes of class. The Human Subjects Committee required a standard script to be read to the various classes so every student received the same set of instructions. All student participants were assured anonymity, and students were allowed to leave the classroom if they did not care to participate in the survey.

RESULTS

Descriptive Data

Our sample included 424 completed surveys. Approximately 20 surveys were not fully completed and were not included in the study. Table 1 presents the demographic statistics of our sample. Consistent with the demographics on our campus, women comprised 60 percent of the sample, and the mean age was 23. The respondents were primarily undergraduates (88 percent), and the remainder were master-level graduate students. The respondents studied a variety of disciplines, with 14 percent in Allied Health, 36 percent Business, 28 percent Humanities and Social Sciences, 12 percent Math and Science, and 10 percent other majors. Consistent with our primarily commuter-based campus, 54 percent of the student respondents reported that they lived at home with their parents. In terms of work experience, 29 percent reported that they had worked full-time earning at least $35,000 per year. This potentially surprisingly high percentage likely reflects that (1) most of the graduate students in the sample were MBA students who were working full time, (2) some of our undergraduate students were of nontraditional age and had work history, and (3) some of our traditional-aged undergraduate students also worked full time.
Table 1. Sample Descriptive Demographic Statistics ($n = 424$)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living Arrangement</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with parents</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with roommates</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live alone</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live with significant other/child</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work Status</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Have worked full time ($35,000+)</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have not worked full time</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class Status</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>88%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area of Study</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Allied Health</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>36%</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities/Social Sciences</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math/Sciences</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Student Respondents’ Pre/Measured Attitudes and Beliefs Regarding Sexual Misconduct**

Table 2 summarizes the survey results relating to attitudes and perceptions of sexual misconduct. When students were asked about sexual misconduct in the United States, 71 percent of respondents indicated it was a “very serious” problem, 26 percent said it was a “somewhat serious” problem, and 3 percent said it was “not a serious” problem. With regard to society’s sensitivity to the problem, 48 percent responded “not sensitive enough,” 36 percent responded “about right,” and 16 percent responded “too sensitive.”
Table 2. Sample Attitudes Regarding Sexual Misconduct (n = 424)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How Serious Is Sexual Misconduct in United States</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Serious</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Serious</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Serious</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society’s Sensitivity to Sexual Misconduct Problem</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Sensitive Enough</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About Right</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too Sensitive</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimated Percentage of Sexual-Harassment Victims</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Why No Report of Sexual Misconduct</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear about Reputation</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Confidence in the System</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of Not Being Believed</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of Retaliation by the Offender</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure if It Qualifies as Sexual Misconduct</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The student respondents estimated that 59 percent of women and 34 percent of men have been subjected to sexual harassment. An online study by the not-for-profit Stop Street Harassment found that 81 percent of women and 43 percent of men report having been sexually harassed (Chatterjee 2018). That survey features a large national sample of men and women respondents above age 18.

When students were asked to select the most important reason for possibly not reporting sexual misconduct, their answers were split relatively evenly. Fear about reputation garnered 17 percent of the votes, lack of confidence in the system received 18 percent, fear of not being believed was most popular at 31 percent, fear of retaliation received 21 percent, and not sure if it qualifies as sexual harassment had 15 percent. The importance of multiple concerns may indicate that underreporting of sexual harassment is likely a complex issue. More than half of the student respondents indicated they might not report possible sexual misconduct because of uncertainty about whether an event even qualifies as misconduct or fear that their complaint wouldn’t be believed. The rest of the respondents were concerned about the ramifications after an event had been identified. Concerns about retaliation from the perpetrator or an organization, fear of loss of reputation, and general concern that the “system” won’t work make reporting questionable even if the victim is sure that the action is misconduct and can be proved; thus, the study of which scenarios students believe are sexual misconduct and the likely responses (each measured from the perspectives of victims and perpetrators) is an important preliminary step in understanding how society might agree on appropriate behavior and on appropriate responses to breaches of appropriate behavior.
Mean Tests of Perceptions and Reactions to Nine Scenarios Based on Perspective

One difficulty in working to reduce sexual misconduct is “knowing it when you see it”—that is, identifying it when it might be happening. The perception of whether an action is sexual misconduct is potentially influenced by age, gender, work and/or school experience, and preconceived ideas about the prevalence and importance of sexual misconduct. In addition, the perception of whether an action is inappropriate might depend on the lens that the action is viewed through. For example, a potential victim might view an action as threatening or uncomfortable, while a potential perpetrator might act without any awareness of the victim’s concerns. Optimistically, this might be because the potential perpetrator has no negative intentions. Alternatively, the perpetrator may have negative intentions but, because of lack of social awareness, believe his or her behavior is normal and acceptable, justified, or simply humorous.

In our surveys, students read eight scenarios of potential misconduct. Four scenarios were presented from the perspective of the potential victim, and four were presented from the perspective of the potential perpetrator. With two different surveys, we ultimately had 220 responses to each scenario from the victim perspective and 204 responses to each scenario from the perpetrator perspective.

After reading each scenario, students were asked two questions. First, students were asked “Is this sexual misconduct?” Then, students reading a scenario from the victim perspective were asked to choose their likely response (from four reactions ranging from almost no response, to severe responses with significant ramifications), and students reading a scenario from the perpetrator perspective were asked to predict the likely response by the potential victim in the scenario (from the same four potential reactions). The study was designed to test whether the identification of misconduct and/or the response to the possible misconduct differs depending on the perspective. If “perpetrators” are less likely to think they are doing anything wrong and “victims” are more likely to think they have been treated inappropriately, then “misconduct” is likely to persist until there is greater consensus about what behavior is inappropriate.

The top half of Table 3 shows the differences in mean responses based on perspective. In seven of the eight scenarios, the “victims” were significantly more likely to say that yes, it was sexual misconduct. In the other case (#6, relating to viewing pornography at work), the “perpetrators” were significantly more likely to say that yes, it was sexual misconduct. This result may be because pornography is sometimes viewed as a victimless crime and in our sample, the victim was a boss who may not want to fire the perpetrator because the boss was not personally victimized. In addition, students who viewed the scenario as a perpetrator were likely to know that viewing pornography at work is a clear mistake with no gray area and that some sort of ramification should be expected.
Table 3. Mean Tests Based on Perspective of Perceptions and Reactions to Nine Scenarios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is it misconduct? (yes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Victim” (n = 220)</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Perpetrator” (n = 204)</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-value for difference (significance)</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>–2.34</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude of response (1–4, with 4 most severe)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Victim” (n = 220)</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Perpetrator” (n = 204)</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-value for difference (significance)</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>–1.83</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>7.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scenarios: 1=Possible Inappropriate Professor Attention; 2=Possible Inappropriate Coworker Comments; 3=Possible Inappropriate Mentor Attention; 4=Possible Inappropriate Date Behavior; 5=Possible Inappropriate Romantic Interest; 6=Possible Inappropriate Computer Use at Work; 7=Possible Inappropriate Physical Contact from Boss at Work; 8=Possible Inappropriate After-Hours Behavior from Boss

In the bottom half of Table 3, we look at mean responses to the scenarios. In six of the eight scenarios, the responses are harsher from the “victim” perspective. In one scenario (#6, depicting viewing pornography at work), respondents from the “perpetrator” perspective advocated a harsher response. Perhaps most interesting, in scenario 4, with a possible date-rape scenario, there was no difference in response based on perspective despite the fact that respondents from a “victim” perspective were twice as likely to classify the encounter as sexual misconduct. This suggests that sexual misconduct in a date setting might be less reported than misconduct in an organizational setting.

Logistic Tests to Explain Student Perceptions of Sexual-Misconduct Scenarios

Table 4 shows LOGIT regressions explaining the yes/no decision relating to the question “Is it sexual misconduct?” for each of the eight scenarios. The binary nature of the dependent variable (Misconduct) calls for the LOGIT specification of the regression. The
independent variables include age, gender, school status (undergraduate or graduate student), perception of the magnitude of the societal sexual-misconduct problem, and perspective (victim/perpetrator) of the survey participant. All eight regressions are significant, and simulated adjusted $R^2$ values range from 4 percent to 24 percent (using the Nagelkerke approximation).

$$\text{Misconduct} = a + B_1 \text{Age}_i + B_2 \text{Gender}_i + B_3 \text{Graduate}_i + B_4 \text{Perception}_i + B_5 \text{Perspective}_i + \varepsilon$$

Table 4. LOGIT Regressions Explaining Perception of Each Scenario (“Is it sexual misconduct?”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.001)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.006)</td>
<td>(.010)</td>
<td>(.179)</td>
<td>(.199)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>.083</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>-.019</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>-.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.653)</td>
<td>(.016)</td>
<td>(.104)</td>
<td>(.206)</td>
<td>(.402)</td>
<td>(.060)</td>
<td>(.562)</td>
<td>(.135)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.469</td>
<td>-.093</td>
<td>-.276</td>
<td>-.498</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>-.368</td>
<td>-.073</td>
<td>.066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.036)</td>
<td>(.720)</td>
<td>(.174)</td>
<td>(.022)</td>
<td>(.871)</td>
<td>(.105)</td>
<td>(.819)</td>
<td>(.861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>-.321</td>
<td>-.965</td>
<td>-.349</td>
<td>-.220</td>
<td>-.787</td>
<td>-.633</td>
<td>-.410</td>
<td>.609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.379)</td>
<td>(.036)</td>
<td>(.131)</td>
<td>(.544)</td>
<td>(.110)</td>
<td>(.109)</td>
<td>(.433)</td>
<td>(.359)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception</td>
<td>.896</td>
<td>.602</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>.341</td>
<td>-.137</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.388</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.009)</td>
<td>(.265)</td>
<td>(.544)</td>
<td>(.540)</td>
<td>(.010)</td>
<td>(.765)</td>
<td>(.171)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>.991</td>
<td>2.014</td>
<td>.668</td>
<td>1.608</td>
<td>1.315</td>
<td>-.541</td>
<td>1.470</td>
<td>1.385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.001)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.016)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-square</td>
<td>44.288</td>
<td>73.327</td>
<td>16.875</td>
<td>70.900</td>
<td>34.909</td>
<td>12.745</td>
<td>21.610</td>
<td>14.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(significance)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.005)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.000)</td>
<td>(.026)</td>
<td>(.001)</td>
<td>(.014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox &amp; Snell $R^2$</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>.159</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagelkerke $R^2$</td>
<td>.139</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.206</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.077</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: $\text{Age} =$ age of the survey respondent; $\text{Gender} =$ 1 if male, 0 if female; $\text{Perception} =$ How serious is the sexual misconduct problem in the U.S.? (3 = very serious, 2 = somewhat serious, 1 = not serious); $\text{Perspective} =$ 1 if from the viewpoint of the “victim”, 0 if from the viewpoint of the “perpetrator”; $\text{School Status} =$ 1 if graduate, 0 if undergraduate.

$p$-values from Wald values are shown in parentheses.

Scenarios: 1=Possible Inappropriate Professor Attention; 2=Possible Inappropriate Coworker Comments; 3=Possible Inappropriate Mentor Attention; 4=Possible Inappropriate Date Behavior; 5=Possible Inappropriate Romantic Interest; 6=Possible Inappropriate Computer Use at Work; 7=Possible Inappropriate Physical Contact from Boss at Work; 8=Possible Inappropriate After-Hours Behavior from Boss.

See survey in Appendix 1 for complete scenarios.

As shown in Table 4, $\text{Age}$ is significant in two of the eight scenarios (#2 and #6). Those scenarios present possible misconduct at work, and in both cases, older
respondents were more likely to label the activity as misconduct. Gender is significant in two scenarios (#1 and #4), with men less likely to see the scenario as misconduct. In scenario 1, men were less likely to identify infatuation of a faculty member toward a student as misconduct, and in scenario 4, men were less likely to call a date situation misconduct.

Graduate was defined as a dummy variable equal to 1 if a graduate student and 0 if an undergraduate. This variable was generally not significant; however, the coefficient for seven of the eight scenarios is negative, and in scenario 2, relating to suggestive comments by a coworker, graduates were less likely to call that action sexual misconduct. In results not reported in tables, when living arrangement and work experience are included in the regression, those variables are generally not significant. Graduate status, living arrangement, and work experience are all positively correlated with age and each other. Graduate status was selected for the final reported results because it is likely to be a good proxy for living arrangement and work status, and the positive correlation with age was only about 30 percent. Area of study was not related to responses in any specification (results not shown).

The Perception variable is designed to measure whether respondents’ preconceptions of sexual misconduct as a serious societal problem are related to whether a scenario is perceived to be sexual misconduct. In part two of the survey, respondents were asked “How serious do you think sexual misconduct is in the United States?” (with “very serious” = 3, “somewhat serious” = 2, and “not serious” = 1). In scenarios 1, 2, and 4, the perception of the magnitude of the sexual-misconduct problem in the United States is positively related to thinking that a scenario is misconduct.

Perspective is a dummy variable defined as 1 if a scenario is read from the viewpoint of the “victim” or 0 if from the viewpoint of the “perpetrator.” Consistent with our means analysis, perspective is significant in seven of eight cases, with the victim more likely to classify an event as sexual misconduct. In scenario 6, portraying the use of company resources to view explicit sexual images on the internet, the survey respondents who read from the “victim” perspective were less likely to say it was misconduct.

**OLS Regressions Explaining the Magnitude of Student Responses to Sexual Misconduct Scenarios**

Table 5 presents OLS regressions of the responses to the scenarios (ranging from 1–4, with 4 most severe).

\[ \text{Response} = a + B_1 \text{Age}_i + B_2 \text{Gender}_i + B_3 \text{Graduate}_i + B_4 \text{Sensitive}_i + B_5 \text{Perspective}_i + \epsilon \]

Age is generally not related to the severity of the responses anticipated following the potential misconduct scenarios. Gender is marginally related to responses, with men predicting a more severe response in scenarios 1 and 2 and a less severe response to scenario 4, relating to possible misconduct in a date. Graduate is not significant.
Table 5. Ordinary Least Squares Regressions Explaining the Magnitude of Responses to Each of the Scenarios

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>.426</td>
<td>2.297</td>
<td>1.278</td>
<td>2.131</td>
<td>.894</td>
<td>1.925</td>
<td>1.745</td>
<td>3.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.22)</td>
<td>(8.30)*</td>
<td>(4.17)*</td>
<td>(7.60)***</td>
<td>(3.46)***</td>
<td>(5.46)***</td>
<td>(5.57)***</td>
<td>(11.41)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>-.004</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>-.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.71)*</td>
<td>(0.32)</td>
<td>(1.33)</td>
<td>(-.63)</td>
<td>(1.17)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(-.99)</td>
<td>(-.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>-.150</td>
<td>.108</td>
<td>.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.87)*</td>
<td>(1.88)*</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
<td>(-1.81)*</td>
<td>(1.27)</td>
<td>(-1.48)</td>
<td>(1.19)</td>
<td>(0.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Status</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>-.053</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>-.111</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>-.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.13)</td>
<td>(0.37)</td>
<td>(0.14)</td>
<td>(0.66)</td>
<td>(0.66)</td>
<td>(0.29)</td>
<td>(0.33)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.187</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.089</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.50)**</td>
<td>(3.45)**</td>
<td>(2.12)</td>
<td>(0.61)</td>
<td>(0.91)</td>
<td>(1.30)</td>
<td>(1.31)</td>
<td>(1.84)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>.434</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td>.191</td>
<td>-.043</td>
<td>.398</td>
<td>-.167</td>
<td>.380</td>
<td>.665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4.54)***</td>
<td>(5.52)***</td>
<td>(2.28)**</td>
<td>(-.55)</td>
<td>(5.62)***</td>
<td>(1.73)*</td>
<td>(4.42)**</td>
<td>(7.28)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Value</td>
<td>6.59***</td>
<td>8.27***</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>7.14***</td>
<td>1.86*</td>
<td>4.84***</td>
<td>11.12***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>.107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Age=age of the survey respondent; Gender=1 if male, 0 if female; Perception=How serious is the sexual misconduct problem in the U.S.? (3 = very serious, 2 = somewhat serious, 1 = not serious); Perspective=1 if from the viewpoint of the “victim”, 0 if from the viewpoint of the “perpetrator”; School Status=1 if graduate, 0 if undergraduate.

Unstandardized coefficients with t-values are shown in parentheses.

* significant at .10  ** significant at .05  *** significant at .01

Scenarios: 1=Possible Inappropriate Professor Attention; 2=Possible Inappropriate Coworker Comments; 3=Possible Inappropriate Mentor Attention; 4=Possible Inappropriate Date Behavior; 5=Possible Inappropriate Romantic Interest; 6=Possible Inappropriate Computer Use at Work; 7=Possible Inappropriate Physical Contact from Boss at Work; 8=Possible Inappropriate After-Hours Behavior from Boss.

See survey in Appendix 1 for complete scenarios.

In this regression, rather than the Perception variable being defined as the respondents’ preconceived level of the sexual-misconduct problem, it is defined as the respondents’ preconceived level of how appropriately society responds to potential sexual misconduct. In part two of the survey, respondents were asked “Are people too sensitive to sexual misconduct, or not sensitive enough?” (with 3 = not sensitive enough, 2 = about right, and 1 = too sensitive.) In scenarios 1, 2, and 4, the perception of the magnitude of the sexual-misconduct problem in the United States is positively related to thinking that a scenario is misconduct. We use the “How sensitive are we to sexual misconduct?” responses as a variable to represent the respondents’ preconceptions about how appropriately society responds to potential sexual harassment. Perception of whether society is not sensitive enough to sexual misconduct was significant in scenarios 1, 2, and 8.
The *Perspective* variable was again significant in seven of the eight cases. Viewing a scenario from the perspective of the victim is related to a stronger response to the potential sexual misconduct. The exception is scenario 6, in which the “victim” perspective is less severe. Recall that scenario 6 related to viewing internet pornography on a company computer. The “victim” in this case is the employee’s boss. Consistent with our means test results, in scenario 4, depicting possible lack of consent in a dating scenario, there was no difference in predicted responses to the action despite the fact that victims are significantly more likely than perpetrators to call this scenario sexual misconduct.

The adjusted $R^2$s in Table 5 are relatively low, but not necessarily unusual in cross-sectional survey data, ranging from 11 percent to less than 1 percent (the regression relating to scenario 4 was not significant). The impact of perspective on the predicted responses to potential sexual harassment is thus only part of the story.

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

Recent events have demonstrated a divergent understanding of sexual harassment and other forms of sexual misconduct. Although the sociocultural standards regarding sexual misconduct have changed over time, including improved social and workplace standards and protections, not everyone views these events through the same lens. The difference in the view may depend on whether activities are viewed from the lens of a victim or a perpetrator. If perpetrators are less likely to think they are doing anything wrong and victims are more likely to think they have been treated inappropriately, then “misconduct” is likely to persist until there is greater consensus about what behavior is inappropriate.

We find that perspective matters, as do reported preconceived attitudes toward sexual misconduct. We also find preliminary evidence that the impact of perspective and the severity of the response may depend on whether the misconduct occurs in an organizational setting, in a date setting, or without a distinct victim.

In seven of eight scenarios, students who read from the perspective of the victim were significantly more likely to label activities as sexual misconduct. In the other scenario (#6), relating to viewing explicit images on a company computer, students who read from the “victim’s” perspective (the employee’s boss who needs to clean up the problem) were less likely to call it sexual misconduct. Thus, it is possible that activities without a clear or nearby victim are more likely to be considered a “rules problem” more than sexual misconduct.

The projected harshness of responses to the scenarios also differed significantly based on perspective; however, in scenario 4, relating to potential lack of consent in a date, victims were three times more likely to deem the behavior as sexual misconduct, though their suggested response was statistically no different from the perpetrator’s projection of the victim’s response. This may predict that sexual misconduct in a dating/romantic setting may be less likely to be reported compared to misconduct within an organization.
We also find that the perception of the magnitude of the sexual misconduct problem in the United States is positively related to thinking that a scenario is misconduct. Similarly, we find that students who think that society is not sensitive enough to sexual misconduct are more likely to prescribe harsher responses to potential sexual misconduct. This is another reason that people may have differing views on whether a specific action should be classified as sexual misconduct.

We did not find pervasive differences in responses based on gender or age; however, in scenarios of potential misconduct at work, older respondents are more likely to see certain behaviors as sexual misconduct. Men are less likely to identify scenarios relating to infatuation and dating behavior as misconduct. Specifically, in the potential-lack-of-consent scenario, men were less likely to call it sexual misconduct and predicted less strong responses to the event compared to women.

This research provides preliminary insight into why sexual misconduct seems to persist even as society theoretically becomes more enlightened regarding appropriate behavior. Future research into the difference in responses to misconduct in organizations versus dating/romantic settings seems promising. Of course, the typical cautions relating to this survey-based research apply. Our sample is limited to (mostly) traditional-age college students in a relatively small, nonurban, demographically homogenous, regional public university. The results may not extend to the greater population.

