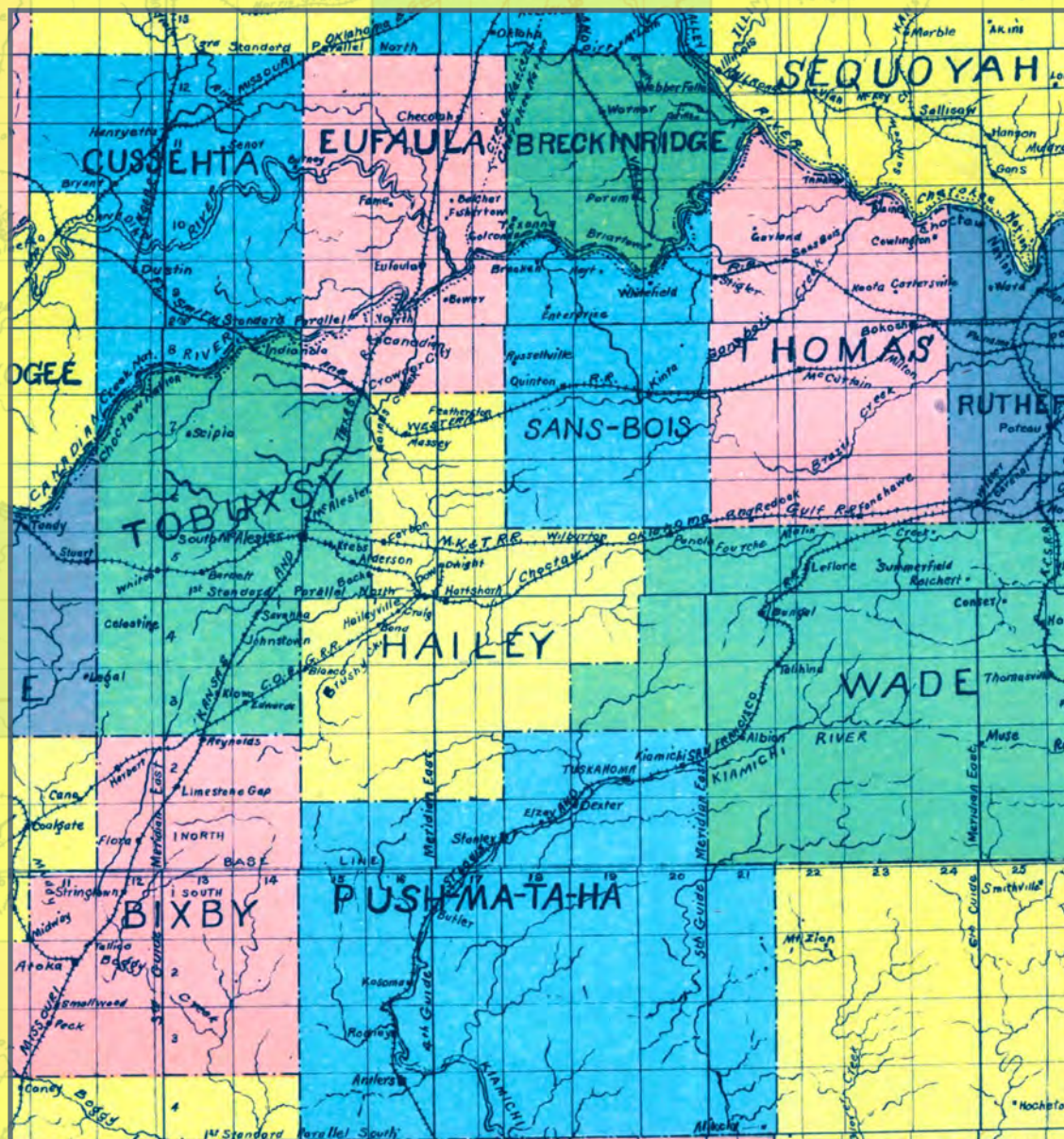


# Oklahoma Politics

2022 • VOLUME 32



OKLAHOMA POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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# *Oklahoma Politics*

2022

Volume 32

*Oklahoma Politics* is an annual publication of the Oklahoma Political Science Association. We encourage the submission of papers, research notes, and book reviews that are meaningfully related to Oklahoma. For inquiries, email the Editor in Chief Erick Ananga: [eananga@ecok.edu](mailto:eananga@ecok.edu).



Subscriptions are \$25.00 per year, plus shipping. To obtain a copy of the publication, to make donations, or to inquire about membership, please see the organization's website: [myopsanet.org](http://myopsanet.org).

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Journal of the Oklahoma Political Science Association





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## STATEMENT FROM THE EDITOR

The peer-reviewed journal Oklahoma Politics publishes articles, research notes and book reviews that have a significant Oklahoma political, social, and environmental related issues. Consequently, we consider work that addresses practical methods and make significant contributions to scholarly knowledge about theoretical concerns, empirical issues, or methodological strategies in the sub-field of political science and or environmental politics in the State of Oklahoma. Manuscripts submitted for review should address an important research problem and or question, display a modest level of creativity and or innovation in research, contribute in a significant fashion to a body of knowledge, and lastly demonstrate the use of appropriate quantitative and or qualitative methods.

Our core concern is to ensure that we provide a platform for authors from Oklahoma and their collaborators from around the United States and around the world to inform the larger scientific community of current political science and environmental politics related research issues in the state. All manuscripts submitted for publication in our journal are thoroughly reviewed by anonymous referees. The submitted manuscripts first goes through a detailed check including a plagiarism check. The editor together with the editorial office takes charge of the review process. When a manuscript is accepted for full review, the editor will collect at least two review comments and prepare a decision letter based on the comments of the reviewers. The decision letter is sent to the Corresponding Author to request an adequate revision after which the manuscript is forwarded for eventual publication. If you would like to publish your research in Oklahoma Politics, please submit your paper for peer-review at: [eananga@ecok.edu](mailto:eananga@ecok.edu)

Erick Ananga  
*Editor in Chief, Oklahoma Politics*





## NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Over the past year I have had the privilege of serving as the President of the Oklahoma Political Science Association. During this time our organization and executive board members have continued to demonstrate their ongoing commitment to fostering scholarship, discourse and interest in the field of political science. We have also worked hard to create new opportunities for scholarly development and academic research among our general membership. For example, our organization has created new award and scholarship categories for participating students and faculty members. We plan to begin rolling these out at our 2022 annual conference to be hosted by Dr. Shanna Padgham at Oklahoma City Community College. Furthermore, the executive board of our organization has expressed interest in expanding the opportunities for engagement as well as scholarly and professional development by fostering stronger relationships with political science programs and organizations around the state. We are particularly interested in partnering with appropriate institutions in order to cross-promote existing events and opportunities as well as to develop new ones. If you or your institution have speakers, events, internship, volunteer or work opportunities related to our organizations mission statement, we would like to know. Towards this end, we have established an organization e-mail account and can be reached at [oklahomapolisci@gmail.com](mailto:oklahomapolisci@gmail.com).

The last year has come with many surprises and unexpected developments. At times, the political climate in our country and recent developments around the world have been outright alarming. For all of this, I continue to find comfort in the collegiately of the Oklahoma Political Science Association. I have consistently found this organization to be uniquely welcoming and supportive of new members and especially of student participation. I also take pride in the willingness of our organization to entertain and discuss diverse (and sometimes upsetting) ideas in a spirit of ac-

ademic consideration and scholarly exchange. It is my hope (and expectation) that our organization will continue its dedication to inclusivity and intellectual diversity for many years to come.

The 2023 conference is scheduled to take place at the University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond, Oklahoma. In conclusion, I would like to take a moment to thank all of our contributors who provided support for the organization and its conference. I would also like to thank those who have supported the organization through scholarly contributions to our journal, Oklahoma Politics, and the organizations membership for allowing me to serve as your president.

Conner Alford

*President, Oklahoma Political Science Association*

## SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

### GENERAL

Oklahoma Politics invites submissions that explore the broad context of politics affecting Oklahoma and its place in the surrounding region. We are especially interested in submissions that bring to bear a variety of methodological, analytical, and disciplinary perspectives on state and local politics of the central-south region of the United States: Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Because “politics” cannot be thoroughly explored from only a single disciplinary point of view, trans-disciplinary and collaborative projects are encouraged. Though we are the journal of the Oklahoma Political Science Association, we encourage submissions from historians, economists, sociologists, environmental scientists, policymakers, analysts, as well as political scientists and practitioners whose substantive research bears on the politics and issues of the state and region.

Oklahoma Politics is a fully peer-reviewed journal. Each submission receives at least three anonymous reviews and each is reviewed by the editors before a decision is made to accept a manuscript for publication.

### MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be no longer than 30 pages or more than 9,000 words, double-spaced; text, graphics, notes, and references included; no extra space between paragraphs. Do not indent paragraphs. Type font: Times New Roman; 12 point. Notes should be footnotes, not endnotes, and references should be the last part of the manuscript. Graphics (tables and figures count 300 words) submitted separately, one per page, with internal reference indicating the approximate placement in the body of the text (i.e.: “[Table 1 about here]”). Tables/figures must not be larger than a single page.

### INTERNAL NOTE STYLE

Footnotes, sequentially numbered superscript (e.g. <sup>1,2,3,4</sup>).

Internal reference style: (author last name year); e.g. (Jefferson 2007).

Internal reference with page number: (author last name year, page #); e.g. (Jefferson 2007, 32). Multiple internal references separated by semi-colon; alphabetical first, then by year: (Author A 2007; Author B 1994; Author CA1 2007; Author CA2 1992).

### REFERENCE AND NOTE STYLE

Manuscripts and book reviews must follow the APSA Chicago Manual of Style or Style Manual of Political Science. These format and citation styles can be found in the journals of the American Political Science Association: *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *PS: Political Science & Politics*.

#### *Examples*

Journals: Author last, author first or initial. Date. "Article Title." Publication Volume (Number): Page-Page. Example: Budge, Ian. 1973. "Recent Legislative Research: Assumptions and Strategies." *European Journal of Political Research* 1 (4): 317- 330.

Books: Author last, author first or initial. Date. Title. Publication City: Publisher. Example: Green, Donald, and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

### GUIDELINES FOR CITING CHAPTERS AND WEBSITES

#### *Chapters*

Author last, author first or initial. Date. "Chapter Title." In Book Title, ed. Book Author First, Last. Publication City: Publisher. Example: Mezey, Michael L. 1991. "Studying Legislatures: Lessons for Comparing Russian Experience." In *Democratization in Russia: The Development of Legislative Institutions*, ed. W.H. Jeffrey. New York: M.E. Sharpe.

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## TABLE &amp; FIGURE STYLE GUIDELINES

Each table or figure must fit on a single page. Authors must submit tables and figures in appropriate format.

**Table 1:** Similarities Between Oklahoma and West Virginia

	Oklahoma	West Virginia
Legislature Size	101/24	100/34
Term Length	2/4	2/4
Majority Party	Republican	Republican
Professionalization Score	.229	.157
Advancement Prospect Score	.12	.14
Term Limits	Yes	No

## ORGANIZATIONAL/HEADINGS

Major Section Head (Bold Caps & Centered)

SUBSECTION HEAD (CAPS & LEFT: NO PERIOD)

Sub-sub Section Head (Title Caps, Left, & Italicized; No Period)

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Book reviews should be no longer than 1500 words. Reviews should be of books on topics relevant to the journal as delineated in the Submission Guidelines. Review style should follow that of the journal as a whole. Full bibliographic information should be included as the lead to the review.

Manuscripts (or ideas for manuscripts) should be emailed to: Erick Ananga, Editor, Oklahoma Political Science Association – East Central University, 1100 E. 14th St., Ada, OK 74820. Email: [eananga@ecok.ed](mailto:eananga@ecok.ed). Telephone: 580-559-5413

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### PAPERS AND BOOK REVIEWS

They must be submitted electronically, in either Microsoft Word 2003 (or later) format (.doc/.docx) or Rich Text Format (rts.). No other forms of submission will be accepted. Manuscripts of papers not in format compliance will be returned without review.