REFERENCES


**APPENDIX 1. SURVEY INSTRUMENTS**

Two survey documents were randomly distributed to students for completion. Students were unaware there were two versions. The introduction and questions 1–11 were identical on both surveys. After that, on Survey A, questions 12, 14, 16, and 18 (scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7) are written from the perspective of the “perpetrator” and questions 13, 15, 17, and 19 (scenarios 2, 4, 6, and 8) are written from the perspective of the “victim.” On survey B, the reverse is true: Questions 12, 14, 16, and 18 (scenarios 1, 3, 5, and 7) are written from the perspective of the “victim,” and questions 13, 15, 17, and 19 (scenarios 2, 4, 6, and 8) are written from the perspective of the “perpetrator.”
Common to SURVEYS A and B
(For brevity, line spaces useful for ease of reading and response have been removed.)

INTRODUCTION
We appreciate you completing this questionnaire to help us in a research project used to develop a better understanding of how students perceive and react to sexual harassment.

Number of Questions: 19   Estimated Time: 15 – 20 minutes

CONFIDENTIALITY STATEMENT
You are invited to participate in this research study (survey) about students’ interpretations and hypothetical responses to potential sexual misconduct. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to take the short survey below. Your participation in this research study is voluntary; you are under no obligation to participate. You have the right to withdraw at any time and there will be no penalties for non-participation. Your name is not asked in the survey, so your identity cannot be revealed.

THIS SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS ABOUT YOUR PERSONAL DEMOGRAPHICS
Please write your answer or select the best response to each question.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your gender?
   1. Male
   2. Female

3. What is your current living arrangement? (circle just one answer)
   1. Live with parents
   2. Live with roommates
   3. Live by yourself
   4. Live with significant other/child

4. What is your student class status?
   1. Undergraduate Student
   2. Graduate Student

5. Have you ever worked full-time (35+ hours a week) in a job that paid more than $15/hour ($30,000/year)?
   1. Yes
   2. No

6. What is your primary area of study? (circle just one answer)
   1. Allied Health
   2. Business
   3. Education
   4. Humanities and/or Social Sciences
5. Math and/or Sciences
6. Nursing
7. Undecided

THIS SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS YOUR GENERAL OPINION ABOUT SEXUAL MISCONDUCT IN THE UNITED STATES.

7. How serious do you think sexual misconduct is in the United States? (circle just one answer)
   1. Very serious
   2. Somewhat serious
   3. Not serious

8. Do you think that people are too sensitive or not sensitive enough to the problem of sexual misconduct? (circle just one answer)
   1. Too sensitive
   2. About right
   3. Not sensitive enough

9. Please write the percent of women in the U.S. that you estimate have been sexually harassed?

10. Please write the percent of men in the U.S. that you estimate have been sexually harassed?

11. What do you think is the most important reason why people do not report sexual misconduct? (circle just one answer)
    1. Fear about reputation
    2. Lack of confidence in the system
    3. Fear of not being believed
    4. Fear of retaliation by the offender
    5. Not sure if it qualifies as sexual misconduct

SURVEY A QUESTIONS 12–19

THIS SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS FOR YOUR RESPONSES TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS.

12. (Scenario #1) You are a professor with a very attractive student who has proved to be quite a distraction for you. Despite your best efforts, you find yourself staring, and not just at their face. You don’t have any bad intentions, but you have failed to look the student in the eye and have “checked them out” more frequently than you would like to admit (in your office, the classroom, and maybe even the hallway).
    A. Is this sexual misconduct?
       1. Yes
       2. No
    B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if the student is noticing your staring?
1. No formal complaint although they might tell a few friends.
2. They would tell you that you are making them uncomfortable during your interactions and the staring must stop.
3. They would inform your boss (the Dean) or another professor or another campus official about the interactions so that you must take some sort of training and so that there is a formal record of these interactions in your personnel file.
4. Inform your Dean or another professor or campus official about the interactions so that action can be taken to potentially fire you.

13. (Scenario #2) Your coworker has twenty years at the company and is considered a “superstar employee”. Now, for reasons that are unclear, this coworker (who is not your boss) is regularly making lewd jokes and suggestive comments about your appearance.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. No formal complaint although you might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Risk hard feelings and potential retaliation and tell the coworker to “cool it” or deal with the potential reaction of Human Resources.
   3. Contact your boss or Human Resources and ask that the behavior be entered into the coworker’s personnel file. Also insist that the coworker be reassigned away from you and be given appropriate training.
   4. Inform your boss or Human Resources of the behavior so that action can be taken to potentially fire the coworker.

14. (Scenario #3) One of your favorite perks as an upper-level manager has been serving as a mentor to younger but high performing managers. Recently, your favorite mentee got a significant promotion and raise based in part on your recommendation. You have been single for some time and you have never considered becoming romantically involved with a subordinate or someone you are mentoring. However, this person is amazing, mature, and they feel like your soulmate. You are not sure if they feel the same way, but you have talked about how happy you were to help with their promotion. You have started hinting about a possible “relationship” and how great the two of you would be “together” including future bonuses, promotions, and other benefits.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if your mentee does not share your hope for a romantic relationship?
   1. No formal complaint although they might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Risk embarrassing, alienating, or angering you and telling you that the behavior is unprofessional, and they only want a business relationship.
3. Inform your boss or their boss or Human Resources about the behavior and ask that your mentor/mentee relationship be ended, and request that you be kept away from them.

4. Inform your boss or Human Resources about the behavior so that action can be taken to potentially fire you.

15. (Scenario #4) Last night you went on a first date with a person you already knew from your circle of friends. As the night progressed a sexual encounter occurred. You were hesitant, but your date kept pressuring you and it happened. Now, the morning after, you regret what happened and feel you were pressured into the behavior and didn’t give 100% consent.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. You wouldn’t tell anyone, and you wouldn’t date that person again.
   2. You would confront your date and tell them how you feel and that there would be no further interaction between the two of you.
   3. You would not talk again with your date and you would tell people in your circle of friends how they behaved.
   4. You would pursue legal/police action against your date.

16. (Scenario #5) Last semester you met a classmate in one of your classes that you like a lot. You had friendly conversations and there seemed to be some chance that you might be able to ask them out. The semester ended before you had a chance to ask for the date. This semester the student is not in any of your classes. Fortunately, they are taking a class at the same time as you, in a nearby classroom. You don’t want to lose your momentum in getting to know this person, so you try to “run into them” in the hallway as frequently as possible after class. You also know that both of you typically leave campus after that class period and you try to park near their car so there is an opportunity to interact with them.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if this classmate is not interested in a relationship and they are becoming concerned about your “coincidental” encounters?
   1. They would just be friendly and treat you like any other student.
   2. They would tell you that your presence is making them uncomfortable and a relationship isn’t going to happen.
   3. They would inform a campus official about your interactions, so you can be instructed not to follow them around.
   4. They would inform a campus official about your interactions, so the school can begin the process of expelling you from school.
17. (Scenario #6) Your subordinate, who is an excellent worker, has a private office with a company assigned computer. Your IT staff informs you that the company’s network management software has detected your subordinate’s computer has been used to visit sexually explicit web sites. Your subordinate admits that he has visited these sites during personal time but not during formal work hours.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. Because your subordinate is a good worker, and no one was harmed by these actions, you send an email to all of your employees reminding them not to visit inappropriate web sites and that IT is watching us.
   2. Because your subordinate is a good worker, and no one was harmed by these actions, you tell your worker to stop the behavior or the IT Department might initiate a dismissal request.
   3. Work with Human Resources and IT to develop a plan for discipline and prevention going forward.
   4. Work with Human Resources and IT to initiate termination of your employee.

18. (Scenario #7) As president of your company, you are proud of its success and of its employees. Within the company you are known as a friend of the workers. You love to give “full” hug greetings. You have been advised to tone down the touching as some employees are uncomfortable with them. Recently, as you greeted one of your younger employees, your hug accidentally included grabbing on to their lower back and perhaps buttock. The employee seemed a little shocked and perhaps stunned by your enthusiastic hug.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if the employee did not appreciate the hug and the accidental grabbing of their lower back and perhaps buttock?
   1. No formal complaint although they might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Directly tell you not to touch them again.
   3. They will contact Human Resources, the board of directors, or media members to try to embarrass you and stop the uncomfortable touching.
   4. They will contact Human Resources, or the board of directors, or media members to try to force your dismissal/resignation.

19. (Scenario #8) You’re recently hired to your dream job (high salary, work you enjoy, possibility for further advancement and raises) by a charismatic powerful owner of a tech start-up firm. Before you were hired, your new boss/owner explained you would have to work long and unpredictable hours. A month into your job you receive a call late on a Friday night to come to your boss’s penthouse apartment to discuss an exciting new business idea. You are told to let yourself in. As you enter the apartment you soon hear your boss’s voice
behind you. Your boss is wearing only a bath towel and looks like they just came out of the shower. They are blocking the door and say “it’s about time we have some fun together”. You escape around them and out the door but not before the towel is dropped and they lunged to grab you as you ran by.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. Since this is the ultimate job, you do nothing and hope that it was a one-time incident.
   2. You want to keep your job, and wait until Monday to talk to your boss to explain that you meant no disrespect Friday night but aren’t interested in that kind of “fun” and it can’t happen again.
   3. Even though this is the ultimate job, this incident disturbed you enough to resign. You don’t tell anybody about the incident.
   4. You resign and try to help future employees by publicizing (through the media if necessary) the type of behavior your boss expects from employees.

SURVEY B QUESTIONS 12–19

THIS SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS FOR YOUR RESPONSES TO HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS.

12. (Scenario #1) You visit one of your professors during office hours and the professor doesn’t look you in the eye but instead seems to be staring at your body. In future conversations (during class, after class, and in hallways) the same pattern continues; your teacher seems to be more interested in staring at your body than looking you in the eye.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. No formal complaint although you might tell a few friends.
   2. Risk embarrassing, alienating, or angering your professor and tell them that they are making you uncomfortable during your interactions.
   3. Inform the Dean (the professor’s boss) or another professor or another campus official about the interactions so that the professor must take some sort of training and so that there is a formal record of these interactions in the professor’s personnel file.
   4. Inform the Dean or another professor or campus official about the interactions so that action can be taken to potentially file the professor.

13. (Scenario #2) You are a “superstar” with twenty years of experience at the company. You have always been a rule follower at work but lately you have felt like having a little more fun and not being so rule oriented. A coworker (who you did not notice much over the last few years) now has a cubical near yours. This coworker has been on your mind more and you
have been talking with them and joking around, including making some lewd jokes and a few suggestive comments about their appearance.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect from your shocked coworker?
   1. No formal complaint although they might tell a few friends or co-workers.
   2. They would tell you to “cool it” or deal with the potential reaction of Human Resources.
   3. They would contact your boss or Human Resources and ask that the behavior be entered into your personnel file. They would also insist that you be reassigned and given appropriate training.
   4. Inform your boss or Human Resources of your behavior so that action can be taken to potentially fire you.

14. (Scenario #3) A mentor at work has always seemed to like you and your work. In fact, recently the mentor helped you get a promotion and a significant raise. Now the mentor has been talking about how much they like you and how happy they were to help you get your promotion. They also have started hinting about a possible “relationship” and how great the two of you would be “together” including future bonuses, promotions, and other benefits.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. No formal complaint although you might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Risk embarrassing, alienating, or angering your mentor and tell them that the behavior is unprofessional, and you only want a business relationship.
   3. Inform your boss or your mentor’s boss or Human Resources about the behavior and ask that your mentor/mentee relationship be ended, and request that the mentor be kept away from you.
   4. Inform your boss or Human Resources about the behavior so that action can be taken to potentially fire the coworker.

15. (Scenario #4) Last night you went on a first date with a person you already knew from your circle of friends. As the night progressed a sexual encounter occurred. You were very attracted to your date and, as the night progressed, and after a few drinks, and some persuasion, a sexual encounter occurred. Now, the morning after, you are happy the date went so well but you sense your date doesn’t share your feelings.

A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if your date feels like you took advantage of them?
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1. They wouldn’t tell anyone, and they wouldn’t date you again.
2. They would confront you and tell you how they feel and there would be no further interaction between the two of you.
3. They would not talk to you again and they would tell people in your circle of friends how you behaved.
4. They would pursue legal/police action against you.

16. (Scenario #5) A classmate from a course last semester seemed romantically interested in you. You remained friendly but neutral. This semester the student seems to “coincidentally” be in the hallway after one of your classes ends, and near your car in the parking lot when you leave campus. Each time they seem eager to start up a conversation. Initially you were polite but now you are getting concerned.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. No formal complaint although you might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Risk embarrassing, alienating, or angering your classmate and tell them that they need to stop following you because it is making you uncomfortable.
   3. Inform a campus official about the student’s interactions with you so that they can instruct the student not to follow you around.
   4. Inform a campus official about the student’s interactions with you so that they can consider expelling the student.

17. (Scenario #6) You are an excellent worker and have a private office with a company assigned computer. You are a top performer who always gets your work done. Some days during your lunch break you get bored and instead of looking at Facebook like some of your coworkers, you log onto sexually explicit web sites that you previously used to visit at home. The web sites are not illegal and there are no minor-age actors.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect if your lunch activities were discovered by your boss?
   1. To avoid embarrassing you, and because you are a good worker, and no one was harmed by your actions, your boss would just send an email to all employees reminding them not to visit inappropriate web sites and that IT will monitor web activity.
   2. Because you are a good worker, and no one was harmed by these actions, your boss would just stop by your office and tell you to stop the behavior or the IT Department might initiate a dismissal request.
   3. Your boss would work with Human Resources and IT so that you could keep your job but to develop a plan for discipline and prevention going forward.
4. Your boss would work with Human Resources and IT to initiate your termination.

18. (Scenario #7) Your company president is known to be warm and friendly with the employees. The president is also known to be a hugger. Some of the hugs include hands subtly lingering on areas not normally hugged. Recently the president greeted you with a hug that you believed lingered too long on your lower back and buttock.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following best reflects how you would likely respond to this situation?
   1. No formal complaint although you might tell a few friends or coworkers.
   2. Risk embarrassing, alienating, or angering the president and directly tell them that they are not allowed to touch you.
   3. Contact Human Resources, or the board of directors, or media members to try to force the president to stop the uncomfortable touching.
   4. Contact Human Resources, or the board of directors, or media members to try to force the dismissal/resignation of the president.

19. (Scenario #8) You are a charismatic powerful owner of a tech start-up firm. You recently hired an impressive and attractive young applicant to a dream job (crazy high pay, challenging work, and possibility for further advancement and even more money). The applicant was told that the expectation was long and unpredictable hours (like the owner works). A month later you were working late at home Friday night when you decided to summon the new employee to your penthouse apartment to talk about a great new idea (and perhaps have a fun weekend night). You told the employee to let themselves in the unlocked front door. Meanwhile, you take a quick shower, so you can look your best. By the time they arrived you have forgotten about the good idea and hope for some fun. As the new employee entered, you arrived from your shower wearing only a towel. You tried to discourage the startled employee from leaving but they rushed past you in a panic as your towel fell off.
A. Is this sexual misconduct?
   1. Yes
   2. No

B. Which one of the following responses would you expect from your new employee?
   1. Since this is the ultimate job, they won’t do anything.
   2. They will wait until Monday to talk to you at work and apologize for rushing out Friday night and explain that they meant no disrespect, but they aren’t interested in that kind of “fun” and it can’t happen again.
   3. Even though this is the ultimate job, they will resign on Monday but not tell anybody about the incident.
   4. They will resign on Monday and try to help future employees by publicizing (through the media if necessary) the type of behavior you are capable of.
“But I Only Wanted Them to Conform”:
A Detailed Look into the Initial Cohort of Girls
at the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls
between 1873 and 1884*

MOLLY WHITTED
MICHELLE WILLIAMS

ABSTRACT
For the past four years, as part of a group of currently and formerly incarcerated scholars, we have researched the “inmates” and staff at the Indiana Women’s Prison during the institution’s first decade. Then known as the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, the facility was located near downtown Indianapolis on Randolph and Michigan Street. We focused on a key constituent of the Indiana Reformatory for Women and Girls: the girls themselves, heretofore voiceless and uninvestigated.

Our primary sources include the annual reports of the reformatory and the original registries for the girls during the survey period of 1873–1884. Contemporary news articles revealed in-depth details, particularly regarding an investigation launched in 1881 concerning allegations of severe physical abuse on the part of the staff committed against the women and girls. We have also derived information from books and articles written by traditional and current scholars, which provide background on the reformatory movement in the 19th century, particularly regarding juveniles.

This information allows us to draw a verbal picture of what the average girl looked like coming into and going out of the facility. We give an account of their days, revealing an extremely strict work and education regimen to which they were forced to adhere. They also received

* There are so many people to whom we are indebted for their voluntary assistance on this project. Dr. Kelsey Kauffman and Carol Foster for creating the higher-education program and the History Project at our facility, allowing incarcerated women the opportunity to excel and achieve their goals. We would also like to thank our professors Lesley Neff, Meg Galasso, and Elizabeth Nelson for all their time and effort in research and editing. Mary Xiao, Sharon Maes, Catherine Newkirk, and Peper Langhout played a major role in helping us complete this paper. Special thanks to Katherine Tinsley and Peggy Seigel, who ran the Peggy Seigel writing competition for all Indiana undergraduates. Finally, we want to acknowledge our colleagues in the History Project who began and followed through on the history of our prison, paving the way for us.
vocational training in domesticity, which was used, in part, to prepare them for being sent out of the prison via the ticket-of-leave system. We will also expound on the evidence of cruelty and abuse that were disguised as love and reformation.

KEY WORDS Indiana Reformatory; Institution for Women and Girls; Juveniles; Religion; Labor

And if “Reformation” ever comes to any ... [i]t must come under such elevating influences, and conditions of self-respect, self-reliance, honor, love and trust:—penalties, degradation, distrust, disgrace never yet reformed any human being, and the more Reformatory people come to understand and regard that fact the better it will be for their work.

—Clara Barton, second superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women (as cited in Freedman 1984:75)

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Sarah Smith, an orphaned native of England, found solace in the Quaker faith, which she joined while still a young girl. At this time, she began to feel a divine calling to reform women and girls living lives of sin. She and fellow Quaker James Smith were married and subsequently immigrated to America, finally settling in Indiana in the 1840s. Once in Indiana, the Smiths formed a lifelong friendship with Charles and Rhoda Coffin, an alliance that would alter the penal system as a whole (Baldwin 2016:2)

The Coffins were a very prominent and affluent Quaker couple from Richmond, Indiana (Baldwin 2016:2). In 1858, they traveled east to prisons in New York, Massachusetts, and Philadelphia, to witness the methods used in reformation efforts by their fellow Quakers. Among the institutions visited by the Coffins was that of Mount Joy in New York state. According to historian Estelle Freedman, “Mount Joy presented a model for American reformers.” Mount Joy is known as one of the first institutions in the country to have a “cottage style” housing plan, created with the intention to encourage family-structured living. The Coffins “praised its approximation of family life, the placement of released women in private homes, and particularly the self-respect engendered by the trust placed in upper grade prisoners” (Freedman 1984:50).

Before they had the notion of opening the reformatory, Rhoda Coffin and Sarah Smith each managed their own Home for Friendless Women; Smith’s home was located in Indianapolis, and Coffin’s home in Richmond, Indiana (Baldwin 2016:2). Our colleague Michelle Jones points out in her article Failing the Fallen: Sexual and Gendered Violence that Rhoda Coffin and Sarah Smith’s goal was to remake these women in their own image and to teach them to live by established patriarchal social and religious norms (Jones 2016). This ideology can be attributed to the fact that “Quaker women were middle class [and] they believed they were distinctively equipped to aid working class ‘unruly’ … lost ‘wayward’ girls” (Jones 2016:5).
The inspiration for the foundation of an independent institution for women came in 1868 when the Coffins visited the Indiana State Prison in Jeffersonville, an institution in which women were held jointly with far more numerous men, as was the norm in state prisons throughout the United States at the time. There, the reformers happened upon a horrific scene of abhorrent sexual abuse of the female inmates (Freedman 1984:60).

The two reforming women immediately spoke to the Indiana General Assembly about the necessity of establishing an institution solely for the protection and reformation of “fallen women” and wayward, orphaned, and incorrigible girls (“Nearing the Close” 1881). On May 13, 1869, their efforts succeeded, and the Indiana legislature passed an act “to establish a female prison and reformatory institution for girls and women, to provide for the organization and government thereof, and making appropriations” (Laws of the State of Indiana 1875:73).