**THE GERRYMANDERING OF BLACK VOTERS  
IN OKLAHOMA**

BRITNEY HOPKINS  
LIZ LANE-HARVARD  
THOMAS MILLIGAN  
BRADLEY PAYNTER  
JOHN WOOD<sup>1</sup>

**ABSTRACT**

Redistricting has always been a contentious issue, reaching new heights over the past few decades as the U.S. political environment has become more polarized. Oklahoma largely functions as a single-party state with Republicans controlling all federal seats, all major statewide offices, and super-majorities of both houses of the state legislature. We explore the last three redistricting efforts to understand the nature of gerrymandering in the state. More specifically, we address the question, how common is it for a districting plan to have the vote totals and racial makeup of the implemented plan? This is achieved by comparing the implemented plan to what is called the “Ensemble of Alternative Plans.” This ensemble is generated using the mathematical technique of Markov Chains. We find that the implemented plan has an abnormal distribution of the Black Voting Age Population which supports a claim of intentional packing in the state’s metropolitan areas.

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<sup>1</sup> Authors are in alphabetical order by last name. John Wood is the corresponding author [jwood41@uco.edu](mailto:jwood41@uco.edu)

## INTRODUCTION

In this paper we explore the last three redistricting cycles to understand the nature of gerrymandering in the Oklahoma State Legislature as it relates to the Black Voting Age Population (BVAP). We decided to focus on BVAP in the OK State Legislature for this paper. With Oklahoma's strong Republican voting on a Federal level, and the fact that there are only five congressional districts, it is difficult to draw those districts to produce any outcome other than 100% Republican representation.<sup>2</sup> With 101 and 48 districts respectively, the OK House and Senate allow for much more diversity in districting and therefore much more room for manipulation. The focus on BVAP was initially made because, while census data does not include respondents' political affiliation, Black voters are a more polarized bloc than any other race group, voting 87-12 for Biden in 2020 (National "Exit Poll for Presidential Results" 2020.). Thus, gerrymandering Black voters can be used as a proxy for Democratic voters. Other minorities have strong voting preferences, but not nearly as strong (e.g., 65-13 for Hispanic and 61-34 for Asian voters in 2020). Our analysis was performed on several demographics and this hypothesis is supported in the data as the gerrymandering effect, while visible in other demographics, is most clear in BVAP.<sup>3</sup>

In the first section, we provide context by giving a brief overview of gerrymandering. This is followed by an analysis of monumental court cases that relate to redistricting and a summary of relevant information pertaining to Oklahoma.

In the second section we discuss the methodology used to address the question: how common is it for a districting plan to have the vote totals and racial makeup of the implemented plan? Utilizing

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2 This decision will be further justified in the Methodology Section.

3 Further discussed in the Findings Section

that methodology, we then present data for the House of Representatives and Senate, individually. However, findings within the Legislative Branch are consistent between the two, as will be further highlighted in the subsequent discussion and conclusion.

## CONTEXT

The term “gerrymander” originated in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century as a word-play on the name of Massachusetts Governor, Elbridge Gerry. In 1812, his administration enacted new legislation defining novel state senatorial districts that consolidated the power of the Federalists to very few districts, throwing the majority vote to Gerry’s party, Democratic-Republicans. This led to some oddly shaped districts. Most notably was that of Essex County, the subject of the *Boston Gazette’s* now famous salamander cartoon by Elkhana Tisdale, dubbed “Gerry-mander”(Martis 2008).

Since this time, gerrymandering in U.S. politics has referred to a practice of drawing boundaries for electoral districts that gives one party an unfair advantage over its political rivals, while maintaining districts with mostly equal populations. Gerrymandering is often most effective in that it creates wasted votes, which do not contribute to the election of a candidate. When redrawing geographic boundaries, the mapmaker will pack opposition voters into districts that the minority party should already win, therefore wasting votes, called “packing.” When the voters are spread through multiple districts to dilute their power, they are being “cracked,” therefore, giving the majority a bare majority, but a numerical victory in the legislative body (Parloff 2017).

In the U.S. Constitution’s Article I, Section 4, state legislatures hold the primary responsibility to determine the “times, places, and manner” of congressional elections. Fourteen states delegate this responsibility to redistricting commissions while another 33 states draw lines themselves.

In 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Gray v. Sanders* that population equality was of utmost importance. The majority opinion, written by Justice William O. Douglas, states that “The concept of political equality can mean only one thing—one person, one vote.” This is followed by the 1964 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Wesberry v. Sanders*, that populations of House districts must be equal “as nearly as practicable.” By the 1970 Census, state legislatures had to readjust legislative and Congressional boundaries every 10 years based on the census. “Any district with more or fewer people than the average (also known as the ‘ideal’ population), must be specifically justified by a consistent state policy” (Levitt 2020). Justifiable reasons include compactness, contiguity, preservation of political subdivisions, preservation of communities of interest, preservation of cores of prior districts, protection of incumbents, and compliance with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA)<sup>4</sup>. “Consistent policies that cause a one percent spread from largest to smallest district will likely be unconstitutional” (Levitt 2020).

## DETECTING GERRYMANDERING

Numerous variables come into play when creating district maps. While some are well-defined, such as contiguity and ideal population, others are subject for debate. The prioritization of these variables when determining an ideal district plan is also in flux.

Some groups focus more on the efficiency gap, which is simply the difference between the two parties’ wasted votes, divided by the total number of votes (Stephanopoulos and McGhee 2015); others consider how competitive the districts are. Often, the concept of “compactness” is also considered, but even that has multiple measures.

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4 According to US Dept. of Justice’s website, Section 2 of the VRA “prohibits voting practices or procedures that discriminate on the basis of race, color, or membership in one of the language minority groups identified in Section 4(f) (2) of the Act.” (US Department of Justice 2022).

Compactness, which lacks a clear legal definition, has become a means of identifying gerrymandering due to oddly shaped districts, like Gerry's salamander in Massachusetts. This is built upon the idea that if a district has a certain shape, it is less likely to have been gerrymandered. There are various notions of what shape is most ideal, yielding multiple measures of compactness. Some of these measures focus on a district's perimeter, while others compare the area of the district to the smallest circle containing that district (Barnes and Solomon 2020; Horn, Hampton, and Vandenberg 1993). Although the leading measures are simple to compute, they look at the district individually and not how they fit together. These measures often don't address unavoidable odd shapes due to natural boundaries.

## **PROBLEMS WITH GERRYMANDERING**

Kennedy, Corriher, and Root (2019) argue gerrymandering itself is not a "sign that a particular party is corrupt: it's a flaw in our system that both major parties attempt to exploit to some degree" (pg. 9). They highlight three problems with gerrymandering. First, there is a representational mismatch. Second, gerrymandering can suppress competition and ensure incumbents keep their seats. Third, there is often a policy outcome mismatch.

Mann (2005) found that gerrymandering gives incumbents an unfair advantage. "Redistricting is a deeply political process, with incumbents actively seeking to minimize the risk to themselves (via bipartisan gerrymanders) or to gain additional seats for their party (via partisan gerrymanders)." He goes further and says gerrymandering ends up costing candidates more and increases partisanship as the districts are designed to be more polarized, perpetuating gridlock. More seats become uncompetitive as fewer candidates run against incumbents. However, Mann does note that gerrymandering is sometimes defended as the only means of securing any representation for minority groups, i.e., political, ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic, or other groups. Rather than the minority group

having a reduced chance of winning multiple districts, they opt for assured representation in one, creating “majority-minority districts.” Gerrymandering, however, most often protects incumbents (Mann 2005, 4).

When redistricting is finalized, the Cook Political Report expects only around 30 to 35 competitive U.S. House seats, meaning that 94% of the US House districts are in relatively safe seats (Walters 2022). This also means the number of super-safe seats is rising as well. At the beginning of 2022, the Brennan Center for Justice found that the number of safe seats for both parties had increased (Li, Black, Miller, and Leaverton 2002). For example, the districts Donald Trump carried in 2020 by more than 15 points increased from 54 to 70, while the number of districts Biden carried by at least 15 points had increased from 20 to 23.

Daley (2016) is focused on a Republican plan called REDMAP or the “Redistricting Majority Project.” This plan was created in early 2010, at a point when the country’s electoral map was largely blue. As a result, Republicans gained nearly seven hundred state legislative seats in the 2010 election by investing millions of dollars in key state races, something not done before, which was the largest increase for either party in modern history. The wins were enough to flip twenty chambers from a Democratic to a Republican majority. This plan gave the G.O.P. control over both houses of the legislature in 25 states.

Today, according to Ballotpedia 23 states possess Republican trifectas where both legislative bodies and the governorship are in Republican control, while there are 14 states with Democratic trifectas, and 13 divided states. While Democrats were more likely to find “gerrymandering unethical and immoral,” which has led to a stronger push toward redistricting commissions (Prokop 2022), according to a recent study in *Vox*, Democrats also gerrymander where they can, but have control of fewer states.



For more than three decades the U.S. Supreme Court has largely punted on the topic of gerrymandering, because there is not an agreed upon working standard for gerrymandered districts. Furthermore, redistricting is basically a lawmaking affair constitutionally reserved to the states. Therefore, it is said that U.S. Supreme Court intervention should be focused on only the worst violations, not mere partisan disagreements. In the next section, we detail some of the major decisions regarding the redistricting process.

### **JUDICIAL HISTORY OF REDISTRICTING IN THE U.S.**

The Equal Protection Clause (EPC) of the 14th Amendment is the most common basis for judicial action in redistricting. In this section, we focus on judicial precedent and court cases that address gerrymandering in the redistricting process. Historically, we see three primary redistricting principles arising from the EPC that are addressed in these court cases, namely those involving equal population, partisanship, and race.

#### *Population*

While there are several Supreme Court cases that relate to the principle of equal population, four cases stand out in their importance and effect on the current redistricting process. In particular, the Supreme Court has found that the equal subdivision of the population in voting districts is important, eventually enshrining it as one of the specific “traditional redistricting principles” that must be adhered to in the redistricting process.

*Baker v. Carr* (1962) was the first Supreme Court case holding that the federal courts had a jurisdictional role in considering constitutional changes to state legislative redistricting plans. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964) that the populations of House districts must be equal “as nearly as practicable.” In *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), the Supreme Court ruled that state legislatures had to readjust state legislative boundaries every 10

years based on the census. Fourth, in *Karcher v. Daggett* (1983), the Supreme Court held that congressional districts must be equal in proportion mathematically, that is unless the state can justify another legitimate state objective. The court also pointed out that states must comply with “traditional redistricting principles,” i.e., preserving prior district cores, avoiding pitting incumbents against each other, compactness, and respecting municipal boundaries.

### *Partisanship in Redistricting*

As with population, there are several redistricting cases dealing with partisanship, but a discussion of four major precedents is enlightening. First, in *Gaffney v. Cummings* (1973), the Court found that a restricting plan is not unconstitutional when it is planned to provide “political fairness” between both political parties—Republican and Democrat. In *Davis v. Bandemer* (1986), the court held that claims of partisanship in gerrymandering can be brought up to federal courts through the EPC. This case established a standard to determine whether a district is gerrymandered, but this was later found to be inadequate and struck down in the third major precedent, *Vieth v. Jubelirer* (2004). In this case, the court found that those partisan claims of gerrymandering were nonjusticiable, meaning they were not about to move forward. However, Justice Anthony Kennedy pointed to the First Amendment, instead of *Bandemer’s* focus on the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment claims. In *Gill v. Whitford* (2018), Wisconsin’s 2011 redistricting plan was invalidated by a federal court as an obvious political gerrymander. Plaintiffs claimed the redistricting plan caused their votes to be “wasted.” However, it was unanimously sent back down to the appellate level, finding that the plaintiffs had not provided sufficient evidence that they had sufficient standing. Most recently, in *Rucho v. Common Cause* (2019), the Court’s 5-4 majority opinion vacated and remanded the lower courts’ decision to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction, stating that “partisan gerrymandering claims present questions beyond the reach of the federal courts.” (*Rucho v. Common Cause* 2019).

### *Race*

In 1965, Congress passed the VRA with the goal of ending racial discrimination in voting, with added amendments over the following decades meant to strengthen the act. VRA is pivotal in shaping how the Supreme Court addresses racial issues in the redistricting process. The following describes several key precedents to understand the evolution of the Supreme Court on decisions involving redistricting regarding race.

Section 2 of the VRA requires that electoral district lines cannot be drawn in order to “improperly dilute minorities’ voting power” (U.S. Department of Justice 2022). It states: “No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.” *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986) examined the standard for determining whether Section 2 of the VRA requires a majority-minority district be drawn. To follow the courts criteria, the justices demark three claims for a plaintiff to win: 1) the minority group must be “sufficiently numerous and compact to form a majority in a single-member district”; 2) the minority group is “politically cohesive,” or vote similarly, and 3) the majority group tends to vote “as a bloc,” which typically leads to the minority’s candidate’s loss.