A board of managers for the institution was appointed on July 23, 1869 (First Annual Report 1871:5). This board of managers, consisting entirely of men, was soon accompanied by a board of visitors, whose responsibilities were to inspect the affairs of management and the condition of inmates (Second Annual Report 1874:8). Finally, on June 12, 1873, Sarah Smith was appointed superintendent (Second Annual Report 1874:8). The reformatory officially opened on September 9, 1873 (Second Annual Report 1874:8), and on September 12, two girls were brought from the Jeffersonville County jail “as they could be more profitably employed clearing the rubbish from the new building” (Second Annual Report 1874:15). Twenty-one additional girls, along with the female inmates transferred from Jeffersonville, were soon after committed that first year (Second Annual Report 1874:16). To save state funding, the institution was built with separate wings, with the east wing for women and the west wing for girls (First Annual Report 1871:8).

Smith was not pleased; she wrote, “We had visited several model prisons in England, and when we returned we found that the construction of the prison was not such as we should have desired, for there was only one cell for the punishment of prisoners” (“The Reformatory: Mrs. Sarah Jane Smith” 1881). Freedman points out, “The Indiana ... [prison] ignored the call for ‘family style designs.’ ... Punishment cells, sometimes in the basement, revealed the expectation that intransigent prisoners would be beyond the reach of moral suasion” (Freedman 1984:70). Further evidence of the intent to favor punishment as a form of reformation was revealed, in the third annual report for the year ending 1874, when appropriations were made in April for the construction of a dungeon (Third Annual Report 1875:7).

The impractical configuration of the building to be used to house both women and girls became most evident in the reports of 1878–1879. Despite a system in place that allowed certain girls to leave the reformatory on a conditional-release program called ticket of leave, in which they would go to work in people’s homes as low-cost domestic labor in the wake of the Civil War, in 1878, the board of managers explained that they were still having “to release the girls more rapidly than was good for them or for the best interest of the state because we do not have enough money or room for them” (Seventh Annual Report 1878:7). They initially asked for the appropriations to simply add on to the reformatory side, in order to expand capacity. No such monies were given for that...
venture, but in 1879, a separate washroom was built to prevent the girls from coming into contact with the women. Coffin and Smith deemed the decision of the board as necessary to keep the impressionable girls, some of whom were merely abandoned orphans and not criminals, from being negatively influenced by the older convicts (Eighth Annual Report 1879:8). In fact, in 1881, the chairman of the reformatory investigation committee was of the opinion that placing of young children in the same institution and in contact with older girls who have become hardened and degraded by vicious and polluting practices … is to be condemned. And as soon as practical the state should provide an entirely separate home for all children under fourteen … shall not be contaminated by its associations. (“Female Reformatory: Mr. Edwins” 1881)

In 1884, the board of managers also recommended to the legislative authorities to remove the girls to their own school built on a cottage plan (Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:10). This removal did not take place until 1907, however.

COUNTIES AND COSTS

With the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls open, the call went out to all the counties across the state, entreating them to send their girls, whether criminal or simply friendless. In 1874, because of the low number of girls in the facility, the high maintenance costs of the institution raised serious concerns. To boost the number of residents, the board of managers discussed the possibility of recruiting more girls from other counties: “It is to be hoped that the different counties will … avail themselves of the advantages of the institution by committing … the girls which are to be found in every community who need and are entitled to such guardianship” (Second Annual Report 1874:27). They went on to explain:

It is believed that the people as yet, do not generally understand that a girl need not be an offender against the penal laws of the State to justify her committal … that vagrancy, or incorrigible, or vicious conduct on the part of the girl … or her parent or guardian, is incapable or unwilling to … care over her; or that she is destitute … or that she is in danger of being brought up to lead an idle or vicious life, will justify her committal. (Second Annual Report 1874:27)

According to the annual reports, in conjunction with the official registry, 64 counties consigned 580 of their most neglected and wayward girls from 1873 through 1884.
Marion County sent the most girls during this period, with 150. Allen, Vigo, and Wayne followed as top contributing counties, with 36, 35, and 34 girls, respectively.

During the fiscal years of 1873–1884, the cost of feeding, clothing, and housing the girls fluctuated between $136.00 and $200.00. These estimates were calculated each year by the institution’s steward (Sarah Smith’s husband) and were reported to the state. The counties were responsible for and billed by the state treasurer for exactly half of the expense per girl they had committed for every year of her stay, and the state paid the other half (Third Annual Report 1875:12). The average yearly cost per county was $232.92. Table 1 shows an itemized account of the cost per girl per year as designated by the institution, the yearly amount owed by each county to the state, as well as their totals from 1873 to 1884 and the total number of girls that each county sent to the institution, for a grand total of $101,087.29.

Table 1. Itemized Annual Account and Eleven-Year Total by County, 1873–1884

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Note: Each county was responsible for paying the state half of the cost per girl per annum while the girls were wards of the reformatory.

Initially, the law (Section 19) mandated that only girls under the age of 15 were able to be committed to the facility. After a trip to the institution by the board of visitors, whose responsibilities were to conduct inspections on behalf of the board of managers, a suggestion was made to change the law because of concerns over shortage of funding to support the facility (Second Annual Report 1874:16). The board of visitors suggested to the legislature that the law be amended, as well as the law requiring the discharge age of 18. They proposed instead that the law allow admittance of girls up to 18 years of age and change the discharge age to 21, thereby extending each girl’s labor production by three years (Second Annual Report 1874:28).

Smith’s continued concern for the loss of profit was made clear in her suggestion “that the age of ten is quite too young, unless guilty of a crime. A necessity is felt … for some better means of giving them regular, useful and profitable employment than our present arrangement will admit of” (Fifth Annual Report, 1877:23). Smith declared that
she had opened this reform school to help *all* friendless girls, but apparently, she meant only the ones she could profitably employ.

**THE AVERAGE GIRL**

The registries were initially designed to capture a wealth of information about each incoming girl: name, age, parentage, county and crime of conviction, dates received and discharged, education (reading), education (writing), health, capacity, nativity, former surroundings, and remarks. Intake staff faithfully recorded this information for the first three years, September 1873–December 1876. Over the following four years, the staff were selective in the data they recorded, including only the name, county and crime of conviction, dates received and discharged, nativity, and remarks. Interestingly, at the end of 1881, following the investigation, all details were again recorded efficiently. With the given data from 1873 to 1876 and from 1881 to 1884, we intend to illustrate the personal characteristics of the girls held in the institution during the first decade of the facility.

**Figure 1. Admission of Girls Entering the Indiana reformatory Institution for Women and Girls per Year, 1873–1884**
Figure 1 illustrates the number of admissions per year for 1873–1884. During the institution’s first year, 21 girls were committed to the facility. This number more than tripled in the following year, with 82 girls entering the facility, followed by a slight drop to 60 girls in 1875. Over the next nine years, the numbers stayed relatively consistent, averaging 45 girls per year. Between 1873 and 1880, a law prohibited girls older than 15 from being sent to the reformatory department (*Second Annual Report* 1874:16). A few girls over 16 were sent to the reformatory, but because of the discharge law, their stay at the institution was brief. Once the law changed, the reformatory could begin to receive girls over the age of 15; this then widened the range to include girls from 2 to 17 years of age, with an average age of 14 (“Official Registry” 1873–1884).

**Figure 2. Parentage of Girls Entering the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1873–1877, 1881–1884**

“Parentage” is one of the categories that staff reliably recorded for the first 254 girls and then again for the last 133 of the survey period. Figure 2 illustrates the percentage of children with and without parents. Looking at just those two subsets, we find that 103 were listed as orphans, with an additional 59 as half orphans. The registry showed 201 girls with one or both living parents, but in some cases, subjective comments were included concerning the character of the parents: 36 of the records listed the parents as “bad” or the equivalent, such as “depraved,” “intemperate,” “deranged,” “cruel,” and
so on. Additionally, 17 of the mothers were listed as prostitutes (“Official Registry” 1873–1884).

These extra notes on the character of the girls’ parents seem to communicate an assumption that the girls were raised with negative influences, justifying their committal. In a few cases, the parents were listed as Catholic, but none of the other entries noted any type of religious preference, which can lead us to presume that this isolation was done deliberately. These identifiers were subjective and provided an unfavorable narrative of the girls’ home lives. Moreover, the results contributed to further justification for the establishment of the reformatory system.

A lack of education was often used as an argument for reformation, yet the results displayed in Figure 3 regarding the girls’ abilities to write and read, and their “capacity,” contradict this claim. The registry reveals that 242 (69 percent) of the girls had an intellectual level of “average,” and the data show a 1 percent difference between the girls with above-average and below-average intelligence levels. Furthermore, 59 percent of girls had basic or above-average reading skills, and another 65 percent demonstrated basic or above-average writing skills. These findings challenge the idea that girls’ low education levels necessitated reform. This information is in complete contrast with what Sarah Smith claimed—“Few come to us who have received even a common school education, proving the long admitted theory, ‘Ignorance is the mother of vice’” (Eighth Annual Report 1879:13).

Figure 3A. Assessments of Girls Entering the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1873–1877, 1881–1884: Ability to Write.
Figure 3B. Assessments of Girls Entering the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1873–1877, 1881–1884: Ability to Read.

Figure 3C. Assessments of Girls Entering the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1873–1877, 1881–1884: Intelligence Capacity.
Figure 4 shows the health of the girls for the two subsets with completed data ranging for 1873–1876 and 1881–1884. The records show that 259 girls (73 percent) came into the facility with “good” health and another 22 (9 percent) came in with “average” health. For the category of “bad health,” 65 girls (18 percent) were listed. Additionally, several girls were listed as “delicate” (“Official Registry” 1873–1884), which we can assume meant “pregnant,” based on the vernacular of the time. This could be an explanation for the seven babies that were alleged in the 1881 investigation to have been born on the reformatory side (“The Reformatory: Mrs. Sarah Jane Smith” 1881), though neither Superintendent Smith nor Dr. Theophilus Parvin, the institution’s physician, mentioned any births on the reformatory side in any annual report.

Figure 4. Health on Admission of Girls Entering the Indiana Reformatory Institution for Women and Girls, 1873–1877, 1881–1884
In the “former surroundings” and “remarks” sections, we found a few interesting cases. For instance, Mary Foley, 14 at the age of entrance, spent roughly four years in the institution before being sent out on a ticket of leave on April 5, 1886, to work for the Budd family (“Official Registry” 1873–1884). In a newspaper article from the Indianapolis News on September 29, 1886, we learned that Mary Foley, with listed age as 20 rather than 18, was in a tragic fire that severely scorched and burned her body. She had been holding a baby while standing next to a stove in the Budd home when her clothing ignited. She thought to save the baby by tossing it to the side before running outside and falling to the ground. The injuries from the fire led to her death a few days later. Both the age and position given for Mary in the newspaper article contradict what we know about her from the registry, further illuminating the imprecision of the record keeping at the reformatory (“A Girl Frightfully Burned” 1886).

In yet another example of such inconsistencies, 15-year-old Mary Mathingly was said to have “attempted to poison a family of five” despite never having been convicted of committing any crimes (“Official Registry” 1873–1884). Anna Merrick, 12, was said in the registry to have “cut the throat of a horse in revenge for a kitten’s death,” although she also had not been convicted of committing any crime. Both Mary Mathingly and Anna Merrick call into question the relevance of the information in those specific categories; their reputations as ill-fit or unstable were apparently considered sufficient for and relevant to committal.

We found an anomaly in the case of the Mackey sisters, who both died in the institution, almost exactly two years apart. The sisters—Rachel, 9, and Narcissa, 1—both arrived on February 28, 1874; they were colored orphans from Wayne County, and neither was charged with any crime. The older sister, Narcissa, died on May 11, 1875, of “pulmonary tuberculosis” (Fourth Annual Report 1875:23). Her sister, Rachel, died of “pulmonary consumption” in May of 1877 (Sixth Annual Report 1878:24). Both of the girls’ records reflected good health upon their entry to the institution, but Dr. Parvin stated in the annual report that the illness had been passed on from their mother (Fourth Annual Report 1875:23). The sisters were recorded as having good health at their intake, however, and it seems implausible that the girls entered the facility with a disease of this caliber without it being recognized by staff upon examination.

Despite these uncommon cases, we are still able to construct a composite image of the average girl detained at the institution. We can deduce that she would have been 14 years of age, white, and from a home with at least one living parent. This girl would be of average to above-average intellect, with good health. She would not have committed or been charged with any crime. The average girl would have spent between two and four years in the reformatory, being molded into the Quakers’ ideological image of the good girl through religious practice and education while being economically exploited through the ticket-of-leave system.

LABOR VS. EDUCATION

A great irony emerges upon investigation of the vocational training offered to the young girls in the reformatory. Well-educated, career-driven, and politically motivated women
were teaching girls the importance of economic independence exclusively by way of the domestic arts, the exact opposite of the idea of femininity they themselves subscribed to, while offering minimal education. Furthermore, as Freedman points out, the girls earned meager salaries in tedious positions such as those of domestic servants, laundresses, and unskilled factory workers (Freedman, 1984:42).

Michelle Jones cites Rhoda Coffin as she explains the reformatory’s goals as “religious indoctrination, basic education, training in women’s domestic skills and labors, all through an education of the mind as a means of controlling behavior” (Jones 2016:8). The officials obviously placed high value on the use of forced labor, for reasons not necessarily in the best interest of the poor children who suffered said drudgery, but for power, control, and profit. At no point throughout the first 11 years of annual reports is this fact hidden.

The plans to exploit the girls’ labor are stated from the very first annual report: “Plans of labor, in addition to systematic education will be adopted, with the purchase of suitable materials for work, so that the industry of the inmates may produce the best results practical, in aid of the funds of the institution” (First Annual Report 1871:12). Using the girls as unpaid employees (slave labor?) of the institution they were compelled to live in was a method of ensuring that investors profited, and that Smith and Coffin maintained control over the girls and attained power and prestige for being women able to most economically and efficiently operate the first institution of its kind. The grave injustice in this scenario is that these children were promised love and reformation, only to be considered and treated as no more than dispensable servants, as supported in the 1876 Board of Managers section of the annual report: “It can hardly be expected that the majority will ever reach very high positions in social life, but all can be taught to make themselves useful in some appropriate sphere. We regard knowledge of cooking, house-keeping, sewing, washing, ironing, mending, etc., as indispensable for all” (Fifth Annual Report 1877:14).

Again in the sixth annual report, the board of managers reiterated their opinion of the capabilities of the girls: “Idleness is one of the most fruitful sources of crime, and laziness its twin sister. … Constant employment is therefore an absolute necessity, that they may be taught the means of earning an honest livelihood: … a number of those who have left are making good and reliable house servants” (Sixth Annual Report 1878:7). Perhaps the most blatant boasting of this indentured servitude was stated by the board in 1884: “We would call attention to the fact that no money is expended in wages for servants. All the work is performed by the inmates” (Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:11). In its 1877 report, the board referred to the girls as servants when the reformatory purchased cows “furnishing useful employment for the older girls and increasing their efficiency as servants” (Sixth Annual Report 1878:7).

In selecting remunerative work for the girls, the board made a list of requirements: “Work must be such that she may continue at it when discharged … work that must not degrade the woman … work that will not interfere with the honest [emphasis added] working women of Indianapolis … work must be profitable to the institution” (Fifth Annual Report 1877:15). It was apparent that these girls did, in fact, realize they were considered servants and felt that the work they were being subjected to
was degrading. Their feelings found expression in the following quotes from Smith and Coffin, respectively: “We find … no work more beneficial than … household duties. Many of them have the false idea that it is ‘degrading,’ that by following some trade they can dress better” (Eighth Annual Report 1879:12) and “Great care is taken to infuse into them a pride in, and a love for labor, instead of the feeling that labor is derogatory to a woman” (Ninth Annual Report 1881:8). Clearly, these girls had more faith in their abilities and held higher aspirations for themselves and their futures than the state of Indiana did.

Interestingly enough, the girls’ staunchest advocate for their most beneficial future came not from the women sworn specifically to uphold those very interests but from a man. Dr. Parvin first appealed on behalf of the girls in 1874, stating:

> Among the children in the reform department there will be found some possessing a natural talent, a special fitness or aptitude for modes of industry that are more productive, receiving higher remuneration than sewing, knitting, washing, ironing, and chair work. Might not the state … go a step farther by giving those who manifest undoubted talent … commencement in education for such work? Book keeping, music teaching, telegraphing, drawing and painting, picture coloring and engraving. … There are children here whose talents if properly cultivated could be rendered independent of all aid here-after, and capable of lucrative work. (Third Annual Report 1875:30–31)

He even went a step further in his 1876 report to the governor, offering himself as the girls’ instructor (Fifth Annual Report 1877:48). It was to no avail; his ideas fell on deaf ears, and the machinations of the institution continued on with business as usual. The board’s response to his requests were “We do not aim to give the pupils in the Reform School a finished education” (Seventh Annual Report 1878:9) and “A common, plain education only is given. No attempt is made in higher branches” (Eleventh Annual Report 1882:17). Their unwillingness to educate these children in anything but domesticity reveals their true intentions of making servants rather than reformed young women who might have prosperous futures.

The reports examined for this study consistently specify that both the superintendent and the board of managers were committed to provide a mix of education and vocational training throughout the day by claiming that the girls “were taught half of the day … the other half devoted to … household duties in rotation” (Second Annual Report 1874:16); however, this assertion is contradicted in the reports that actually break down the girls’ day, in which only three hours were allotted to school; six hours to work; five hours for meals, recreation, and religious exercises; and ten hours for sleep (Eighth Annual Report 1879:45). This remained the schedule until 1884, when work changed from six to seven hours, cutting back an hour from meals, recreation, and religious exercises (Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:64). The annual reports provide a concise
description of the six hours per day dedicated to work, while offering us a better view of how they intended to reinforce the prescribed gender roles in society through domesticity:

The girls are engaged in cane seating chairs, laundry work, knitting, sewing and obtaining a general knowledge of house-work. … We believe it more important and economical to train them in various kinds of housewifery. By this means we are able to dispose of them to better advantage, and with more hope of permanent reformation. (Eighth Annual Report 1879:10)

Of these, laundry was considered the most practical and remunerative to the reformatory. It was also a favorite tool used in the control of the girls, as it “subdues the excitability of the system, and makes submission easier,” according to Coffin (Ninth Annual Report 1881:8).

Laundry rooms, originally located in the reformatory basement, were small and “kept damp” by the miasmic “steam from the boiling soap-suds,” posing a serious health hazard to the girls, yet the board’s main concern was not of health but rather to expand the size of the operation and put more girls to work. The board asked the state for appropriations to build a separate, larger laundry room outside because “washing is by far the most profitable business” (Seventh Annual Report 1878:14). Once the new laundry rooms were built in 1880, the number of girls working there more than doubled (Eleventh Annual Report 1882:11).

Not even the smallest child was unburdened of this labor. Financial gain superseded any consideration of the children’s ages, health, or physical capabilities while the structured work schedules were prepared. Evidence of the intensive labor exploitation is revealed through Sarah Smith’s own words: “Our labors though arduous, are not, and we fear never can be, remunerative; … our girls are but children, with seeds of disease in most of them—the fruits of parental vices and transgressions, rendering them physically weak” (Seventh Annual Report 1878:19). These physically weak children, as young as three years, worked “cane-seating chairs” and turned out 4,500 of the chairs in 1884 alone (Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:65). Other girls were “profitably employed” in sewing and repairing all the clothes for the institution, as well as the clothes of other facilities (Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:64). To get an idea of what was expected of them per day, consider that the total number of tailored pieces they put out for the year 1876 was 3,384, for 1878 was 2,808 pieces, and for 1884 was 3,122 pieces (Fifth Annual Report 1877:26–27; Seventh Annual Report 1878:22; Thirteenth Annual Report 1884:65).

In 1874, the board adopted the ticket-of-leave system (Third Annual Report 1875:13), an early form of parole/work release. Smith gave certain inmates the opportunity to leave the reformatory to work in a community member’s home as a domestic servant (Third Annual Report 1875:13). Still, there were stipulations for this conditional release. To be granted the privilege of their “freedom,” girls sent to work outside the prison were required to cook well, bake the best sort of bread, make a dress, and do laundry in the new style (Fifth Annual Report 1877:17).
If the registry is accurate, 226 girls went out at one point or another on ticket of leave during the 10-year period under consideration (“Official Registry” 1873–1884). One of these young girls, whose identity was withheld in the newspapers, had reportedly been sent to work in a former Civil War general’s home. In 1878, the girl returned to the reformatory in “delicate” condition. According to the periodical The People, one of the lady managers visited the general’s home to confront him about putting her ward in this condition and demanded that he pay recompense for the unborn child. After listening to the lady’s demands, the general asked her how much it would take to keep the matter quiet. The general then accused the manager of blackmail, claiming to have witnesses. Not surprisingly, the general denied and was considered innocent of these scandalous charges by the author of the newspaper (“What Is Supposed to Have Been” 1881).