In *Shaw v. Reno* (1993), the court ruled that both legislative and congressional districts can be struck down for violating the EPC if the reason for the district’s boundaries cannot be explained by anything but race. In addition, “bizarrely shaped” districts were determined to be strongly indicative of racial intent. Next, in *Miller v. Johnson* (1995), the court determined that a district is unconstitutional for violating the EPC and characterized as a racial gerrymander if race is found to be “predominant” as a factor in creating the district lines.

In 1990, following the decennial census, Texas received three

more Congressional districts and redistricted by drawing lines in such a manner as to create three minority-majority districts. In *Bush v. Vera* (1996), the court found that boundaries for these three districts had race as the predominant factor. The court found that districts created to satisfy the VRA cannot subordinate traditional redistricting principles more than necessary, thus warning against using race as a proxy for partisan affiliation. Furthermore, to survive scrutiny under the EPC, a state must make a racial gerrymander reasonably compact.

Section 5 of the VRA prohibited certain states and other political subdivisions, predominantly in the former segregated southern states, from making changes to voting laws or practices without prior federal approval. In *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013), the Supreme Courts struck down Section 5 of the VRA, meaning that redistricting plans and other legislative changes in voting laws no longer required preclearance by either the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia or the U.S. Attorney General for those affected states. Following this, in *Alabama Legislative Black Caucus v. Alabama* (2015), the court held that when a racial gerrymander is challenged, they proceed only district-by-district, and not the entire plan. Also, the EPC requiring equal population moved from a mere “factor to be considered” to a mandate. This case also struck down the Section 5 VRA requirement for a district to keep a specific minority percentage threshold to redistrict. Finally, in *Cooper v. Harris* (2017), the Court held that partisanship itself cannot be used to justify a racial gerrymander. The case builds on *Gingles* as it also finds that section 2 of the VRA, which requires racial minorities to have the opportunity to elect their “candidate of choice,” but without guaranteeing a specific percentage threshold of minorities in a specific district.

## OKLAHOMA

Following the 1964 U.S. District court decision to redraw several of Oklahoma’s House and Senate districts in *Reynolds v. State*

*Election Board* (1964), the State Constitution, Article 5, Section 9A, was amended so that apportioning for the State Senate must provide consideration to the following: population, compactness, area, contiguous territory, preservation of political subdivisions, historical precedents, and other major factors to the extent feasible.<sup>5</sup> Oddly enough, the state constitution does not mention principles for House apportionment. As a result, the State House typically adheres to the same principles as the State Senate. Recent Oklahoma redistricting plans have required that House and Senate district populations deviate no more than 10% from the ideal population, while congressional districts must adhere to the much stricter requirement that districts may not deviate by more than 1%.

Oklahoma has 149 state legislative districts on both the State House and Senate level, and a federal delegation made up of five seats in the U.S. House (Redistricting in Oklahoma 2021). Each State House district contains roughly 39,000 Oklahomans and each state senator represents approximately 82,000 constituents (U.S. Census Bureau 2021c, hereafter USCB).

In 2018, all of Oklahoma's congressional districts favored the Republican Party. No district was viewed as competitive. The efficiency gap also favored the Republican Party by 14% (Bycoffe et al. 2018). Despite this, Democrat Kendra Horn occupied the 5th Congressional seat from 2019-2021. According to analysis by FiveThirtyEight, this gives the new 5th district a 24-pt lean toward Republicans (What Redistricting Looks Like in Every State: Oklahoma, 2022). Dave's Redistricting (2022) finds that, had the new redistricting plan been in place during the 2020 election, Trump would have won the district by 19 points instead of the actual margin of five points under the 2011 map.

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5 What is interesting here is that the US Supreme Court decision in *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), delivered three weeks after this district court decision, would seem to imply that most of this Section is unconstitutional.

Oklahoma’s state legislative districts are likely less competitive under the maps signed into law in 2021 (Oklahoma: The Sooner State 2022). Voter data, according to Dave’s Redistricting (2022) affirms that the state’s districts still remain largely uncompetitive. Of the state’s 48 Senate Districts, 40 now lean Republican while only four lean Democrat. That leaves only four districts that remain in the 45–55% competitive range. They also found that 78 of the 101 State House Districts now lean Republican, only nine lean Democrat, and 14 fall in the 45–55% competitive range. This is one fewer competitive district than the map created 10 years before.

While the courts will not consider cases that involve partisan gerrymandering, they will consider cases that involve race. The voting age population in the state of Oklahoma over the last three redistricting cycles is broken down in the table below.

**Table 1: Oklahoma Voting Age Populations by census year**

	2000	2010	2020
<b>Voting Age Population (VAP)</b>	2,558,294	2,821,685	3,010,698
<b>Black Voting Age Population (BVAP)</b>	185,104	216,073	258,909
<b>White Only Voting Age Population (WOVAP)</b>	1,979,637	2,055,504	1,963,854
<b>Minority Voting Age Population (MVAP)</b>	578,657	766,181	1,046,844

It should also be noted that there are five U.S. Congressional Districts in Oklahoma. Based on the 2020 Census data, each congressional district should contain approximately 602,140 voting-age people. BVAP is only 258,909, primarily split between the Tulsa and Oklahoma City metropolitan regions. Hence, the analysis does not include the U.S. Congressional Districts.<sup>6</sup>

6 While some contend that record voter turnout was temporary in 2020,



## METHODOLOGY

In this section we describe our methodology of analyzing the census data for the previous three election cycles as they relate to the concentration of Black Voting Age Population (BVAP) in the state of Oklahoma. We consider redistricting plans for both chambers of the state legislature. In order to accomplish this, we rely and build on work done by the Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group (MGGG).