Later in the 1881 investigation, the general was called as a witness by the chairman of the investigating committee. The general was allowed a twenty-minute private audience with the committee, prosecutors, and lawyers and was permitted to leave afterward without ever giving a public statement (The Reformatory: An Investigation 1881). Many questions were left unanswered because of the lack of further information.

The board’s thirteenth annual report notes, “63 girls are out on ticket of leave … in various parts of the state. … This system we consider one of the largest factors in working out reformation” (1884:10). We were unable to find in any of our sources whether the homes hosting the girls paid either them or the reformatory for their services; however, it is clear that the institution was the one financially profiting in this collaboration. With the girl still considered a ward of the reformatory while on a ticket of leave, the county from whence she came was still responsible for the payment of its yearly portion of her housing costs (Third Annual Report 1875:12). With a girl gone, her bed was empty and able to be filled by a new commitment (Freedman 1984:94). This is double the payment for half the expense.

**RELIGION**

Though a great deal of time and emphasis were placed on education and domesticity, religion was at the root of Smith’s and Coffin’s ideology for reformation, “that with love, education, training, and spiritual development, these girls could be reformed into noble women, able to be what God created them to be: ‘wives, mothers, and educators of children’” (Fourth Annual Report 1875:27). Smith goes on to say, “We willingly admit that it is no light task to take the ungovernable and vicious from a life of idleness and crime, and by firmness and Christian kindness, make them obedient and industrious, restoring the victims of neglect to virtue and usefulness” (Third Annual Report 1875:17). Religious services were an integral cog in the reformatory system’s process of changing these young girls into true women. The importance of religion is shown by the board’s decision to refuse reformation to those unwilling to embrace the faith. In one instance, Amelia Stout, a girl from Marion County who was younger than 16 years of age, arrived at the institution on May 15, 1876, only to be “liberated by the board on account of poor faith on October 6, 1876” (“Official Registry” 1873–1884).
The girls were required to attend morning and evening Bible studies, as well as Sabbath services, which were led by the men from the Young Men’s Christian Association, mainly Dr. Wood and Mr. Wilson Marrow. Smith reports, “Our Sabbaths are blessed days—the morning reading, the Sabbath school, in which we use the International lesson leaf, the afternoon service, evening reading and singing, leave an impression on the heart that is seldom eradicated” (“Official Registry” 1873–1884). Marrow is said to have “labored faithfully to teach them that Jesus is the friend of the fallen and the outcast and richly has the blessing rested on his labors” (Fourth Annual Report 1875:11). His time with the girls was spent reminding them of the good things of home: innocence, a mother’s love, support and guidance, as well as missed opportunities, which caused the girls to desire better lives and to be thankful for his teaching (Fourth Annual Report 1875:11).

Smith and Coffin continually expressed their appreciation for the men who held services in the facility. In one report, Smith writes, “The Young Men’s Christian Association; ... express themselves highly gratified at the apparent change from week to week in the family; and we feel that it is a problem no longer unsolved ‘that the power of kindness’ with the religion of Jesus is sufficient to subdue the most hardened” (Second Annual Report 1874:16). The praise of the men and the services held reflect a great satisfaction with the program they had in place for these girls. It was clear from the earlier annual reports that Smith felt that the good Lord would surely bless this system and felt it a necessity in restoring these women to the favor of the Lord:

A prisoner may learn the important lesson of self-control, virtue, honesty and industry and altogether repentance, which will bring her back to the Father’s fold ... [illegible]. Heaven rejoices at the scene, surely it ought to claim our care on earth. It is not expected that all will be reclaimed, but we confidently believe that a large proportion will be restored to society, who, I am glad to state, have become aroused to the fact it is just as necessary to reclaim a prisoner as to punish, for ‘tis but a few years in most cases ere they are again thrown in our midst. (Third Annual Report 1875:16)

These reports all have one thing in common: They are centered on Smith’s beliefs that with God’s love and training, girls could and would be reformed, as long as they conformed to the structure placed on them. The girls who were reported as rebellious or unruly were simply beyond help in their eyes. The reports highlighted only good results, however, leaving out any negative response to this system. It is hard to gauge accurate results of the religious programming without complete details of both successes and failures. This is not the only area of confusion concerning details in the reports. Another area of confusion is found in the punishment rendered to the girls in the spirit of reform, highlighted in the investigation of 1881.
PUNISHMENT AND RESISTANCE

In February of 1881, an investigation was launched in response to serious allegations of abuse by staff and of economic exploitation within the walls of the reformatory, calling into question the methods and integrity of the reform system. A committee was selected to conduct interviews to determine whether the treatment of inmates fell within the acceptable guidelines of punishment ("Nearing the Close" 1881). During the investigation, Sarah Smith was accused of “uncommon cruelty” toward the girls and women of the institution ("The Female Reformatory" 1881). Previous employees, eyewitnesses, and some of the inmates themselves came forward with stories of abuse. In several weeks of candid testimony, much was revealed about the institution’s scandalous happenings, which was splashed across the papers.

Among the witnesses called to testify was Mrs. Charlotte Brown, a woman who lived near the reformatory. Brown had Jennie Solomon, out on a ticket of leave, living with her. Brown stated that Solomon had gotten “saucy” with her and she had subsequently reported Solomon’s insubordination. Getting “saucy,” or smarting off, was seen as unacceptable and was punishable by violence. Smith had quickly requested Solomon to be seen, and upon Solomon’s return to Brown’s residence, Brown reported, Solomon had “marks on her face and eyebrow” ("Christian Punishment" 1881). We can assume that this display of corporal punishment was mild in comparison to what the girls endured within the confines of the walls, where outsiders were unable to bear witness.

The more extreme forms of punishment are further highlighted in a separate testimony. Miss Elizabeth Shaw, a former housekeeper for the reformatory, stated that “for small offenses … [the girls] had to stand in their rooms perhaps behind the door until they asked for forgiveness” (“Nearing the Close” 1881). Shaw admitted, “I seen Mrs. Smith turn the hose on some … [and vocalized that] … I have often thought that some of them were not punished half as much as they should have been” (“Nearing the Close” 1881:9). There is no clarification as to whether the hose was used for the “small offenses” or if those children had committed “large offenses” worthy of further punishment. Mrs. Shaw’s very own testimony shows the general consensus that this type of psychological, physical, and emotional abuse was an acceptable form of punishment for wayward children.

In addition to taking testimony from witnesses, the investigators spoke with some of the girls who experienced the abuse. Ida Haines and Ida Harris were among those who came forward as victims. Haines, 15, had spent two years at the institution, and she reported that during her time at the institution, she was “punished a dozen or more times,” including being “slapped in the face … being made to strip … [and] having [her] head put under faucets of cold water” until she could no longer breathe (“The Ducking Tub” 1881).

Harris’s statement was similar in nature to Haines’s, even though the two were held in different departments of the reformatory. Harris claimed “that she had cold water thrown over her for getting ‘saucy,’ and that afterward she was ‘stamped’ on.” Her statement paints a picture of her being thrown to the ground, soaked in water, and kicked, or “stamped” on, while she was down. If that wasn’t cruel enough, she went on to report that she had been “ducked and beat,” and when she tried to get away, “they got me down
and beat me.” Afterward, Harris was sent to the insane asylum, although (as the registry
remarks state) she was not insane (“The Ducking Tub” 1881). It raises the question: Did
the punishment administered cause her to go insane?

The most revealing and shocking testimony of corporal punishment came from
Smith herself. The Sentinel reported Smith as saying,

I have punished … with the cold water process. The first
time was done to the two girls who attempted to burn the
building. … They were shut up in their cells and fed on
bread and water for two days. … I discovered that a general
practice of self-abuse was going on among the girls. I could
not stop it by any other mode of punishment than by using
cold water. I never allowed them to remain in the tubs for
more than 3 or 4 minutes. (“Nearing the Close” 1881)

Her statements are a powerful testament of the value, or lack thereof, placed on
incarcerated girls, when someone can feel comfortable admitting to such vulgar abuses of
power without fear of consequences. She went on to admit:

Small girls were whipped with a slipper. I have slapped
them in the face … held them by their hair. … I did get the
McIntyre girl on the floor … until she confessed the wrong
in disobeying. … I turned the hose on Ida Harris. … The
fire hose at one time turned on Mattie Scott. … Sallie
Maxwell was punished by having the hose turned on her.
… Sallie was whipped because she would not mind. There
has been but fourteen cases where the bathtub was used in
the seven years. … I never kept any in the tub more than 5
minutes. (“Nearing the Close” 1881)

These techniques are used today in torturing prisoners of war as a way to break them
down mentally in order to get them to conform. It is clear that was exactly what Smith
hoped would happen in these cases as well, and if the girls didn’t conform, they could be
shipped to an institution for the insane, either as a means of disposal or because of a
mental break. It appears, based on her attempt to assure investigators of the girls’
minimal time in the tubs, that Mrs. Smith at the very least recognized the dangers of
keeping children in freezing water for long periods of time, though there is no way to be
certain about the validity of the times she stated, or about any other testimony, given the
inconsistencies in her own statements.

In response to allegations, Smith admitted there had, in fact, been a baby found in
the cesspool on the reformatory grounds, but she stated that the baby’s mother was not an
inmate at the institution. We were unable to locate any further information about the
baby, reaffirming our thought that much was left undocumented, and leaving us to
wonder how many murky details were suppressed.
Though Smith was willing to admit to certain punishments, there were some acts for which she would not take responsibility: “I positively deny ever having bumped the heads of any of the inmates against the wall. … I never caused the deafness of Lizzie Cash [Elizabeth Cash]. She was always a little deaf. … Mr. Barrett, the night watchman, never had anything to do with the girls in the water-closets” (“Nearing the Close” 1881). Perhaps the latter were acts that would threaten her position and the functionality of the reformatory as a whole, whereas the former were justifiable in the spirit of reform. She said, “I simply wanted to have them … conform to the rules. Our lives have been threatened. … The board of visitors, with the exception of Mrs. Coffin was not of impression that the punishment was too severe” (“Nearing the Close” 1881). Despite Smith’s testimony, she and the reformatory were exonerated of any wrongdoing by the committee through their reports in the Indianapolis Journal, in which Chairman Edwins stated, “The charges … are not sustained by the evidence. … The discipline of the institution is maintained … by kindness and appeals to the moral sense of the inmates. … Punishment has been severe, but … necessary [and] has not been out of proportion to the offense” (“The Female Reformatory: Mr. Edwins” 1881). Despite the bold admissions of abuse, the committee went as far as to “commend the Board of Managers of the institution and the Superintendent for the wisdom and vigor for which they have conducted its affairs” (“Female Reformatory: Mr. Edwins” 1881).

The inmates, defeated by the victory of the reformatory, were compelled to continue their previous modes of resistance, including running away and setting fires to the building. According to the second through thirteenth annual reports (1874–1884), 50 girls ran away during the 10-year survey period, suggesting that the oppressive circumstances at the reformatory were too distressing for some. It’s unclear whether the investigation or the aftermath took a toll on Smith and Coffin. Coffin sent her resignation to the governor that same year, and Mrs. Hendricks supplanted Rhoda Coffin as president of the board of visitors (“The Female Reformatory: Mrs. Rhoda M. Coffin” 1881). Smith and Dr. Parvin followed shortly after Coffin, both resigning in 1883. Smith’s final report stated, “Declining health of myself and husband compels me to sever my connection with the work so long the delight of my life” (Twelfth Annual Report 1884:15).

CONCLUSION

It was our initial intention to seek out qualitative and quantitative values of the reformatory in its beginning stages; however, our research unveiled the furtherance of an already corrupt capitalist system. We found that from the onset, economic exploitation was set into the laws governing the institution: Section 29 states, “The Superintendent of said Institution shall have power to place any girl committed to the Reformatory Department thereof at any employment for account of the Institution” (Revised Statutes 1888). The ticket-of-leave system was implemented a year later. We were unable to find any written documentation of monetary gain from the system during that period, though we have discovered detailed financial records containing the amount paid for each child’s services during the 1910s–1940s (“State Agent’s Notebooks” N.d.).
Smith is quoted as saying, “Our motto had been, ‘if you don’t work, you shall not eat.’ Some of them would not work, and the only way to make them work is by punishment or fear of punishment” (“Nearing the Close” 1881). Any attempt to stand against this system led to physical and psychological abuse, indicative of corporal punishment. Smith understood very well that the system, by design, would hold the girls psychologically hostage, as she avowed, “Our ‘ticket-of-leave’ system has proved invaluable, giving us greater power over the girls on their first entering service, and the knowledge that a failure will bring them back to the institution makes them more anxious to succeed” (*Eighth Annual Report* 1879:12).

The notion of reform for unruly children was conceptualized long before Sarah Smith and Rhoda Coffin began their quest to open the reformatory. In that period of time, love, religion, and vocational training were presented as an antidote for bad behavior, while economic exploitation was the true intent. Through deep political ties, Smith and Coffin were able to procure support for opening and running an institution that reinforced gendered roles in a deeply patriarchal society where women should be seen and not heard, and certainly not running an institution. It is our thought that these women were used as the face of safety for women and girls following the abuses that occurred at Jeffersonville. Our research allowed us to make a vague connection between money, politicians, and the institution. In Smith and Coffin’s desperate attempts to be seen as equals in the world of reform, they forgot the oppression they had suffered themselves and were willing to oppress girls of the lower class through exploitation and force.

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Measures of Challenging and Excitatory Parenting Behavior as Predictors of Later Child Self-Regulation*

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ABSTRACT
Challenging and excitatory parenting behaviors play an important role in children’s development, particularly in regard to the development of self-regulation; however, no well-established measures of parent-child interactions exist that record such behaviors. In the current study, I compare two recently developed coding systems that intend to address this issue: the Risky Interaction Support and Challenging (RISC) and Marbach coding systems. A subset of videos from the New Parents Project (NPP) data set at 12 and 18 months was coded using both scales, then a factor analysis was conducted for each scale. Regressions were conducted to look at the predictive power of each scale on children’s self-regulation at two and seven years. I hypothesized that the Challenging Regulatory Competence (CRC) and the Excitation, Arousal, and Destabilization (EAD) subscales of the RISC and Marbach scales, respectively, would have the most predictive power for later self-regulation. The regressions did not support the hypotheses, revealing no significant relationship between one-year parent behaviors and later self-regulation.

KEY WORDS Child Development; Self-Regulation; Activation; Fathers; Emotion Regulation

In the field of child development, it has long been established that mothers have important influences on children’s developmental outcomes (e.g., Iskoldskiy 1985). Mothers have been viewed as the primary caregiver and therefore as more important than fathers for children’s development. Over the past few decades, however, as more women

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I would like to thank Dr. Eric Olofson of Wabash College and Dr. Sarah Schoppe-Sullivan of The Ohio State University for advising and overseeing this research, as well as G. Michael Dill for supporting my research with the Dill Research Grant.
enter the workforce and men become more involved in caregiving with their children, researchers have gained interest in studying fathers and the effects they may have on children’s developmental outcomes. There has been a debate within the field about whether mothers and fathers have the same effect on children or if they each have unique influences on different aspects of children’s development. Although the debate continues, a third, hybridized, perspective that mothers and fathers have different but complementary roles that have similar as well as unique influences on children’s development, has been gaining support throughout the field (Cabrera et al. 2014).

Bowlby’s (1977) theory of attachment and exploration supports this complementary view of mothers and fathers. In his theory, Bowlby identifies two patterns of behavior: attachment behavior and exploration behavior. These behaviors characterize types of relationships between a parent and child. The main goal of the attachment relationship is security; when a child needs help, the child can call for his or her attachment figure, and the secure base will provide the child with comfort and return the child to his or her emotional baseline. Once this need for security and comfort is met, however, the child tends to leave the caregiver and start exploring his or her surroundings. Bowlby describes these two relationships as antithetical because one is based on maintaining proximity to a caregiver while the other is based on encouraging the child to explore away from a caregiver. Although the roles are contradictory, each is necessary for the other to work optimally, because the child needs a secure base from which to explore and to return to if necessary, and someone to sensitively encourage said exploration once the child is away from the secure base. Neither the attachment nor exploration role is inherently gendered such that only mothers can be attachment figures and only fathers can be exploration figures; however, we find that in most cultures, this is how parents split the roles (e.g., Grossmann et al. 2002; Paquette 2004). A number of factors exist that could potentially lead to this pattern in parenting (see Cabrera et al. 2014), but such a discussion falls outside the scope of this article.

Parenting (from both fathers and mothers) has an important influence on the development of self-regulation in children as well as on positive outcomes later. Positive parenting (e.g., authoritative, warm, and respectful of child views and autonomy) yields positive outcomes such as better child self-regulation, whereas negative parenting (e.g., authoritarian, punitive discipline, negligence, focus on child compliance, negative affect, and hostility) can have an adverse effect on children's self-regulation. Positive parenting is associated with better emotion regulation, attentional regulation (Williams and Berthelsen 2017), and self-regulation broadly (Brody and Ge 2001).

Ren et al. (2017) suggest that fathers in particular play a crucial role in the development of children's self-regulation. Their research showed that paternal supportive parenting moderated the effect of child behavioral regulation (BR) on both number competence and externalizing problems. The first interaction effect showed that child BR influenced number competence only when there were high levels of paternal supportive parenting. The second interaction effect showed that when the child had low BR, paternal parenting had no effect but when the child had high BR, low paternal supportive parenting led to higher levels of externalizing problems while high paternal supportive parenting led to lower levels of externalizing problems. The only effect of maternal parenting showed
that maternal aversive parenting led to lower levels of child self-regulation. Although Ren et al. (2017) suggest that fathers play a crucial role in children’s development of self-regulation, most self-regulation research looks at only mothers or at mothers and fathers combined, rather than at fathers individually (Eisenberg, Spinrad, and Eggum 2010).

WHY IS SELF-REGULATION IMPORTANT?

The development of self-regulation is important through late adolescence and into early adulthood; however, early childhood in particular is a sensitive period for the development of self-regulation (McClelland et al. 2018). Self-regulation development can lead to a number of positive outcomes, including emotional, cognitive, academic, and behavioral. Better child self-regulation is associated with fewer internalizing problems (although research on self-regulation and internalizing problems has some inconsistencies. Studies that use attentional control as a measure of self-regulation are more consistent than those that use inhibitory control; Eisenberg et al. 2010) and mediates the relationship between parenting quality and both better psychological functioning (i.e., fewer depressive symptoms, less hostility, and higher self-esteem) and less alcohol use (Brody and Ge 2001). In terms of academic outcomes, better self-regulation is also associated with higher levels of school readiness, better learning outcomes (McClelland et al. 2018; Ren et al. 2017; Ursache, Blair, and Raver 2012), and higher chances of high school and college graduation (Moffitt et al. 2011). Childhood self-regulation is also associated with higher levels of prosocial behavior (Williams and Berthelsen 2017), better overall health, higher socioeconomic status, higher income, better financial planning and security, fewer financial struggles, lower chance of substance dependence, lower chance of being a single parent, and fewer criminal convictions as much as 32 years later (Moffitt et al. 2011).

The Ren et al. (2017) study supports more recent fatherhood and parenting researchers, such as Grossmann et al. (2002), Paquette (2004), and Cabrera et al. (2014), which have shown that fathers play a particularly important role in children’s development. In particular, fathers play an important and unique role in play. Fathers tend to be more active, challenging, and excitatory in play settings as compared to mothers (see Paquette 2004; Cabrera et al. 2014). These sorts of excitatory and challenging parenting behaviors push children to go out of their comfort zones, forcing them to activate regulatory capacities such as attentional, emotional, behavioral, and cognitive regulation. By pushing children to activate their regulatory capacities in a controlled and fun environment, fathers give children a place to experience and practice their regulatory functions in a low-risk setting, which in theory should lead to better functioning of those regulatory capacities, and thus better self-regulation.

LACK OF FATHER-INCLUSIVE PARENTING MEASURES

Although Bowlby made the distinction in parenting patterns in 1977, the child-development field has seemingly overlooked fathers and their influence on children through the exploration relationship. Most research has been focused mainly on mothers...
and the mother-child attachment relationship, although fatherhood research has been gaining attention in recent years (Majdandžic, de Vente, and Bögels 2016). Because father-specific research in the child-development field has long been neglected, the breadth of published research and literature to date is quite limited. In the work that has been done, many of the researchers have attempted to employ measures in fatherhood research that were developed for mothers (Cabrera et al. 2014).

The lack of breadth in fatherhood research has led to a lack of adequate established parenting measures that are inclusive to the types of behaviors that are more typical of fathers (see Havlin 2018); however, two recently developed measurement scales were designed to be more inclusive of these types of behaviors while being applicable for both mothers and fathers. The first is the Marbach scale, developed by Brenda Volling, Matthew Stevenson, Natasha Cabrera, and Daniel Paquette, and the second is the Risky Interaction Support and Challenging (RISC) scale, developed by Eric Olofson and Sarah Schoppe-Sullivan (Volling et al. 2018). Both scales were developed at similar times and are grounded on the same theoretical basis (Paquette 2004).

DEFINITIONS OF SELF-REGULATION

Within the child-development and self-regulation literature, there seems to be a range of definitions for self-regulation and which measures are used to assess it. Some researchers use the terms “self-regulation,” “self-control,” “effortful control,” and “executive function” relatively interchangeably. For the sake of clarity, the current article uses the following definitions of self-regulation: Ursache et al. (2012) define self-regulation as the arousal and management of cognitive systems “that facilitate the use of [executive-function] abilities in the service of goal-directed actions.” This definition is supported by McClelland et al. (2018), who, in their literature review of self-regulation research, further specify their definition of self-regulation as a composite construct that employs cognitive faculties such as executive function, effortful control, and emotion regulation. They further divide executive function into components such as attentional control, inhibitory control, and working memory. Thus, self-regulation is a composite construct that encompasses cognitive systems that regulate and manage attention, cognition, emotion, and behavior (Eisenberg et al. 2012; McClelland et al. 2018; Ursache et al. 2012).

THE CURRENT STUDY

The current study uses two father-focused (but not father-only) measures of parenting behavior to look at the effects of challenging and excitatory parenting behavior on children’s self-regulation over time. This study adds to the literature by looking at mothers and fathers separately, which previous self-regulation research generally has not done. Secondly, it uses measures of parent behaviors that are specifically designed to be more inclusive toward the types of parenting behaviors that are typical of fathers, rather than general parenting measures such as parenting styles, sensitivity, and warmth.
Because this study employs two similar measures of challenging and excitatory parenting behavior, I propose two hypotheses: (1) Within the RISC scale, challenging regulatory competence at one year will have the strongest association with self-regulation later in life, and (2) within the Marbach scale, excitation, arousal, and destabilization at one year will have the strongest association with self-regulation later in life.

**METHODS**

**Sample**

The current study used archival data from the New Parents Project (NPP; for demographic information see Schoppe-Sullivan et al. 2014). Data were collected from the 12–18-month observations as well as from the 2-year and 7-year follow-up studies.

**Measures**

**Revised Infant Behavior Questionnaire–Very Short Form (IBQVSF).** At child age 9 months, mothers and fathers independently completed the IBQVSF (see Putnam et al. 2014; for more information about data collection, see Altenburger et al. 2017). The IBQVSF is a 37-item measure of all three components of child temperament (surgency, negative affect, and effortful control); however, the current study used only parent reports of effortful control as a control measure, as it has been shown to be associated with later self-regulation.

**Risky Interaction Support and Challenge Scale (RISC).** Parent behavior measures at 12 and 18 months were recorded using five subscales from the RISC scale (Olofson and Schoppe-Sullivan 2018). The RISC scale is a coding scale used to capture different types of parenting behaviors during parent-child interactions in which the parent may, but is not required to, help a child overcome challenges. It was designed specifically to be more inclusive toward parenting behaviors that are more typical of fathers (i.e., excitation, encouraging risk-taking, and the like). Scores are assigned to each subscale using a combination of micro-coding and global scores. Coders watch the recorded interaction multiple times, taking notes on every instance of behavior that fits each subscale, and decide its intensity (low, moderate, or high). After the coders have watched the video several times and recorded every codable behavior, they then determine the global scores. Each subscale is scored separately on a 5-point scale from 1 (“the relevant behavior is not at all characteristic of the interaction”) to 5 (“the parent shows strong behavior”). The global score is decided based on a combination of the frequency and intensity of the recorded behaviors, with higher scores reflecting more frequent and higher intensity instances.

**Physical Challenging Behavioral Competence (PCBC).** PCBC reflects the extent to which the parent challenges the child to go beyond his or her comfort zone by attempting difficult tasks, taking risks, and striving for the child’s potential behavioral
competence. Behaviors that fit within this construct encourage children to attempt things beyond their current abilities and/or to develop cognitive abilities that aid in the development of behavioral competence. Examples of PCBC are physical contact, object-mediated play, or encouragement to attempt a more challenging task than the current task.

**Challenging Regulatory Competence (CRC).** CRC behaviors are those that challenge children’s self-regulation or encourage self-regulatory efforts. Examples of CRC are destabilizing the child by eliciting an emotional reaction, interrupting the child while he or she is attempting to complete a task, and supporting and encouraging a child’s attempt at self-regulation.

**Overprotection.** Parent behaviors that are overprotective are those that show exaggerated concern for the child's safety when there is no danger present. Overprotective behaviors can also be those that show excessive worry in situations in which danger is present but is acceptable or warranted (e.g., risk of harm when riding a bike). Overprotection can be either physical or expressive. A parent may physically restrain the child or remove the child from a situation or may restrict the child’s behavior using facial expressions, body language, or speech (e.g., saying, “Don’t do that!” or looking at the child with side eye).

**Autonomy Allowance.** Autonomy allowance refers to parent behaviors that “allow children to autonomously pursue activities that are outside of their comfort zone, beyond their current abilities, or contravene typical expectations of behavior by simply attending to the child’s activities while adopting a stance of non-intervention” (Olofson and Schoppe-Sullivan 2018:6). This subscale is different from other subscales because it is used to code attentive nonaction rather than direct parental involvement.

**Marbach Coding Scale.** Parent behavior measures at 12 and 18 months were also coded using two subscales of the Marbach coding scale (Volling et al. 2018). The Marbach scale was developed to include parent behaviors that are more typical of fathers (i.e., challenging and excitatory play) than did previous coding scales, although the scale is not exclusively for coding father-child interactions. The scale is meant to be used to code parent-child observations in which there is an opportunity for the parent to push the child in physical, cognitive, social, and/or competitive ways. Scores are assigned to the subscales of the Marbach using global scores. The coder watches the observation multiple times, taking notes on behaviors that fit the subscales, and provides an initial score. Subscale scores are on a 5-point scale from 1 (“Very low ACB/EAD”) to 5 (“Very high and consistent ACB/EAD”). After the initial score is given, the coder watches the observation another time to confirm or correct the initial score, and then a final score is given.

**Active Challenging Behavior (ACB).** The ACB construct reflects the extent to which the parent pushes the child to take on challenges, leave his or her comfort zone, and
take risks. The Marbach scale uses Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development (ZPD) to understand challenging parental behavior as pushing the child into the child’s ZPD rather than letting the child do only what the child has already accomplished and is comfortable with (see Volling et al. 2018).

**Excitation, Arousal, and Destabilization (EAD).** The EAD construct reflects the extent to which parents sensitively inject unpredictability into the parent-child interaction such that the child must activate his or her regulation of physical, cognitive, or emotional processes. EAD behaviors are intentional disruptions in the ongoing interaction that momentarily arouse the child to a state of heightened emotion or attention, then resume the previous interaction.

**Infant-Toddler Social and Emotional Assessment (ITSEA).** The ITSEA was administered to both parents at 27 months to assess a number of child behaviors. Of the many subscales contained in the ITSEA, the current study used only the negative emotionality subscale as a measure of emotional regulation. The negative emotionality subscale consisted of 13 items rated on a 3-point scale from 0 (not true/rarely) to 2 (very true/often). Higher scores on the negative emotionality scale reflect more frequent behaviors, making this a measure of emotional dysregulation rather than of emotional regulation (for more information on the entire ITSEA, see Carter et al. 2003).

**Head Toes Knees Shoulders (HTKS) Task.** Self-regulation measures during the age 7 follow-up study were coded using the HTKS task (Ponitz et al. 2009). The HTKS task in this study is a measure of behavioral regulation. In the task, the child is asked to play a game in which he or she does the opposite of what the instructor says (i.e., when the instructor says, “Touch your toes,” the child should touch his or her head). After 10 trials of just head and toes, the instructor adds knees and shoulders as another pair of opposites and conducts another 10 trials with the same instructions as the first 10 trials (i.e., when the instructor says, “Touch your knees,” the child should touch his or her shoulders). Six practice trials and 20 test trials contribute to the final score (10 of just head-toes, and 10 of both head-toes and knees-shoulders). Both the practice trials and the test trials are scored on a scale of 0–2, with 0 indicating “incorrect” (the child ended on the incorrect body part), 1 indicating a self-correction (the child showed discernable movement toward an incorrect body part but corrected the movement and ended on the correct body part), and 2 indicating “correct” (the child ended on the correct body part without having to self-correct). The final score is the total of the 26 practice and test trials, making the possible score range 0–52.

**RESULTS**

**Analysis Plan**

Data were analyzed in multiple steps. First, intraclass correlation analyses were run to assess the reliability of the RISC and Marbach scales. Next, factor analyses of the RISC
and Marbach were run to assess the validity of the scales. Finally, multiple regression analyses were run using parent scores on the RISC and Marbach as predictor variables and the 2- and 7-year follow-up data as outcome variables.

**Preliminary Analyses**

**Intraclass Correlation Coefficients.** Each climber task video was coded by two independent coders. Separate intraclass correlation analyses were conducted for the RISC and the Marbach because two separate research teams coded the one-year videos using only one of the scales. Reliability was very good for all subscales of both coding systems (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Intraclass Correlation Coefficients among Predictor Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RISC</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Challenging Behavioral</td>
<td>.831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenging Regulatory Competence</td>
<td>.875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overprotection</td>
<td>.846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy Allowance</td>
<td>.849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marbach</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Challenging Behavior</td>
<td>.782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excitation, Arousal, &amp; Destabilization</td>
<td>.843</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Factor Analysis.** Two factor analyses with Varimax rotations were conducted with all subscales of the RISC and Marbach included in each analysis. One analysis included only mothers’ scores, and the other included only fathers’ scores. All values under .5 were suppressed. Both mothers’ and fathers’ scores resulted in similar factor loadings with three components (see Table 2). For fathers, the first component was arousal (EAD and CRC; 1.78, 29.72 percent of variance), the second component was teaching (active challenging behavior and physical challenging behavioral competence; 1.61, 26.78 percent of variance), and the final component was parental intervention (autonomy allowance and overprotection, loaded in opposite directions; 1.52, 25.31 percent of variance). Cumulatively, fathers’ arousal, teaching, and parental intervention accounted for 81.81 percent of the variance. For mothers, the analysis revealed the same components in the reverse order: parental intervention (autonomy allowance and overprotection, loaded in opposite directions; 1.73, 28.81 percent of variance), teaching (active challenging behavior and physical challenging behavioral competence; 1.71, 28.46 percent of variance), then arousal (EAD and CRC; 1.67, 27.90 percent of variance), cumulatively accounting for 85.17 percent of the total variance.
Table 2. Factor Loadings with Varimax Rotation for Parent Scores on the RISC and Marbach Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fathers’ RISC and Marbach Scores</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arousal</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>Parental Intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACB</td>
<td>.851</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAD</td>
<td>.946</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCBC</td>
<td></td>
<td>.891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>.930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>–.828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td></td>
<td>.890</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigenvalue</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Variance</td>
<td>29.72</td>
<td>26.78</td>
<td>25.31</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mothers’ RISC and Marbach Scores</th>
<th>Parental Intervention</th>
<th>Teaching</th>
<th>Arousal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACB</td>
<td>.925</td>
<td>.806</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAD</td>
<td></td>
<td>.752</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCBC</td>
<td></td>
<td>.950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td></td>
<td>–.885</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td></td>
<td>.903</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eigenvalue</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Variance</td>
<td>28.81</td>
<td>28.46</td>
<td>27.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: AA=autonomy allowance; ACB=active challenging behavior; EAD=excitation, arousal, and destabilization; PCBC=physical challenging behavioral competence; CRC=challenging regulatory competence; OP=overprotection.

Regression Analyses

Eight multiple-regression analyses were conducted using mothers’ and fathers’ scores on the RISC and Marbach scales as four separate predictor variables, and negative emotionality and HTKS scores as two separate dependent variables. Mothers’ and fathers’ reports of children’s nine-month effortful control were controlled for in all regression models. Negative emotionality and HTKS scores were not significantly correlated ($r = -.134$, $p = .315$), warranting separate regression analyses for the dependent variables.

None of the regression models were statistically significant. Within the model containing mothers’ RISC scores and negative emotionality, mothers’ challenging regulatory competence at one year led to lower negative emotionality scores at two years ($\beta = -.354$, $p = .027$; see Table 3). This was the only significant result in all eight models, however, so our hypothesis was not supported.
DISCUSSION

The regression models showed no support for my hypotheses that CRC and EAD would have stronger predictive power than other subscales, or, moreover, that one coding scale might be more predictive than the other. This is contrary to what would be expected based on previous literature. Based on literature from predominant theorists in the field, such as Paquette, we would have expected the regression models to be significant, showing that teaching and arousal at one year (i.e., RISC and Marbach scores) led to better self-regulation later on. Our models do not support this expectation, however, as none of the models were significant. Although we had fewer expectations for the parental-intervention (autonomy allowance and overprotection) factor, as there is not as much literature from which to formulate a hypothesis in this area, their null results are interesting nonetheless and provide room for further investigation.

Some limitations in the current study may contribute to the insignificant results. Namely, the NPP data set is a preexisting data set that was not collected with this study in mind, resulting in a few effects on this study. First, the measures of self-regulation used in this study (negative emotionality and HTKS scores) are not ideal measures of self-regulation. Because the NPP is a preestablished dataset, however, those were the available relevant measures. Ideally, there would be a more comprehensive measure of self-regulation to use as a single dependent variable. Second, the climber task videos that were coded using the RISC and Marbach scales are not quite challenging or risky enough to be the ideal parent-child task. They were what we had access to in the available NPP data set, however. In order to overcome these limitations, further research should readdress the research question and hypotheses of this study using better measures of self-regulation, as well as a riskier and more challenging parent-child task.

Table 3. Regression Model for Mothers’ RISC Scores Predicting Negative Emotionality, Controlling for Child Temperament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 F eff. ctrl.</td>
<td>−.032</td>
<td>.063</td>
<td>−.078</td>
<td>−.509</td>
<td>.613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M eff. ctrl.</td>
<td>−.026</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>−.070</td>
<td>−.460</td>
<td>.648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 F eff. ctrl.</td>
<td>−.007</td>
<td>.066</td>
<td>−.017</td>
<td>−.105</td>
<td>.917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M eff. ctrl.</td>
<td>−.011</td>
<td>.056</td>
<td>−.030</td>
<td>−.198</td>
<td>.844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCBC</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.080</td>
<td>.532</td>
<td>.597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>−.099</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>−.354</td>
<td>−2.292</td>
<td>.027*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>−.006</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>−.027</td>
<td>−.122</td>
<td>.903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>−.035</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>−.157</td>
<td>−.719</td>
<td>.476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: AA=autonomy allowance; CRC=challenging regulatory competence; F eff. ctr.=fathers’ effortful control; M eff. ctrl.=mothers’ effortful control; OP=overprotection; PCBC=physical challenging behavioral competencies.
* p < .05
CONCLUSIONS

Although my hypotheses were not supported by the regression analyses, this research still contributes to the literature in significant ways. Primarily, it provides some evidence that the RISC and Marbach coding scales are valid and reliable measures of challenging and excitatory parenting behavior. The factor analysis provides some validity for both measures, showing that the subscales are measuring the behaviors that they are expected to. This research also showed that a team of coders can use the scales reliably to measure parent-child interactions; however, further research must be done using these scales to further provide evidence of their validity.

REFERENCES


Essays and Perspectives

_Citizen Initiative to Improve Local Government Ethics: Northwest Indiana Experience*_

CALVIN BELLAMY
_Krieg DeVault LLP_

ABSTRACT

After more than 50 years of widespread public corruption in Northwest Indiana, a small group of citizens and public officials met over a period of several months and developed a largely voluntary response. The result was the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission, which trains public employees on ethical decision making, provides specialized training for department heads and board and commission members, and hosts an annual ethics summit for the general public. Periodic employee ethics surveys indicate a positive effect of the training. In addition, the commission has developed a Candidate Ethics Action Pledge administered in each local election cycle, and a 12-page checklist for member communities to use to evaluate their own policies. The commission is funded by modest membership dues (for most communities, only a few hundred dollars). Twenty-four Northwest Indiana communities are members. Everyone serving on the commission (one representative from each community, plus two at large) is an unpaid volunteer. The commission is in its 13th year.

KEY WORDS: Citizen Initiatives; Ethics Code; Ethics Training; Ethics Leadership; Local Government Ethics

In 2005, a small ad hoc group of private citizens, public employees, and local elected officials from Northwest Indiana came together for the purpose of addressing ethics in local government. This three-county area had experienced a fair amount of one-party rule, machine politics, and perhaps more than its share of indictments and convictions (Davich 2017). By one account, more than 80 public officials and associated contractors have been convicted of federal crimes in a recent three-decade period (Chase 2018).

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The author wishes to acknowledge the considerable help and guidance provided by retired Indiana University professor Rick Hug.
Given this history, members of the ad hoc group felt local government might not be serving its constituents as well as it should. Concern was also expressed that Northwest Indiana’s political climate could be inhibiting economic development that was badly needed because of the decline of the steel industry, once the area’s dominant and still major employer (Konrady 2016).

But what could be done over a multi-jurisdictional area with 44 towns, cities, and counties all packed into a geographical area with less than a million people and no central city or overarching legal authority?

A relevant model could not be found. Many volunteer good-government groups seem to focus more broadly on public-policy issues. The League of Women Voters, for example, encourages “informed and active participation in government” and works “to increase understanding of public policy issues and influence public policy through education and advocacy” (League of Women Voters 2019). The Better Government Association of Illinois (BGA) utilizes staff and volunteers in a watchdog role to promote “transparency, efficiency and accountability” in local government (BGA 2019). The BGA model would help expose improper behavior after it occurs but would not provide a mechanism for setting standards for ethical behavior. The ad hoc group decided to focus on prevention—establishing expectations—rather than exposing wrongdoing after the fact.

After considerable discussion, the ad hoc group concluded that trying to create an ethics czar with enforcement authority would not be politically possible, given the fractured structure of local government, and besides, no mechanism existed through which such a position could be developed. Although the ad hoc group thought the communities might be willing to provide limited financial support, this modest level of commitment would not provide sufficient funding for a paid staff. The only way forward seemed to be some sort of a mostly volunteer group.

So the challenge: How to create an entity of the willing with no enforcement power and no staff that nevertheless might have an impact on a region that could be described as possessing a “folklore of corruption,” to use Gunnar Myrdal’s often-quoted phrase (Gilman 2005:42)? While the odds may have been against success, and a failure risked increasing public cynicism (Gilman 2005:64), those who have been involved in this process over the past 13 years believe that tangible, though incomplete, results can be demonstrated. Defining research as any published work that adds to the knowledge of a subject (Menzel 2015), the purpose of this article is to report on how one group of communities is approaching this issue, despite structural limitations, guided by the belief that sustainable ethical improvement may come gradually in small but incremental steps (Geuras and Garofalo 2011:402).

STRUCTURE

The resulting organization with the somewhat awkward name of the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission (SEAC) came into existence in November 2005 with the town councils of Highland and Munster and the City Council of Crown Point convening at a popular local restaurant not located in any of the three communities. In alphabetical order, each council adopted an identical interlocal agreement, creating SEAC. The
Interlocal Agreement gives every member community a seat at the table—in fact, two seats because there are two boards: SEAC (“the commission”) and the board of delegates, as shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Ethics in Government Northwest Indiana Approach**

The commission comprises private citizens selected by their communities’ political leadership, plus a smaller number of at-large members chosen by the other commissioners. The commission is responsible for programming. The board of delegates is the fiscal body and is composed of an elected official from each member community. The commission meets six times annually, and the board twice and sometimes three times each year to approve the budget and determine membership dues. The ad hoc group believed that having elected officials set the amount of dues and approve the budget would add credibility to the effort, hence the rationale for the two boards. This structure requires regular involvement by a sizeable number of people for an activity that has only a $30,000 budget. On occasion, achieving a quorum has been challenging. Too much structure can, of course, bog down the process and make it unworkable (Gilman 2005:64). Still, the involvement of a large number of citizens and elected officials has given SEAC a higher profile.

Each member community is required to pay a one-time enrollment fee and annual dues. Enrollment fees range from $500 to $5,000, and annual dues from $150 to $1,800. These charges are based on the number of full-time employees a member community has (Figure 2).
No salaries are paid to anyone for service on the commission or the board of delegates. This is the reason SEAC can accomplish the programs described in the next
section with only a modest level of funding. Of course, without staff, what SEAC can hope to accomplish is necessarily limited.

For the first several years, clerical and support services were provided pro bono by individual commission members and the manager’s office of one of the member communities. This arrangement lacked sustainability. In 2015, SEAC contracted with the Northwestern Indiana Regional Planning Commission for office and staff support. Now, SEAC has a telephone number as well as street and e-mail addresses to supplement its long-standing website (www.sharedethics.com).