The MGGG, a nonpartisan research organization studying applications of geometry and computing to U.S. redistricting, has done extensive work in the area of gerrymandering. This can most clearly be seen in their report produced for the federal court case addressing inequality in the districting map for the Virginia House of Delegates (MGGG 2018b). In this report, they measure inequality by comparing the given districting plan (partition)<sup>7</sup> to what they call an ‘Ensemble of Valid Alternative Plans.’ Utilizing this approach, we look at a representative sample of all possible partitions that could be constructed according to the rules and traditions used in Oklahoma and answer the question, how common is it for a partition to have the vote totals and racial make-up of the implemented plan? This approach can then support or refute a claim that the partition in question was chosen, not because of the necessity of following rules and traditions, but to bias a particular party or racial group. For example, (MGGG 2018b) showed that the percentage of Black, voting age population in the enacted par-

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scholars actually find that voter interest appeared to be more important in influencing voter turnout, therefore, neutralizing the electoral impact of Democrats’ voting by mail at higher rates during the historic pandemic (Yoder et al. 2021).

7 As the remainder of the paper focuses on the mathematical approach and interpretation, we will transition at this point to using partition in place of districting plan.

tion was significantly outside of the expected distribution, which implied that the enacted plan had been deliberately chosen to suppress black representation through packing.

MGGG produces their ensemble using a Markov Chain process. A Markov Chain (Diaconis 2009) is a sequence of partitions, each of which has been produced by making a small random change (a proposal) to the previous partition. While these changes are random, they are selected only from changes which produce valid partitions (partitions which meet the required rules and traditions of districting). While these changes are small, the chain is made long enough so that those small changes can add up to vastly different partitions. Once the chain is long enough, the members of the chain can be considered a representative sample of all possible partitions. The process used in GerryChain (the ReCom operator) has been shown to give representative results after a few thousand steps (DeFord, Duchin, and Solomon 2021).

The UCO Gerrymandering Research Group has continued to utilize and build on the resources provided by MGGG. MGGG is committed to helping others do their own analysis of districting fairness in their own areas. To support this commitment, they have taken a large amount of the data and computer code they have produced and made it available for public use. This includes the following:

- GerryChain: This is code written by MGGG which will produce an ensemble of plans to compare against using a Markov Chain (MGGG 2018a). This software has been specifically designed to be modular, which enables one to customize the metrics used to decide whether or not a partition is valid. One can also choose different proposals to start with, changing how partitions are modified to produce the next link in the chain. For the scope of this paper, we start with the enacted proposal (the given districting plan).
- MAUP: This is a set of tools that can be used to prepare geographical data for use in the GerryChain software (MGGG

2018c). For example, this includes tools for merging US Census data with state election data.

These resources have allowed us to analyze the 2001, 2011, and 2022 districting plans for the Oklahoma Legislature, while specifically looking at the racial makeup of districts.

## FINDINGS

The datasets used for this analysis were created in the following manner with an identical process followed for 2000, 2010, and 2020. First, the P.L. 94-171 Redistricting Data for the decade was obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau (2021b). This dataset contains a block-by-block description of the Oklahoma population by race and by voting-age status. In this dataset, we created a total, by block, of all voting-age residents who selected “Black or African American” as their race whether alone or alongside other race/ethnicity groups. This total was designated BVAP. The dataset was then joined to the USCB TIGER/Lines Shapefile by block (USCB 2021a). Finally, the blocks were assigned to their enacted OK Legislative districts (Oklahoma State Legislature 2021) using the MAUP package from MGGG.

The resulting datasets were then analyzed using the GerryChain package from MGGG using the following settings:

- Initial state: 2001, 2011, 2022 districting plans
- Proposal: ReCom operator
- Validity Metrics:
  - Compactness (measured by cut edges): no worse than the initial partition
  - Population: No district more than 2.5% away from ideal population<sup>8</sup>
- Total steps: 50,000

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<sup>8</sup> The enacted partition for 2022 deviates as much as 2.5% from the ideal population so this was used as the baseline for the ensemble.

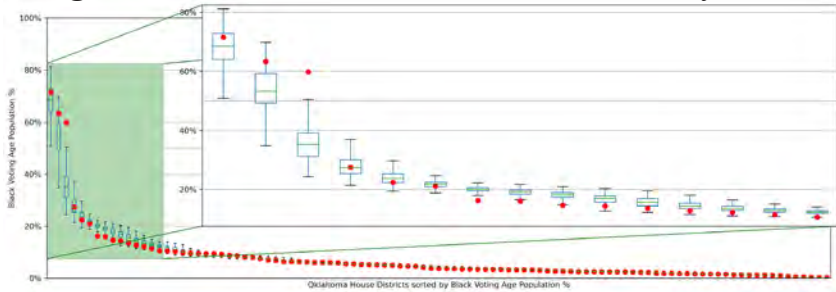
Note that in the Proposal step, the ReCom operator forms a new partition by choosing a random pair of neighboring districts in the current step of the chain, merges them, then randomly splits them using spanning trees. Furthermore, the compactness measure ensures that each possible partition was just as compact as the implemented partition (districting plan).

After the creation of the ensemble, we begin our analysis with the distribution of BVAP in Oklahoma. For each partition of the ensemble, BVAP of its constituent districts is calculated. Within this partition, districts are sorted in descending order of BVAP. Across the entire ensemble, we compare districts with the same ordering. That is, the district with the largest BVAP in each partition is listed first, the district with the second largest BVAP is listed second, etc. For our analysis, it should be noted that while we order the districts from highest BVAP to lowest, the enacted districts in the corresponding position on each figure may not represent the same district.

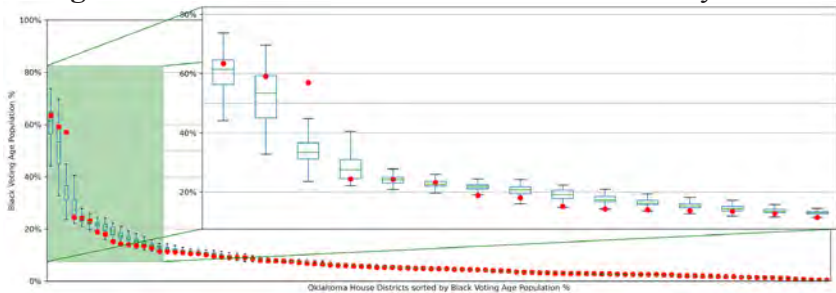
## OKLAHOMA HOUSE ANALYSIS

In Figures 1-3, the vertical axis measures the percentage of Black, voting-age residents in each district and the horizontal axis shows the Oklahoma House districts in terms of BVAP. All 101 House districts are included in these images. We zoom in on the largest 15 districts in terms of BVAP in order to highlight the most interesting portion of data. The box plots represent how Black voters would be distributed under the 50,000 possible partitions in the ensemble. Due to the nature of the physical distribution of Black voters in the state (concentrated in the OKC and Tulsa metro areas) it is natural that some districts have a larger number of Black voters than others, no matter how you divide them. This can be clearly seen in the box plots. The red circles, on the other hand, represent the percentage of Black, voting-age residents for the actual districts currently in use.