PROGRAM OF WORK

Having no guide or example to follow other than the wording of the Interlocal Agreement, the original member communities had to find their own way. In the words of the Interlocal Agreement, “The mission of the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission [is] to promote and educate local government officials on ethical concepts and practices throughout the geographic region of Northwest Indiana.”

Initially, SEAC identified and hired professional ethics trainers to present ethics insights at half-day group meetings of department heads and supervisors. With only three member communities, this was a feasible way to begin and to have at least some impact on an important segment of the public workforce. Even when membership grew to five communities, this approach could work. With present membership at 24 communities, exclusive reliance on one mass training session per year was no longer an optimal approach. Moreover, there was a growing consensus among SEAC commissioners that every employee, not just department heads, needed direct training on ethical decision making. SEAC member communities are urban, rural, and suburban, and aging manufacturing centers and affluent communities, ranging in population from about 80,000 people down to a few hundred, with a rich mixture of races and ethnicities.

TRAIN-THE-TRAINER

With so many member communities and thousands of employees, SEAC decided to ask each community to identify two to five of its employees who could be prepared to conduct ethics training for their coworkers. Two local professors were hired to develop and subsequently update a comprehensive training manual that includes four curricula, each similar but differing in detail and presentation length from a half hour to two hours. At a half-day train-the-trainer session, employees designated by their community as ethics trainers are taught how to use the materials and lead discussion of short dilemmas included in the training materials. More than 60 employees have been recruited and prepared as ethics trainers. SEAC asks member communities to add ethics training to their regular training schedule and to offer it at least once every other year. Training includes a mixture of lecture, dialogue about community-specific issues, and discussion of practical dilemmas. There are sufficient dilemmas so that the trainers should not have to repeat any of them more than once every three to six years, depending on the frequency of a particular community’s ethics training and the number of dilemmas.
discussed during each presentation. Small group training sessions are encouraged to enhance active dialogue. Literature supports the proposition that adult learning is best when it is interactive and as specific as possible to the employees’ actual employment circumstances (West and Berman 2004:192, 203), and this, coupled with an introductory presentation of general ethics principles to provide context for discussing the dilemmas, is the SEAC approach (Gilman 2005:45; West and Berman 2004:195).

With so many different trainers, a continuing concern is consistency and quality of training. Each attendee is asked to complete a short evaluation form, but it has been difficult to have those evaluations delivered to the volunteer SEAC representative for that community. A second monitoring tool is the employee ethics survey described later in this article. A continuing responsibility of SEAC commissioners is to encourage local leadership to remain committed to providing ethics training regularly.

SEAC recognizes that its approach has additional limitations. Literature on ethics training for public employees does not discuss the qualifications of ethics trainers, so the train-the-trainer approach lacks the support of empirical data. Moreover, SEAC training sessions are shorter than some studies have thought to be effective. Van Montfort, Beck, and Twijnstra (2013:123) found no long-term impact from ethics training in a study of two Dutch communities. In light of these numerous uncertainties, the question has to be asked whether all this activity matters. Lots of effort has been put in, but what are the results? SEAC accepts that a public employee can be described as acting ethically if he or she is aware of the ethical implications of a situation, has a framework for determining what to do about it, and acts upon that knowledge (Montfort et al. 2013:118). Of course, defining the goal of “ethical competency” (Meine and Dunn 2013:150) is easier than achieving it. While some question the efficacy of ethics training to accomplish these benchmarks, SEAC believes its employee ethics survey, discussed in “Measuring Impact,” below, provides at least some validation of its training.

**DEPARTMENT-HEAD TRAINING**

As noted above, department heads were the initial focus of SEAC’s training efforts. Once the approach was changed to training all employees, department heads were expected to attend those sessions with their coworkers. Realizing that department heads have additional responsibilities not fully addressed in the regular training sessions, however, SEAC reinitiated a multicomunity training session just for them. A professional trainer is hired to provide training focused on department heads’ important additional role of setting the ethics tone for their area of responsibility (Menzel 2015:353). The goal of this training is to encourage department heads to be proactive even daily in building an ethics culture in their area of responsibility. Each member community is encouraged to send its department heads to this training session, which occurs every other year.

**BOARD AND COMMISSION TRAINING**

SEAC leadership also recognized the need to train another important group of community officials: private citizens serving on their communities’ boards and commissions.
Appointees to these bodies face potentially significant conflicts of interest in granting zoning variances, awarding construction contracts, and purchasing and redeveloping property, as well as myriad other matters they oversee. Potential conflicts may be subtle and not immediately recognized. The professional trainers retained for these presentations are therefore asked to focus on how to identify and properly respond to conflict-of-interest situations. This training is provided every other year, alternating with department-head training. Board and commission training is in the evening because many people serving in these capacities have daytime jobs. Training is also scheduled in a month with a fifth week because few Northwest Indiana boards and commissions meet during that week. Both department-head and board-and-commission training are expensive, as one involves lunch, the other dinner, and both require a professional ethics trainer). With the commission's limited budget, only one or the other is affordable in any given year.

Other than a three-question survey administered at the end of each board-and-commission training session, no measure has yet been developed to test the effectiveness of this training. The three questions (What did you like? What did you not like? What are your suggestions for change?) are more for planning the next session than for determining if behavior has been affected. Measuring training effectiveness for public employees is difficult enough; for private citizens serving in part-time (albeit important) positions, the challenge seems some factor more difficult. No research literature could be found. If nothing else, training these individuals removes the old refrain “no one ever told me it was wrong,” a minimalist validation, to be sure (Siewert and Udani 2016:269).

ETHICS SUMMIT

After four years of providing ethics training for public employees, SEAC decided in its fifth year to host what is now known as the Ethics Summit (initially the Ethics in Government Breakfast). Each spring, the general public and people from the public sector are invited to attend a morning-long event with attendees seated crescent-style, six per table. Some years, seating is assigned to ensure that people at each table come from different communities, an unpopular approach with many participants who prefer to sit with their friends and coworkers.

SEAC's president gives a very brief overview of commission activities; then a keynote speaker (e.g., a judge; a U.S. attorney; a retired elected official, including high-profile people such as a former governor or congressman; an ethicist; someone else with credentials to speak on ethics in government) presents remarks. The keynote address is followed by table discussions of dilemmas prepared for the event by local university students under the direction of their professors. After 20 minutes of discussion, each table selects a spokesperson to present their conclusions to the assembled audience, followed by keypad voting by the entire audience to determine a consensus on the main ethical issues of a particular case. Each summit’s dilemmas and group consensus answers are posted on SEAC’s website (www.sharedethics.com).

Some years, instead of dilemmas, other formats have been tried, including a panel of local elected officials expressing their views on ethics and answering audience
questions. On one occasion, the panel included a town manager, a political reporter for a local newspaper, and the professor who had overseen the writing of dilemmas for previous summits. On another occasion, a debate between two local high school championship debate teams focused on the policy and ethical implications of public officials absent from performing their public responsibilities for prolonged periods. The most popular format continues to be dilemmas with audience participation. The summit is presented without charge, usually from 8:30 to 11:30, and attracts 200 to 300 people each year. Participant evaluations have been very positive. As with board-and-commission training, measuring effectiveness is difficult. A survey with the same three questions is administered at the end of the morning, and again, its main purpose is to assist in planning next year’s program; however, SEAC believes the summit is useful in several respects: (1) It mixes public employees from different communities with different experiences—urban, rural, suburban, large, and small; (2) the mix of public- and private-sector participants provides an additional variety of points of view; and (3) this event attracts substantial media coverage, with the result of higher visibility for the topic of ethics in government.

ETHICS POLICY CHECKLIST
Recognizing that member communities might have differing levels of detail and sophistication in their personnel policies, SEAC felt it would be helpful to develop guidelines that communities could use in reviewing and developing their own policies. The final product is the 12-page Ethics Policy Checklist. This document, which has been distributed to all member communities, does not attempt to be a complete policy to be adopted whole cloth. Instead, it simply lists the various issues that SEAC believes should be addressed by each community’s policies. The checklist mostly consists of a series of questions, but for a few issues, it presents alternate options. A checklist approach seemed the best way to assist communities in developing comprehensive ethics policies while recognizing that a one-size-fits-all approach would not likely fit the needs of SEAC’s diverse membership (Gilman 2005:64). SEAC-based ethics training necessarily assumes that ethical matters confronting frontline employees are covered by the community’s policy manual. It would be unfair and confusing for employees to hear one thing in their ethics training only to find out when a problem arises that the community’s policies are silent on or inconsistent with what they were taught (Meine and Dunn 2013:162). The checklist helps resolve this problem.

The checklist was developed with the assistance of volunteer town managers from two member communities who reviewed the existing policies of several local communities and also drew on their professional knowledge and background. Their work product was further reviewed and discussed by a SEAC committee drawing on members’ private-sector experiences.

CANDIDATE ETHICS ACTION PLEDGE
Because SEAC is a group of the willing, it is important that elected officials be reminded in a public way that ethics training is important. One way this is accomplished is by
individual SEAC commissioners maintaining regular contact with their communities’ political leadership. Another opportunity is at election time. For each primary and general election, candidate lists are obtained from the three counties’ boards of elections. These listings include candidate names and street addresses. Using this data, SEAC sends every candidate in its three-county area the Candidate Ethics Actions Pledge. Even candidates in nonmember communities are asked to sign the pledge. (See Figure 3.)

The pledge does not ask candidates to commit to personally being ethical (that seemed presumptuous). Candidates are not even asked to pledge to support joining SEAC. The sole commitment requested is the candidates’ promise to provide ethics training for employees under their jurisdiction. Joining SEAC is a cost-effective way to fulfill this commitment, but if the community can find some other way, fine.

Despite the narrow focus of the pledge, some candidates still refuse to sign. A few have said they were insulted to be asked to sign the pledge. Others, missing the point of the pledge, said they were already personally ethical and thus did not need to sign. Because names of candidates signing the pledge are given to the local media, some who have not signed have accused SEAC of “blackmail” or “extortion,” or at least of attempting to embarrass them. At SEAC’s regular meetings, these complaints have been discussed and wording changes made to clarify the pledge’s limited purpose. SEAC continues to feel that the Candidate Ethics Action Pledge is reasonable, appropriate, and in the public’s best interest.

The pledge is not intended to modify behavior of the individual candidate except to the extent of providing the candidate’s employees with ethics training. Perhaps the large number of communities joining SEAC during the past two election cycles is some indication that the pledge is accomplishing its intended purpose. During future election cycles, membership recruitment will continue to be a focus.

IMPORTANT LIMITATION

Even though the word “advisory” is part of SEAC’s full name, the Interlocal Agreement does not grant SEAC authority to adjudicate or even issue advisory opinions on specific situations. This is a wise limitation, as without a paid professional staff, it would be inappropriate for SEAC to attempt issuing opinions on particular circumstances. Enforcement remains the function of each community. Lacking a central enforcement authority, it has not been possible for SEAC to determine if enforcement is consistent, fair, and appropriate (but see the next section for the discussion of the Employee Ethics Survey).

MEASURING IMPACT

People often find it difficult to precisely define ethics. There are several commonsense ways of describing the concept: “Always do the ‘right’ thing”; “Follow the Golden Rule”; “Would your mother approve?” and “How would you feel if your actions were reported in tomorrow’s media?” Sometimes, SEAC representatives are told that ethics is just a matter of each person’s conscience.
Figure 3. SEAC 2019 Candidate Ethics Action Pledge

2019
Candidate Ethics Action Pledge

If elected to the office I seek, I commit myself to being an advocate for ethical practices within my realm of responsibility. Specifically, I pledge to support in my unit of government to the extent of my authority and ability:

- Ethics training for all employees.
- A comprehensive ethics policy and vigorous enforcement.
- Whistleblower protection for employees filing ethics complaints.

Dated: ____________________________

______________________________  __________________________
Community                      Signature

______________________________  __________________________
Office Sought                   Printed Name

Return by: April 12, 2019

Return to: Pledge, Shared Ethics Advisory Commission, 6100 Southport Rd., Portage, IN 46368

KID 102994_1.DOCX
A bit of truth resides in all these characterizations, but they are not always helpful in the specific circumstances that public employees may face, or for reaching ethics competency. Sometimes, a favor may seem minor or just an act of kindness. An employee may feel that accepting a gift will not compromise his or her judgment, or that “borrowing” public equipment for a one-time personal use is not a serious matter. SEAC’s attempt at a more precise definition of ethics is found in its Code of Shared Ethics and Values (Figure 4), which each member community is asked to adopt by resolution.

This code does not replace any local ordinances or policies but forms the basis of SEAC’s ethics training curriculum. Although employees are not expected to memorize the code, they are asked to consider it as a reference. Poster-size copies are provided to member communities, with the request that the posters be hung in employee break rooms. The code describes four broad ethics principles (or is it eight?): honesty/integrity, respect/civility, accountability/responsibility, and fairness/justice. Another 32 statements listed under these headings amplify the broad principles. The code is intended to be more than just a list of dos and don’ts, more aspirational than prescriptive, and recognizes that gray areas require informed judgment. Some scholarship suggests this “high road” approach is more likely to be effective (Siewert and Udani 2016:271, 286). SEAC shied away from an absolutist approach (seeing every situation as black or white), for fear it could produce an outcome opposite to what was intended, resulting in rule dodging and hair splitting rather than ethical behavior (Menzel 2015:354). SEAC intends its code as a framework in which ethics training occurs (Meine and Dunn 2013:153).

To test whether the code and ethics training are having an impact, SEAC periodically conducts a 13-question survey of employees in member communities. The most recent survey (Figure 5) was administered in 2015–2016, with about 1500 responses. Answers from employees who said they received ethics training were compared to answers from those who had not been trained (Figure 6). Responses indicated that trained employees were much more aware of the code and were more likely to know how to report an ethics violation, to believe that corrective action would be taken, and that the action taken would be appropriate. These results are statistically significant at the .05 level. Responses to other questions were also encouraging. Trained employee responses to the question “Have you witnessed unethical behavior in the past year?” have shown a substantial decline from the first survey in 2009 (Figure 6). Even for untrained employees, a similar, though less substantial, pattern is shown. One possible explanation for the greater decline for trained employees is a more precise understanding of what constitutes unethical behavior rather than just an action or decision the employee does not agree with. The trend for both trained and untrained employees may indicate that heightened awareness of ethical issues and procedures is spreading throughout the workplace (Siewart and Udani 2016:282). Of course, a subjective question of this nature may be subject to social desirability bias, producing results that the respondent considers to be expected and possibly more favorable than reality (Siewart and Udani 2016:284).
Figure 4. SEAC Code of Shared Ethics and Values

Our Community

Code of Shared Ethics and Values

For government to operate with transparency and accountability, it is essential that public officials and employees conduct themselves in ways that uphold the public trust. The Code of Shared Ethics and Values provides guidance and support to public servants for the promotion and maintenance of the highest standards of personal and professional conduct. Because we wish to ensure the public confidence in the integrity of our government entities, it is proposed that all elected and appointed officials, employees, volunteers and others who participate in government shall personally commit to being trained on the values and standards put forth in this document.

Public Service Values

Honesty/Integrity
- To exercise the moral courage to hold myself and others accountable for our actions.
- To work within the law in a way that will bear close public scrutiny.
- To exhibit trustworthiness.
- To employ decision-making that promotes the public’s best interests.
- To act appropriately and refrain from using an official position to secure unwarranted privileges or advantages for myself or others.
- To make no private promises of any kind that may unduly influence my public duties.
- To refrain from engaging in business that would be directly or indirectly inconsistent with the conscientious performance of public duties.
- To accept the responsibility to expose corrupt and/or unethical behavior.
- To protect the public trust by exercising honesty and ensuring transparency.

Respect/Civility
- To treat every person with dignity and respect.
- To accomplish the goals and responsibilities of my individual position while respecting my role as a member of a team and the community at large.
- To act in a professional, responsive and courteous manner.
- To reach decisions only after considering various points of view.
- To work with others in a spirit of tolerance and understanding.
- To work to build consensus and accommodate diverse options.
- To utilize effective communication by listening, asking questions and responding in a way that adds value to the conversation.
- To support the public’s right to know the truth and encourage diverse and civil public debate in the decision-making process.

Accountability/Responsibility
- To refrain from using official positions to secure unwarranted privileges or advantages for myself or others.
- To remove myself from every decision-making process in which I, my business, my association or my family may benefit and upon removing myself from decisions, I will show self-restraint and not voice my opinion on the question.
- To conduct my private affairs in a manner that minimizes the risk of real, potential or perceived conflicts of interest.
- To ensure full public disclosure of the nature of any conflict of interest prior to any considered action.
- To respect the privacy of others by keeping confidential information that I acquire in the course of my professional duties protected unless a legitimate reason to disclose exists.
- To refrain from taking advantage of information received in the course of my professional duties that is not available to the public.
- To refrain from directly or indirectly using or allowing the use of government property for anything other than official activities.
- To refrain from soliciting or accepting gifts or gratuities that may have a real or perceived influence on my objectivity in carrying out official responsibilities or placing me under obligation to the donor.
- To refrain from competing with the community when I am employed or serve as an appointed or elected official.

Fairness/Justice
- To advocate and promote the most efficient, effective and equitable way to deliver public services without prejudice or discrimination.
- To publicly acknowledge that the function of government is to serve the best interests of all citizens.
- To refrain from granting preferential treatment to family and friends when making staffing decisions or awarding contracts.
- To refrain from retaliation or condoning retaliation against those who have exposed corrupt or unethical behaviors.
- To ensure the ethics of inadequate resources or diverse groups within the service population and develop plans to remedy and implement such plans.
- To behave consistently and with respect toward all citizens.
Figure 5. SEAC Employee Ethics Survey

SHARED ETHICS ADVISORY COMMISSION
EMPLOYEE ETHICS SURVEY

Fall, 2015

Dear local official or employee,

The Shared Ethics Advisory Commission is very interested in your response to the following questions about ethics in your workplace. The purpose of the survey is to determine your awareness of ethical issues and your familiarity with procedures for reporting alleged unethical behavior in the workplace.

While this survey is voluntary, we sincerely hope you will take a few minutes to complete it, seal it in the attached envelope and mail it to us. **Please respond within one week.** The results will be tabulated at Indiana University Northwest. The information will give us valuable insight on how best to serve you and the residents of our participating communities. Based on the results, future ethics training may be revised and recommendations developed about ethical processes.

**PLEASE NOTE:** This survey is voluntary and is intended to be anonymous. Please do not refer to specific individuals in your answers and do not place your name anywhere on the survey.

Thank you for your participation in this important project.

Sincerely,

Calvin Bellamy,
Commission President

1. Please circle your local government unit.

   - Burns Harbor
   - Cedar Lake
   - Chesterton
   - Crown Point
   - Dyer
   - East Chicago
   - Gary
   - Hebron
   - Highland
   - Hobart
   - La Porte County
   - Lowell
   - Merrillville
   - Munster
   - Ogden Dunes
   - Porter County
   - Schererville
   - Valparaiso
   - Whiting

2. Before you received this survey were you aware of the Shared Code of Ethics and Values created by the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission?  Yes _____ No _____

3. Have you attended an ethics training program in the last 24 months?  Yes _____ No _____

4. How important do you think ethics training is for you and your co-workers on a scale of 1 to 10 with 10 being the most important?  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 (Circle One)

   **PLEASE CONTINUE ON THE OTHER SIDE**

Concluded next page
Figure 5. SEAC Employee Ethics Survey, concl.

5. During the last 12 months have you witnessed unethical behavior in your workplace?  
   Yes_____ No_____

6. Are you aware of the process for reporting alleged unethical behavior in your workplace?  
   Yes_____ No_____

7. Have you ever asked anyone in authority in your workplace for advice on any ethical issues?  
   Yes_____ No_____  

8. Have you ever reported alleged unethical misconduct to someone in authority at your workplace?  
   Yes_____ No_____  

9. Would you report alleged unethical behavior in your workplace?  
   Yes_____ No_____  

10. If you were to report alleged unethical behavior, do you think someone would care enough to take action?  
    Yes_____ No_____  

11. If you were to report alleged unethical behavior, do you believe it would receive a fair and appropriate response?  
    Yes_____ No_____  

12. What ethical issues are you most concerned about in your workplace? (Mark all that apply)  
   a. Misure of city/town resources  
   b. Favoritism (employee receiving undeserved or unclaimed rewards)  
   c. Conflict of Interest  
   d. Other (Please specify) ____________________________  
   e. None  

13. Do you have any recommendations for the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission on how to improve ethics awareness in your workplace? Yes_____ No_____ If yes, please explain.  
   ____________________________________________________________  
   ____________________________________________________________  
   ____________________________________________________________  
   ____________________________________________________________  
   ____________________________________________________________  

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.
Responses to two other questions may indicate that training has also had a positive effect on employee morale (believing that corrective action would be taken if an infraction were reported and that the action be appropriate). Again, results are more positive for trained compared to untrained employees. Research by West and Berman (2004:199) indicates that a vigorous ethics training program can improve the organizational culture, improve labor-management relations, and increase employee productivity. Survey responses may indicate that SEAC’s program is having a similar impact.