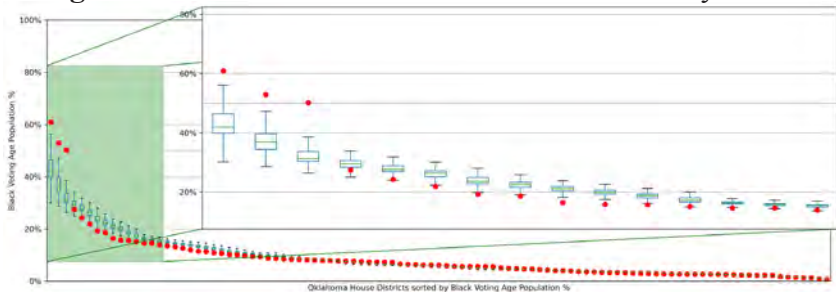
**Figure 1: 2001 Oklahoma House Districts Sorted by BVAP**



**Figure 2: 2011 Oklahoma House Districts Sorted by BVAP**



**Figure 3: 2022 Oklahoma House Districts Sorted by BVAP**



Notice that for the three districts with the largest BVAP (far left of Figures 1-3) the actual districting plan has a BVAP far above the distribution found in the ensemble. The next four districts (from the left) have an actual BVAP that is at the very bottom of the ensemble distribution. The fact that the enacted districts are so far outside of the norm for the ensemble implies that it is unlikely

that the distribution of BVAP in the current state House districts is accidental. This is an example of packing. There is also evidence of gerrymandering in other demographics as well, though much weaker than that seen here in BVAP.<sup>9</sup>

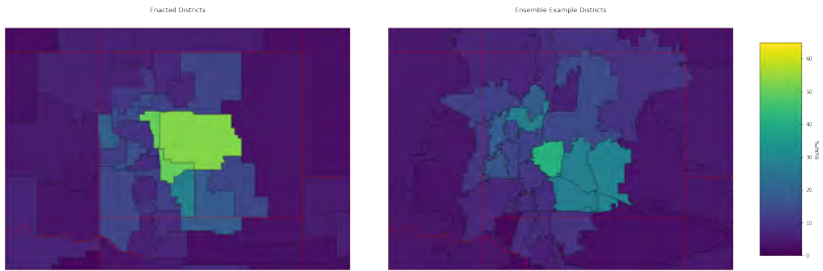
When comparing the 2022 data with the 2011 and 2001 data, we see that the percentage of Black voters statewide is less geographically concentrated. This can be seen primarily through the three leftmost boxes being lower in Figure 3 than Figures 1 and 2. This is also visible in the enacted plans, as the red dots are lower. However, in 2022, the enacted districts with the highest and second highest BVAP were further outside the norm for the ensemble than they were in 2001 and 2011. That is, the amount of packing within those districts is increasing. The district with the third highest BVAP is notably outside the norm of the ensemble in all three plans and has stayed fairly consistent over time. The impact of the packing is seen on the districts that are seventh through eleventh in BVAP. They are lower than the ensemble norm. This has stayed consistent since 2001.

In addition to the box plot figures, we show a comparison between House districting maps from the Oklahoma City metro, with county lines included. The maps (Figure 4) show BVAP of districts in the Oklahoma City metro from the enacted plan and an example plan from the ensemble. The images are color coded, from dark purple, representing districts with no BVAP, to yellow, representing districts with a very high BVAP.<sup>10</sup>

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9 Plots for other demographics can be viewed at <https://opresearch.uco.edu/gerry>

10 Shading is consistent for maps of the same chamber for the same year.



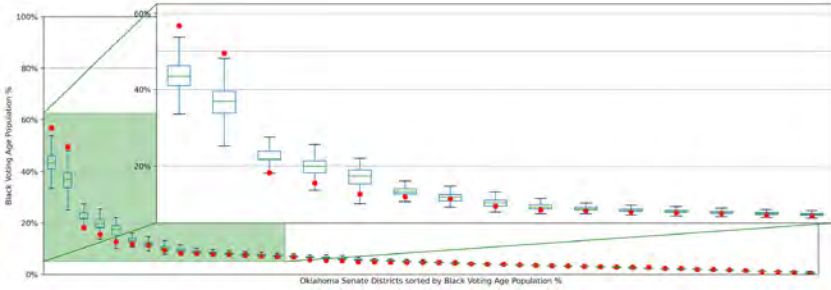
**Figure 4:** A comparison of the 2022 House districts for OKC metro area in the enacted plan and an example from the ensemble shaded by BVAP

Note that the enacted plan has two districts with very high BVAP (bright green), but the rest of the districts have very low BVAP (purple). On the other hand, the example plan has only one district with high BVAP (green) and many districts with medium BVAP (turquoise). Although the boundary edges in the example plan appear to be more jagged, the compactness of each district is no worse than the compactness of the enacted plan with respect to the cut-edges metric. Furthermore, while the example districting plan appears to create more competitive districts, this isn't always ideal. More analysis must be done to determine the threshold for ensuring representation within a more competitive district. This leads to the question: is it better to be guaranteed two representatives or have the possibility of zero to six representatives?

## OKLAHOMA SENATE ANALYSIS

We repeat the same analysis for the Oklahoma Senate as we did for the House. Figures 5-7 are set up in the same way as Figures 1-3.