One possibly anomalous result, which could reflect social-desirability bias, is the dichotomy between the high percentage who say they would report ethics violations and the low number who actually did so, yet over the history of the survey, both trained and untrained employees reported witnessing less unethical behavior, which could at least partially explain the large difference in “would report” and “did report.”

Note that responses to one of the questions hardly varied between the two groups of employees. The responses of both trained and untrained employees to the question “Do you value ethics training?” were a resounding “yes.” This result was generally the same in 2009, 2011, and 2015. Apparently, ethics training “fatigue” has not occurred over the years.
To limit social-desirability bias, the survey has been conducted anonymously, initially by use of paper forms returned by postage-paid mail to a third party. The most recent survey was conducted largely online using the Qualtrics platform. For employees without internet access, the traditional paper form was made available. For future surveys, member communities will be encouraged to do ethics training in the year preceding the survey to better test for long-term impact of the training. Some research has found that training produced no longer-term effect (Montfort et al. 2013:113). SEAC survey results would suggest otherwise, both in response comparisons of trained and untrained employees and in the generally positive trend lines from the first survey in 2009 to the most recent in 2015–2016; however, all three surveys have highlighted a continuing concern by significant numbers of employees (both trained and untrained) about misuse of public property, favoritism, and conflicts of interest. SEAC trainers have been urged to increase focus on these issues.

For each survey, a detailed report has been prepared containing two parts: (1) overall results and trends drawn from all respondents and (2) an analysis of the unique survey responses from each member community’s employees, with SEAC recommendations to address expressed concerns. Copies of each report have been distributed to elected leadership and local media.

Across the board, survey trend lines are generally positive, but one caveat needs noting: Although the survey questions have remained basically the same, the comparison is not perfect, as employees from only five communities took the survey in 2009, and seven in 2012, compared with 20 in the latest survey.

WHY AREN'T ALL COMMUNITIES MEMBERS?

By one measure, SEAC has been successful in reaching out to Northwest Indiana communities. Starting with just three suburban communities, SEAC has grown to 24 cities, towns, and counties, yet when measured by a potential membership of 44, there is still a considerable way to go. Some nonmembers are very small, with only a handful of employees. Others, however, are larger, with hundreds of employees. All but the very smallest communities have been approached about joining. Why have some failed to sign on? SEAC has been given various reasons, which the readers of this article can judge for themselves:

*Ethics can’t be taught.* If this is so, parents, ministers, professional organizations, and many others have wasted many hours explaining right from wrong. People holding this point of view do not explain the true source of ethical behavior.)

*We already learned about ethics at home, school, or church.* This response at least recognizes that there is a role for instruction, but apparently only somewhere other than the workplace. One elected official even boldly asserted in
a public meeting that he had learned everything he needed
to know about ethics by the time he was five years old.
Despite Robert Fulghum’s popular 2003 book, SEAC
believes that a kindergarten-level grasp of ethics is hardly
adequate for dealing with the challenges an adult faces in
the context of public employment. Ethics education is a
lifelong process, and is at its best when reinforced with
examples and discussion directly relevant to an individual's
specific circumstances. As noted above, scholarly research
seems to support this conclusion.

Our employees all have common sense. One council
president asserted her town only hires people with
common sense and they therefore do not need ethics
training. Common sense has to come from someplace.
Furthermore, common sense does not seem to be all that
common these days.

Joining is like bragging or apologizing. Some community
leaders incredibly say they aren't joining because it will
seem like they are bragging about how good they are.
Maybe more understandable, but still not correct, are those
communities who fail to join because they feel like they are
admitting that something is wrong in their communities, as
if providing safety training is an admission of an unsafe
work environment. Responding to these inconsistent
reasons is difficult, but both explanations may actually
represent fear of ethics training, what Geuras and Garofalo
(2011:43) refer to as ethics aversion syndrome.

Membership is too costly. Tight budgets are a fact of life
for most communities, but SEAC’s fees are modest, and for
many potential members, the cost would be only in the few
hundreds of dollars, as set out in Figure 2.

Naysayers are not unique to Northwest Indiana. Other researchers have found similar
reasons given for not providing employees with ethics training (West and Berman

SEAC recognizes that there are costs besides enrollment fee and annual dues. A
member community is asked to provide two to five employees with enough release time
to attend a half-day train-the-trainer session. Then there is the time away from the job
while every employee receives from half an hour to two hours of ethics training at least
every other year. These modest commitments are essential if a community wishes to take
full advantage of SEAC membership.
CONCLUSION

What a group of volunteers can accomplish is necessarily limited, but the experience of the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission indicates that positive outcomes can indeed be achieved over a period of several years and even on a multicommunity basis. The purpose of public-employee ethics training is not to make every employee an ethicist but rather to give every employee a framework in which to make judgments about situations encountered and to inform employees on how to address their concerns. Public employees in Northwest Indiana are very supportive of ethics training, but it is a continuing challenge to keep the training fresh and nonrepetitive, and also to keep elected leadership engaged. Ethics is not a once-and-done proposition. Training on ethical decision making needs to be built into each community's training schedule so that ethics training occurs at least once every two years. SEAC believes public-sector ethics programs should include but not be limited to frontline employees, as important as they are. Department heads and supervisors need more focused training that emphasizes their role in setting the tone for their area of responsibility. Also important is addressing the particular challenges that may confront private citizens serving on boards and commission. Even dialogue between public employees and individuals with no direct involvement in local government is helpful in expanding information about and hopefully gaining commitment to an ethics culture. SEAC’s Ethics Summit is a well-received attempt to encourage such engagement. Taken all together, the SEAC program has something familiar (ethics code as well as employee and supervisor training) and something less common (board and commission training and the Ethics Summit).

Of course, ethics training, no matter how comprehensive or inclusive, is not a panacea. Effective leadership, comprehensive personnel policies, vigorous law enforcement, and a vigilant media are also needed, but the Shared Ethics Advisory Commission believes that ethics training is an important element in the mosaic of good government.

ENDNOTE

1. A respondent was deemed to “value” ethics training if he or she rated ethics training at 7 or higher on the scale of 1 to 10.

REFERENCES


Genealogical Trends in Solving Cold Cases: 
An Investigation into the Merits and Concerns 
with New Cold-Case Lead Development*

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ABSTRACT
In the criminal justice system, not all offenders are brought to justice; unfortunately, cold cases exist and provide long-term challenges to investigators. From historic breakthroughs in forensic DNA analysis to today’s new trends, advancements in technology continue to give investigators hope of resolving unsolved mysteries with no clear-cut suspect. This article examines the progression of DNA analysis over the past three decades and explores the recent trends in the use of genealogy websites to solve cold cases. DNA technology’s innovative uses, from its early years to modern, are explored herein. By exploring traditional DNA analysis to advances that explore the potential for family-relationship connections in genealogy databases, one can observe the path that has led to the use of familial DNA analysis from these ever-popular ancestry databases used by civilians for lineage research. In examining the recent exploratory use of ancestry DNA databases for criminal-investigation purposes, the clear promise and pitfalls of such new technology are outlined for consideration.

KEY WORDS DNA Analysis; Familial DNA; Ancestry; Genealogy

A HISTORY OF MAJOR ADVANCES IN DNA ANALYSIS
Between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s, the Golden State Killer taunted the state of California by terrorizing his victims. While the people of California lived in fear, the Golden State Killer continued his spree of crimes. The belief is that the killer committed

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at least 12 murders, raping at least 50 victims, and committed more than one hundred break-ins. All the police knew was that he was a young white male. For more than 40 years, the sadistic serial killer lived as a free man. In April of 2018, the police used GEDmatch, a genealogy website that primarily assists users in discovering distant family members through DNA analysis. Law enforcement began innovatively using the database to assist in unraveling the mystery behind the identity of the Golden State Killer. After learning that a distant relative of the alleged killer was a consumer of GEDmatch, the police had a break with their first promising lead after more than 40 years of silence. The Golden State Killer made headlines again, but this time, he was no longer an unknown quantity; through investigators’ use of the genealogical database, the long-sought criminal of legend had a name: Joseph DeAngelo. DeAngelo’s arrest led to preliminary charges of multiple counts of first-degree murder after the police recovered DNA from GEDmatch that matched the uploaded crime-scene DNA. To understand how we arrived at ancestry database usage in criminal matters, we need to observe the beginnings of advance DNA use in forensics.

FROM FINGERPRINTS TO DNA—THE EVOLUTION OF IDENTIFYING FORENSIC ELEMENTS

Fingerprints are the ridge patterns on a person’s skin are unique from person to person. Around the mid-1880s, Sir Francis Galton became interested in fingerprints, which led to him collecting thumb impressions (Lee 2001:32). By 1892, Galton’s collection of fingerprints had created such a stir in the law-enforcement community that they were utilized in criminal cases as a form of evidence to be used for unique personal identification that could tie a suspect to a crime scene (Lee 2001:32). During the 1980s, DNA testing was available forensically for the first time. Like fingerprints, DNA is a unique genetic fingerprint of every cell in our body. The complex nucleotide code of each person is thousands of times more unique than a fingerprint, making the DNA much-sought-after gold standard of modern forensic evidence. The first DNA technique was restriction fragment length polymorphism, which exploits variations in DNA sequences (Geberth 2018). Geberth explains that “the RFLP technique involved the process of identifying polymorphic regions that are unique to each individual.” Eventually, larger RFLP targets were replaced by much shorter pieces of DNA with unique repetitive sequences, allowing forensic scientists to examine more unique targets per sample and to develop a much more distinguishing DNA profile for drawing comparisons between profiles obtained from evidence and from suspect DNA standards. These new DNA targets were called short tandem repeats, or STRs.

If forensic scientists received a positive match indicating that the suspect was at the scene of the time during the committed offense, that result brought a strong case against the suspect. This concept introduced a driving force in the criminal justice system that is a major source of evidence in successful convictions today. Despite the rise in convictions, police labs still did not have a database to store convicted felons’ DNA. By the 1990s, police finally expanded DNA use into databasing, whereby DNA profiles from cold cases or from felony-convicted offenders were cataloged for rapid cross-referencing
across new investigations and reopened cases with new leads. The ultimate goal of this
database was to store the aforementioned profiles such that new cases could be connected
to old, unsolved incidents and to help identify recidivists with felony convictions when
individuals made another criminal mistake; by making these connections, investigators
could ideally improve case resolution and deter former offenders from recidivating. This
advancement in technology was formally called the Combined DNA Index System, or
CODIS. According to Glen C. Forrest, “CODIS was developed by the US Department of
Justice and the FBI and combines computer technology with forensics” (Forrest
2017:60). Because DNA profiles are electronically catalogued in an online-accessible
database, “CODIS enable[s] investigators to compare DNA samples and is used
worldwide for sharing and comparing DNA data” (Forrest 2017:60). Forrest also
characterizes CODIS’s availability as free to all police forensic laboratories, further
alluding to the broad, expansive manner by which DNA profiles could now be shared and
compared across geographic borders.

At first, CODIS helped provide a larger list of potential suspects via cold-case
connections and felony-offender identifications; however, further developments would
create a third means by which CODIS could be utilized. In the 2000s, technology
expanded to allow police to look for suspects based on family relatedness through
CODIS, so long as a family member was actually present in the system. Stefan Kiesbye
states that “familial searching scours existing DNA databases for partial matches that
suggest an unidentified suspect may be a close relative of someone in the database”
(Kiesbye 2012:70–74). Kiesbye illustrates that the process of familial search “involves
computerized comparison of DNA samples, then a ranking in another of the likelihood
that the known offender profile generally related is to the unknown profile generated
from crime scene evidence” (Kiesbye 2012:70–74). To summarize, familial DNA
analysis utilizes the knowledge of parentage and family inheritance of DNA to establish
partial matches to the evidence profiles of open cases. The new addition to CODIS
introduced familial searches as a further enhancement to modern crime investigation by
expanding the examination of potential suspects through comparison of profiles in
CODIS with nonregistered family members as a means to net potential suspects
previously not considered through traditional investigative leads. This new technology
helped catch the notorious serial killer known as the Grim Sleeper and truly helped
solidify the use of familial DNA searches through CODIS. The Grim Sleeper was an
infamous serial killer who preyed on prostitutes and drug addicts during the mid-1980s in
California. With the new technology of familial DNA, investigators discovered the Grim
Sleeper’s son was in CODIS and made a partial match to the known offender and an
unknown relative, who was identified as the killer in the case. Determining that the son
had been too young during the slayings, investigators tested his father’s DNA after
recovering it from a discarded slice of pizza; furthermore, a partial match secured the
closure of the infamous case.

When police receive a partial match from the CODIS familial search, they may
follow up by surveillance of the new suspect. Typically, to get a standard DNA profile to
match against the evidence in their case, the police will follow the potential suspect until
the suspect throws away something in the trash or on the ground, which is considered
public domain. The police then use the discarded waste to create a standard DNA profile from the suspect to compare with case evidence profiles and, in doing so, determine if probable cause sufficient for an arrest is present. The Grim Sleeper case, with its use of publicly discarded waste, highlights the importance of collection of DNA from discarded objects. Because cast-off items are often merely touched or make contact with a suspect in limited fashion, and because they frequently do not contain cell-rich sources of bodily fluids for high-quantity DNA harvesting, forensic scientists needed to establish more sensitive methods for DNA collection and profile development. Enter the concept of touch DNA analysis.

TOUCH DNA

At the start of DNA analysis, forensic scientists had to have a large amount of DNA to obtain a successful profile; typically, a body fluid stain the size of quarter was needed (Scientific American 2008). Today, the advent of touch DNA analysis requires only a few cells of skin shed onto an evidence item to successfully develop a full DNA profile. According to author Chris Anderson (2018), a person sheds about 400,000 skin cells per day. Skin cells shed onto surfaces that people come in contact with, and they remain deposited upon said items with a simple touch. Sample sizes of skin cells are very tiny; however, advances in DNA chemistry allow these cells to be tested forensically. According to author Joe Minor (2013), “touch DNA is evidence with no visible staining that would likely contain DNA from the transfer of epithelial cells from the skin to an object.” The author of the article “What Is Touch DNA?” characterizes touch DNA as not requiring that someone be able to see the evidence; furthermore, investigators only need seven skin cells from the outermost skin cells to build a DNA profile (Scientific American 2008). Anderson (2018) illustrates the process of collecting skin cells for evidence as starting with swabbing a surface where an item was likely to be touched or handled. From just a few cells with limited quantities of DNA therein, the process known as polymerase chain reaction (PCR) is used to create multiple copies of the DNA retrieved from a piece of evidence (Scientific American 2008).

Today’s PCR kits for forensic analysis have highly specialized primers to target specific spots (called loci) of human DNA, as well as a polymerase enzyme that can use only a few strands of DNA to make sufficient copies of DNA to develop a unique profile for comparative purposes. The DNA made via PCR is tagged with specific fluorescent markers, and through the use of capillary electrophoresis, a unique DNA profile is generated based on the size and charge of each molecular STR fragment present in the sample. This DNA profile is electronically generated in what is known as an electropherogram. An electropherogram displays the unique STRs present for each target from a forensic PCR kit. The electropherogram is a “specific genetic portrait of the person” (Scientific American 2008), so evidentiary electropherograms and electropherograms from suspect standards (e.g., buccal swabs or blood standards) are compared and the rarity of the evidence matching any other random unrelated person on the planet can be statistically calculated to establish the likelihood that the suspect was indeed the culprit responsible for a given misdeed. The loci from forensic kits today do
not reveal any specific information such as gender and race, as they are located in non-gene sequences in one’s DNA (Scientific American 2008). Touch DNA evidence and familial CODIS searches were the most recent trend until 2018, when a novel expansion on the familial-search concept using genealogy websites created even newer possibilities for leads in cold cases.

GENEALOGY DATABASES: FROM PERSONAL INSIGHT TO FORENSIC INQUIRY

The growth of personalized “at home” DNA kits has increased extraordinarily over the past few years by a number of companies. All it takes is a swab of DNA from a person to unlock the past. These companies offer services such as locating family origins and identifying branches on family trees, and as such, they shed new light on stories that have gone untold in one’s family history. A typical success story for a genealogy website might involve a reunion of birth parents with their son or daughter, for example. Genealogy websites such as Ancestry and 23andme bring people closer to learning about their ancestors and, with permission, connecting with distant family members. In addition, these at-home DNA kits can predict, using a person’s genes, illnesses and potential health problems. In recent trends, these genealogy websites have become a tool for users of law enforcement in attempts to crack cold cases. Specifically, ancestry-based databases have become a recent part of the novel expansion into forensic DNA analysis.

Genealogy websites have thousands of users, with a sample of their DNA stored as a result of these at-home kits becoming common in many retail consumer outlets. Based on the widespread use and multitude of DNA profiles in these ancestry databases, investigators have a new database type under which they can expand their familial searches, which were once restricted to CODIS alone. The police create an account with a genealogy website, and the DNA they send to the company is from a cold case. For instance, GEDmatch offers a comparison of the submitting user’s profile and the genetic code given to their site to more than one million other profiles, giving investigators who submit DNA to the database site a rather large filter through which to snag a potential suspect based on ancestry, thereby expanding on the relationship-based matches traditionally completed via CODIS search.

Indiana has a success story of its own relating to cold-case resolution using ancestry-based DNA databases. In July of 2018, a nightmare finally ended in Fort Wayne after recent developments in the April Tinsley case. In July of 2018, a case unsolved since 1988 was finally closed after Tinsley’s killer confessed to the abduction, sexual assault, and murder of the eight-year-old girl. Investigators used a genealogy website that narrowed their search of suspects to two brothers. After used condoms were recovered from the trash can of one suspect so as to gain a suspect standard for comparison against the Tinsley case evidence, DNA tests confirmed a match to John D. Miller, one of the brothers identified as a possible suspect through familial DNA analysis on an ancestry site. After being brought into custody, Miller confessed to the murder.

Between the Tinsley case in Indiana and the use of ancestry profiling to identify the Golden State Killer, the breakthrough potential of genealogy databases for familial
DNA suspect development certainly appears to have merit. In fact, the site GEDmatch has been linked to five additional U.S. cold cases in Washington and Pennsylvania (Maron 2018), where investigators are using its potential to provide new insights into suspect development. Although these stories certainly bring promise to resolution of once unresolved cases, it is important to look at both the benefits and the limitations of this incredibly new resource for investigation.

**PROS OF GENEALOGY DATABASES**

Cold cases always seem precarious to law-enforcement agencies and the public in general because no criminal is brought to justice and families never receive closure from the justice system. Any advancement in technology that increases the chances of a cold case being solved are welcome additions to the proverbial toolkit of the modern criminal justice system. Currently, GEDmatch’s database appears to be the biggest source upon which investigators may draw leads because it allows people to upload their DNA information from any genetic kit or consumer company for comparison, which makes the samples openly accessible to search, unlike the Ancestry and 23andme websites, which make users send in a swab of DNA so the company can process the swab, make its own profile, and then make comparisons across uniform DNA profiles developed by the company’s consistent in-house methods (Shapiro 2018).

Receiving a match from GEDmatch and other ancestry websites can generate a list of genetic relatives who share a significant portion of DNA with a potential suspect (Legacy Tree, N.d.). Thus, the list of genetic relatives helps investigators identify a distant relative who can be surveilled to garner a standard to compare to cold case evidence. In terms of genealogical distance, ancestry databases are capable of tracking as far back as distant cousins to be matched; in some cases, partial matches can be traced as far back as a second, third, or fourth set of great-grandparents (Legacy Tree, N.d.). According to author Justin Jouvenal (2018), newspaper articles, census records, and obituaries are used to build a family tree. The author of “The Secrets in Your Spit” states that “in case of criminal investigations, once these individuals are identified, contemporary DNA samples obtained are from discarded materials” (Legacy Tree, N.d.). The author also states that “these new sample standards are used to compare against the crime scene evidence” (Legacy Tree, N.d.).

In summary, ancestry databases have given the police a new tool in the search for potential suspects not found in criminal databases. With early successes in cases such as the Golden State Killer and April Tinsley cases, there has been an expansion of investigators using genealogy in hopes of solving their cold cases. Despite the recent success of familial-based ancestry DNA searches, forensic scientists and criminal-justice scholars fear there could be too much rapid reliance on this new trend and that the potential of an innocent suspect being tracked down by genealogical means could overshadow the successes of the budding method.
POTENTIAL CONCERNS WITH GENEALOGY DATABASES

Wrongful convictions wrought from ill-utilized or poorly researched forensic methods have cost states millions of dollars in wrongful-conviction lawsuits (Augenstein 2016, 2018a,b). The precedence of misused or abused forensic tools leading to wrongful convictions could find further credence if investigators maintain to use these promising genealogy websites without having stringent guidelines to use such resources, or a better understanding of the pitfalls of ancestry DNA testing. As more headlines sweep across the country, the impression appears that the police heavily use this tool as the main contributor.

Currently, no investigative agency or forensic laboratory has concrete guidelines for the police to follow when deciding whether to use genealogy sites, or how to appropriately make use of their services, for that matter. Furthermore, if the police find a potential suspect, they surveil the suspect in a public place until the suspect throws away trash that can be used to generate a touch DNA sample for comparison against crime evidence. The discarded trash obtained by the police is legally collected, as the waste is viewed as abandoned source of evidence in a public place without the need for privacy concerns or warrant use.

To date, the Golden State Killer and April Tinsley’s killer await trial, presently acting as the sole examples of alleged success of genealogy to solve criminal matters. Tinsley’s alleged killer confessed to the chilling crime, giving some support in favor of ancestry database usage, but this still is an individual case and by no means a source of statistical significance in favor of this method.

Although this trend glimpses a bright future, there has not been a case involving genealogy as the main source of forensic evidence. In fact, forensic science laboratories currently do not support the use of genealogy profiling as a source of evidence for courtroom use. Paul Misner, Biology Section Supervisor for the Indiana State Police Crime Laboratory, has publicly stated that DNA targets used in forensic DNA kits today are quite different from the DNA targets analyzed using ancestry DNA kits from genealogy agencies, going so far as to state that comparing forensic DNA targets to genealogy DNA targets is akin to “comparing apples to oranges” (Houser 2018). Given that the DNA tested from consumer DNA kits looks at all the DNA (genomic sequencing), protein coding parts (exome sequencing), or very small targets called single nucleotide polymorphisms that are smaller even than the STRs used in forensic kits, it does appear that genealogy comparisons using a mix-and-match approach to compare profiles between methods is ill-advised, as incorrect profile inclusions or exclusions could result when attempting to make a match (Saey 2018a,b).

A clear issue with genealogy comparisons using profiles from forensic-evidence profiles thus arises, where incorrect comparisons, if enacted without proper research and groundwork to validate ancestry-based searches, could lead to wrongful convictions. Such a potential outcome is in fact a pressing concern, given that the website GEDmatch allows literally any DNA profile developed from any number of variable genetic-testing kits to be uploaded into its online database (Curtis 2018). Given that Indiana State Police Biology Supervisor Paul Misner stated that comparing different DNA targets across different genetic kits is like comparing two fruits of vastly different origins and looking for
similarities, the concern becomes apparent: so-called inclusive suspect leads and assumptions of relation are being made in cold cases without any strongly established precedent or proven validity clearly demonstrating that DNA profiles from crime-based and non-crime-based genetic testing kit results should be liberally compared and contrasted.

As Mr. Misner alluded, in using this form of search for cold-case suspects, America is currently, in fact, comparing apples to oranges and accepting the results as legally and scientifically permissible, which could prove disastrous for the long-term potential of familial genealogy-based forensic searches. To make matters worse, genealogy-based searches are internationally rejected because of the lack of scientific rigor behind such new methods. In New Zealand, police and forensic-science laboratories are rejecting consumer-focused genealogy-based searches currently and are reviewing their current, highly restrictive familial-search DNA laws to determine if the more generalized search methods using consumer DNA profiles employed by sites such as GEDmatch are legitimate and legally permissible (Coster 2018).

To boil down the ramifications of these claims: Countries outside the United States fear that playing mix-and-match with widely varying DNA profiles using completely different genetic testing kits and chemistries could lead to false convictions and call into question forensic DNA methods of this sort. These countries instead opt for level-headed analysis of the full merits and flaws of consumer ancestry lead developments before actually presenting such findings in court without proper proof that these methods are accurate and reliable. With modern forensic DNA kits analyzing a handful (24 to 27) of loci (targets) from crime evidence for suspect profile development, and genealogy kits having upwards of 35,000 more targets (Coster 2018) under analysis in their profiles, using chemistry and components that vastly differ between products to garner distinctly different DNA profiles, logic would dictate that formative scientific research looking at profile accuracy between kits should occur before genealogy profile uploads are trusted for convictions. For the time being, America appears to be putting the proverbial cart before the horse in this particular matter as it applies to creating new leads in old cases using DNA analysis.

Accuracy of genealogy kits and databases provides yet another source concern to address. Fox59, a news station in Indianapolis, Indiana, did a study comparing results from two genealogy websites. According to author Aishah Hasnie (2018), “Fox 59 asked four employees who previously took a DNA test on their own, to do it again; furthermore, they wanted to see how their new results matched up with their original results.” In this study, Anchor Jim O’Brien became the first team member to compare results; the newest test came back close to the original test. Anchor Neal Moore’s tests were the most accurate, confirming the same ethnicity. The last two tests, for anchors Brandi Ostojic and Jordan Morton, were troubling; the tests provided different results.

In another case of inaccurate at-home DNA results, pharmacist Julie Kennerly-Shah received a false-positive result for two serious medical syndromes from a third-party DNA testing agency, indicating that private DNA testing kits are still lacking in terms of scientific accuracy and research rigor (Coast Live 2018). Coinciding with this study, Tina Saey of Science News analyzed her DNA across multiple ancestry-testing agencies. Saey found that each consumer testing agency used netted mixed results, from
well-explained and detailed DNA data to generalized and vague results that contrasted what she knew about her lineage (2018a,b). Shana Dennis found that reports of her Chinese ancestry varied between 29 percent and 58 percent, depending on which consumer DNA testing service she used, leading her to question how accurate geanalogy-based DNA testing services are, and to challenge the public’s tendency to fully invest in “scientific results” without actually understanding the methods behind them or the accuracy thereof (Lawton and Ifama 2018). In summary, varied results from multiple websites opens up a theoretical concern about genealogy database usage, in the form of what the authors of this document would like to coin “genetic phishing,” whereby investigators could shop their evidentiary DNA samples around until finding a company that would produce a hit suiting their subjective (and unethical) pursuit for a suspect.

In addition to comparison concerns and accuracy issues, legal consequences of genealogy testing provides yet another venue to critique this new forensic trend. After the announcement of the arrest of Joseph DeAngelo as the primary suspect in the Golden State Killer case came from a distant relative who was a member on GEDmatch, it created a burning question: Is this genetic dragnet method legal? GEDmatch considers itself a public website, and anyone has access to view its content. The DNA uploaded to ancestry sites such as GEDmatch from evidentiary samples is inherently acceptable because it is collected via legally accepted means. The DNA that becomes concerning for legal scholars is so-called waste DNA, which is the DNA taken from items discarded in public-access trash receptacles or discarded without the source’s knowledge of its potential for use in criminal cases. The use of non-warrant-retrieved evidence currently is seen as constitutionally valid per a landmark ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2013, whereby collection of DNA from public sources (e.g., sidewalks, public trash cans) and collection upon arrest do not violate Fourth Amendment considerations to privacy because DNA is seen as being no more invasively used for biometric identification than its counterpart, the fingerprint (Ford 2018).

Even though a person whose DNA is collected from discarded items in connection with a crime is not legally aware of the suspicion surrounding him or her, no legal intervention of collection from such sources has brought significant merit in the American legal system. Speculation as to the legality of such sources for DNA arises again when the police obtain a suspect lead from a genealogy website whose use is for relatives to learn about their heritage. In fact, in the wake of ancestry dragnets for criminal investigations, many genealogy websites have shuttered their database access until more rigorous privacy policies can be enacted, citing investigative use as being an unexpected and unwarranted intrusion upon the original intent of their databases and the DNA profiles submitted to their organizations via consumer access (Augenstein 2018b; Balsamo and Cooper 2018; Hemphill 2018).

Unlike Ancestry and 23andme, which have specific privacy policies that protect users, some sites such as GEDmatch do not protect their users from law enforcement, however, leaving consumers to be unwitting genetic informants on their loved ones. Without the protection from law enforcement that allows for warrant-less DNA collection, and now through the use of public-access genealogy sites lacking proper legal protection of DNA profiles uploaded to their databases, the police currently have free rein
to pursue suspect leads that, while legally permissible in the United States, lack the expected ethical rigor in developing logical suspect leads from typical detective work. According to author Seth Augenstein, “in Europe, recently the General Data Protection Regulation [GDPR] basically [gave] members of the public more rights over the use of personal information” (Augenstein 2018b). As such, international protections regarding access of consumer DNA profiles appear to be much stronger than that provided to American genealogy enthusiasts here in the United States. Without privacy laws that logically protect people and their DNA from unwilling or unknowing use in criminal matters, civilians are afraid that law enforcement agencies will continue to abuse their authority because of legal loopholes that do not consider ancestry-profile databases as private sources of DNA evidence for comparative purposes.

One must also consider future ramifications pertaining to DNA being collected and stored on ancestry databases as it pertains to upcoming forensic applications. Currently, much research has been invested into phenotypical, or physical-feature, DNA analysis for forensic purposes. Recently, forensic scientists were able to create a composite sketch of a suspect’s face and provide a physical-feature report for a suspect in a case more than 40 years old using new DNA targets (Levenson 2018).

Given how creative investigators are in their pursuit for suspect leads, one can conjure ideas for the next use, and therefore area of possible misuse, regarding ancestry databases. For instance, consider the genealogy databases that upload a consumer’s whole genome, which is the entirety of one’s DNA makeup. Instead of merely comparing forensic DNA loci or genealogy loci for suspect-lead development, one must ponder the potential for investigators to take phenotypic forensics and extrapolate its benefits to whole genomes currently being untapped across untold genealogy databases. Imagine a future, then, in which consumers are unwitting investigators, unknowingly proffering up their DNA sequences for phenotypic DNA analysis leading to race, gender, and physical feature characteristics (e.g., eye color, hair color) being conjured against themselves or close relatives, with the result that they become suspects in cold cases. If ancestry databases can be used without knowledge or consent from investigators in the Golden State Killer case, one must ponder what the next unforeseen use of consumer DNA databases and ancestry databases will be in the never-ending quest for justice.

CONCLUSION

Closure is the missing piece in every cold case, and the recurring challenge for investigators. Advancements in recent trends of genealogy have provided a new way with which to resolve cold cases. By using the DNA of family members who are consumers of genealogy company products, investigators today have a new resource from which to establish new leads for suspects. Once investigators find a potential suspect, the police surveil the suspect until they can obtain public-access items for suspect DNA profile standard development. These discarded items and the profiles of persons therein are then used on genealogy sites to establish familial leads akin to those of the successful familial searches once restricted to CODIS database profiles. The public is now concerned that this process is illegal because of their giving investigators unwitting access to their DNA
and the familial relationship stories it can tell, yet the methods currently being used by modern investigators are so new that such legal ramifications have yet to be tested in a court of law. Furthermore, accuracy concerns and comparisons between vastly different forms of DNA targets and genetic chemistries draw increased scrutiny down upon this novel method for suspect-lead generation. Although actual suspects having been identified in decades-old cases gives cause for further research into the utility and validity of searching genealogical database for forensic and investigative purposes, one must also ponder the perils of adopting methods lacking sufficient scientific discourse that could easily be batted away pending one ill-fated Daubert hearing.

REFERENCES


AUTHOR BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
(IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE)

**Quinn P. Dauer** earned a BA in history and Spanish from Minnesota State University, Mankato, in 2005 and a PhD in Atlantic and Latin American history from Florida International University in 2012. He currently serves the School of Social Science at Indiana University Southeast as an assistant professor of history and international studies. His research broadly examines how states and societies have responded to natural disasters, and he is working on a study of the 1939 Chillán earthquake and its legacies in 20th-century Chilean history.

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**Sakina Hughes** is an assistant professor of history at the University of Southern Indiana. She specializes in the 19th and 20th centuries and comparative African American and Native American histories. She completed her doctoral degree at Michigan State University in 2012. Hughes has published several articles, including “Under One Big Tent: Native Americans and African Americans in the 19th Century Circus” in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations of Language and Power in Native North America* and “‘The Community Became an Almost Civilized and Christian One’: John Stewart’s Mission to the Wyandots and Religious Colonialism as African American Racial Uplift” in *Native American and Indigenous Studies*. Hughes was featured in the PBS *American Experience* documentary “The Circus” in 2018.

**Aimee Adam** is an assistant professor of psychology at Indiana University Southeast in New Albany, Indiana. She earned a doctoral degree in psychology, specializing in social psychology, in 2009 from the University of Alabama after earning a doctoral degree in mass communication, also at the University of Alabama, in 2006. Her research focuses on the effect of the media on romantic relationships, the formation of parasocial relationships, and teaching-related issues and has been published in the *Journal of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences, Teaching of Psychology, Interpersona*, and *Health Psychology*.

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**Stella A. Ress** is a public historian and an assistant professor in the Department of History at the University of Southern Indiana, where she teaches courses on public history and U.S. history, and in the new program of Arts and Heritage Administration. She graduated in 2014 from Loyola University Chicago with a PhD in U.S. history and with minors in public history and in women and gender history. Her research is varied and focuses on the history of families, women and girls, and popular culture. She is also published and has presented in the field of public history.

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**Kathy Parkison** joined Indiana University Kokomo in 1993. She is a professor of economics in the School of Business. She holds a PhD from Purdue University, in addition to an MBA in marketing and a bachelor of science in chemistry from the University of Nebraska at Omaha. She recently completed a two-year term as the faculty representative on the Indiana Commission for Higher Education. Kathy is an award-winning teacher and a member of FACET. She teaches graduate and undergraduate
Steve Cox joined Indiana University Kokomo in 1992. He serves as a professor of finance in the School of Business. He received his PhD in finance from the University of Florida and holds an MBA from the University of Northern Iowa, as well as a bachelor’s degree in economics from the University of Iowa. Dr. Cox passed the CPA and CMA exams in 1984 and is a member of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, the Institute of Management Accountants, and the Indiana CPA Society. He previously taught at the University of Florida and at the University of Northern Iowa. He also worked in public accounting at Ernst and Whinney and at R.W. Cox and Company. Steve is an award-winning teacher and a member of FACET. He teaches graduate and undergraduate courses in finance, accounting, and economics. He has also taught in the freshman learning communities and the honors program.

Michael Plummer is a May 2018 graduate of Indiana University Kokomo, from which he earned a bachelor’s degree with concentrations in management and economics/finance. Throughout his undergraduate career, he participated in the IU Kokomo Honors Program. As part of the honors program, he was required to complete a research project and a presentation at a conference. Michael chose to do a project on ethics, and this paper is the result of his efforts. Currently, Michael is the assistant business manager for the Kokomo Jackrabbits.

Molly Whitted attended Indiana University East, majoring in anthropology and history, until she was sentenced to prison in 2013. She was transferred to her current facility in 2016 and became heavily involved in the Higher Education Program, enrolling in Holy Cross College classes. She is also part of the History Project, a group of currently and formerly incarcerated women researching and writing about the history of the prison. In 2017, along with Michelle Williams, Molly won second-place honorable mention in the Peggy Siegel writing contest for all Indiana undergraduates. She is also part of the poetry/writing group Power of a Sentence and has had poetry published in the Midwestern Review. Whitted is currently working in the prison-based community outreach program One Net-One Life Mosquito Net Project, which makes mosquito nets for Africa and South America, provides dresses for orphanages in Haiti, and provides reusable hygiene bags for schoolgirls in the Dominican Republic.

Michelle Williams attended Holy Cross College, where she maintained a 4.0 GPA and was honored by the school at its convocation in April 2018. Williams is a spiritual leader in the Lifted liturgical dance ministry at the prison where she is incarcerated. She has served at such events as ICAN graduation, volunteer appreciation, and Kids Camp, which allows children to come in and spend the day with their mothers. Williams also participated in the facility’s mosquito-net project, which provides nets to Africa in order to prevent the transmission of malaria, provides dresses for girls in Haiti, and provides menstrual kits. In addition, Williams also participates in the History Project, wherein currently and formerly incarcerated women research Indiana carceral history, write papers, and present at
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The following statement provides an overview of the submission requirements and is designed to assist authors in the preparation of their manuscripts for possible publication in the Journal. It covers details of the review process and of the presentation and formatting style required for all paper submissions that will be checked in copyediting if your manuscript is accepted for publication. To avoid delays in manuscript processing, all authors and coauthors who wish to have their papers considered for publication should review and observe the following submission requirements.

1. All manuscripts submitted for review must include a nonrefundable processing fee. The fee is $10 for IASS members (waived for members who submit papers presented at the previous IASS Annual Meeting) and $25 for non-IASS members. There is no cost for students or for associate members. Papers will not be processed without payment.

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6. The senior editor in chief is responsible for making the final decision on all manuscripts and content for publication in the Journal. The senior editor’s decisions on all publication matters and content are not subject to review by any other member, officer, or body of the IASS.

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*(modified ASA style)*

**Paper length** should be limited to about 30 pages total, including title page, abstract, all text, graphs, tables, endnotes, and references.

All pages must be created using Microsoft Word in 12-point Times New Roman only and must be double-spaced (including endnotes and references).

**All margins** (left, right, top, and bottom) must be 1.25 inches.

Use normal settings when word processing. Do not create special characters on the keyboard.

**Biography**

Include a short professional biography (five or six lines) for each author, which should include the author’s name, title, department, institution, and a brief description of current research interests, publications, or awards.

**Abstract**

The abstract appears on a separate page headed by the title. It should be brief (one paragraph of 150 to 200 words), descriptive (a summary of the most important contributions in the paper), and accessible (jargon-free and clear to the general reader). A good test of the quality of an abstract is if it can serve as a press release for the research.

**Title Page**

Include the full title of the article, the author(s) name(s), department and disciplinary affiliation(s), and institution(s) (listed vertically if there is more than one author), a
running head (60 characters or less), the word and page count for the manuscript, and a title footnote.

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The first page of the text should start with the title page, and the running head should be on every subsequent page of text in the header with a page number. The first page of text would be page 3 (title page = 1; abstract page = 2).

Text

Length. Papers should be limited to about 30 pages total, including all text, graphs, tables, endnotes, and references. No personal or institutional or other identifying information should be contained in the manuscript outside of the title page.

Subheadings. Generally, three levels of subheadings are sufficient to indicate the organization of the content. See recent Journal issues for subheading formats.

Text Citations. Include the last name of the author and year of publication. Include page numbers when you quote directly from a work or refer to specific passages. Cite only those that provide evidence for your assertions or that guide readers to important sources.

- If author’s name is in the text of the sentence, follow the name with the year of publication in parentheses: “… Duncan (1959)”. If author’s name is not in the text of the sentence, enclose both the last name and the year in parentheses, with no commas: “… (Gouldner 1936).”
- Pagination follows the year of publication after a colon: “… (Ramirez and Weiss 1979:239–40).”
- Give both last names for joint authors: “… (Martin and Bailey 1988).”
- For works with three authors, list all last names in the first citation in the text; thereafter use “et al.”: “… (Carr, Smith, and Jones 1962)” and later “… (Carr et al. 1962).” For more than three authors, use “et al.” throughout: “…. (Thompson et al. 2016).”
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- For material scheduled for publication, use “forthcoming” in place of a date. For dissertations and unpublished papers, cite the date; if no date is
available, use “N.d.” in place of the date: “… Smith (forthcoming) and Jones (N.d.).”

Mathematical symbols and equations. Use consecutive Arabic numerals in parentheses at the right margin to identify important equations. Align all expressions, and clearly mark compound subscripts and superscripts. Clarify all unusual characters or symbols. Use italic type for variables in equations and in the text; use bold type for vectors.

Endnotes (No footnotes permitted)

Use endnotes only when necessary. Notes (particularly long ones) can be distracting to the reader. As an alternative, consider stating in the text that further information is available from the author.

- Begin each note with the superscript numeral to which it is keyed in the text.
- Type notes (double-spaced) in a separate section titled “Endnotes” at the end of the document.

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All references cited in the text and endnotes must be listed in the reference list, and vice versa. Double-check spelling and publication details—the JIASS editor is not responsible for the accuracy of authors’ reference lists.

- List references in alphabetical order by authors’ last names. Include full names of all authors; use first-name initials only if the author used initials in place of name in the original publication.
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Include tables and figures only when they are critical to the reader’s understanding.

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- Number tables consecutively throughout the text. Insert tables in the text as appropriate.
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Number figures or illustrations consecutively throughout the text. Each should include a title. If the manuscript is accepted for publication, submit figures and illustrations...
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Carefully read through the entire manuscript one final time before submitting, as no substantive changes in title or text will be permitted once the paper has been submitted and accepted for review.

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