**Figure 5:** 2001 Oklahoma Senate Districts Sorted by BVAP



**Figure 6:** 2011 Oklahoma Senate Districts Sorted by BVAP



**Figure 7:** 2022 Oklahoma Senate Districts Sorted by BVAP



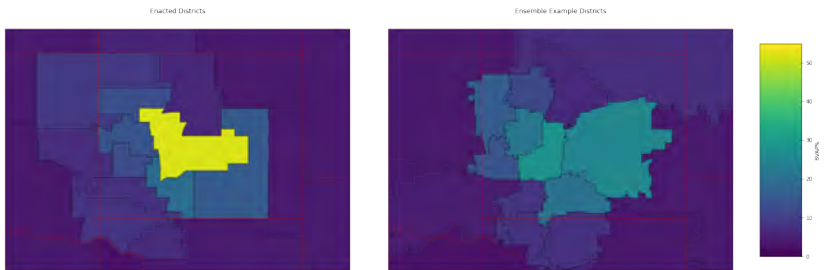
Notice that for the two districts with the largest BVAP (far left of Figures 5-7) the actual districting plan has a BVAP far above the distribution found in the ensemble. The next four districts (from the left) have an actual BVAP that is at the very bottom of the ensemble distribution. As was the case with the House districts, the



fact that the enacted districts are so far outside of the norm for the ensemble implies that it is unlikely that the distribution of BVAP in the current state Senate districts is accidental. Once again, this presents a case for packing.

Along the same lines as the House data, we see BVAP concentration decreasing over time. In 2011 and 2022, the district with the highest BVAP was further outside the norm for the ensemble than it was in 2001. In 2022, the district with the second highest BVAP was more outside the norm for the ensemble than it was in 2001 and 2011. That is, the amount of packing in that district is increasing.

Similarly, we show a comparison between Senate districting maps from the Oklahoma City metro, with county lines included in red. The maps (Figure 8) show BVAP of districts in the Oklahoma City metro from the enacted plan and an example plan from the ensemble. The images are color coded, from dark purple, representing districts with no BVAP, to yellow, representing districts with a very high BVAP.



**Figure 8:** A comparison of the 2022 OKC metro area Senate districts for the enacted plan and an example from the ensemble shaded by BVAP

The bright green district in the enacted plan corresponds to the left-most district in Figure 7. Whereas the example plan presents a districting plan that is closer to the norm for each district. Hence,

we see more turquoise districts. Like in Figure 4, the example plan in Figure 8 appears to have more jagged edges, but once again, the compactness of each district is no worse than the compactness of the enacted plan. This, once again begs the question: is it better to be guaranteed one representative or have the possibility of zero to four representatives?

## DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

In all cases, when analyzing BVAP of districting plans for the Oklahoma State Legislature from 2001-2022, there is strong evidence of packing. Furthermore, these results are very similar to those seen in the MGGG analysis of districting in Virginia, which led to a legal battle over the validity of that plan. However, some instances of packing can lead to more guaranteed Black representation in a limited number of districts, at the expense of more competitive districts. The tradeoff for ensuring more competitive districts is that “wasted” votes in the packed districts be moved elsewhere, potentially threatening the guaranteed win. This may be justifiable under the criteria set forth by *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986).

As Figures 1-6 indicate, BVAP has become less geographically concentrated over time. Census data shows that BVAP has increased from 7.24% of the population in 2000 to 8.6% in 2020. If legislative seats were based on racial proportionality, there would have been 7 Black representatives elected in 2001 while there would have been 9 in 2022. However, there were only 3 in 2001 and 8 in 2022. Similarly, there would have been 3 Black senators in 2001 and 4 in 2022. However, there were 2 in 2001 and 3 in 2022. Griffin (2014) notes that policy outcomes are influenced as a state becomes more diverse. Minority legislators often advocate for issues important to their respective communities. In addition, legislatures as a whole are more likely to consider these issues as the number of minority lawmakers increases.

While gerrymandering seems apparent in Oklahoma's 2022 implemented redistricting plan, the case will be hard to fight in court. On its face, the *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) ruling undermined the ability of the U.S. Justice Department to challenge redistricting plans under charges of racial gerrymandering. Furthermore, *Cooper v. Harris* (2017) supports a challenge based on racial gerrymandering, but *Rucho v. Common Cause* (2019) shows partisan gerrymandering can be used as a substitute for racial gerrymandering.

The Brennan Center for Justice (2022) found that as of early May 2022, 70 cases have been filed challenging redistricting processes in 24 states as racial gerrymanders. State courts have ordered the redrawing of legislative maps in six states - Alaska, Kansas, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, and Ohio. In each of these states, supreme courts found that their legislative redistricting process violated their respective state constitutions. A subset of these were in violation due to racial discrimination.

In conclusion, we find mathematical evidence that the distribution of BVAP in the Oklahoma State Legislature's districts has been manipulated away from the expected mean. This presents a case of packing in the state's metropolitan areas.

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**EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS  
DURING COVID-19:  
ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN  
OKLAHOMA'S PUBLIC SECTOR**

NATALIE NELL

**ABSTRACT**

Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs) offer support services to help workers address personal and work-related problems. EAPs are most known for handling mental health and substance abuse issues, which have increased over the past several years, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Research shows that although personal well-being is directly correlated with employee productivity, EAP utilization is severely low. The following paper explores EAPs during the COVID-19 pandemic in Oklahoma from organizational experiences in municipal, healthcare, and academic settings. This paper also compares EAP literature from before and after the pandemic, employee reasons for using an EAP, employee demographics, costs, issues, alternatives, solutions, and recommendations.

## INTRODUCTION

The Employee Assistance Professionals Association (2011) defines an Employee Assistance Program (EAP) as a “workplace program designed to assist: (1) work organizations in addressing productivity issues, and (2) ‘employee clients’ in identifying and resolving personal concerns, including health, marital, family, financial, alcohol, drug, legal, emotional, stress, or other personal issues that may affect job performance.” EAPs are an employee benefit that offer “free and confidential assessments, short-term counseling, referrals, and follow-up services” (U.S. Office of Personnel Management n.d.). Overall, EAPs help workers maintain a healthy work-life balance. Local, state and federal government, corporations, academic and healthcare institutions represent some of the various employers that provide an EAP. According to an employee benefits survey by the Society for Human Resource Management (2019), 79% of employers offer an EAP. Yet, numerous studies have shown that utilization rates average at 4.5% (Sharar 2019). Low usage has stemmed from lack of awareness and promotion, confidentiality issues, and the stigma surrounding mental health (Mental Health America n.d.a).

EAPs are a preventive tool and a remedy. Workers should be aware of such a valuable resource, especially in times of crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed how unprepared the world was. Life was completely disrupted under extreme living and working conditions, and mental health was severely threatened. Issues such as infection, losing friends and family members, healthcare, unemployment, education, isolation, financial loss, and food insecurity led to new or worsening symptoms of fear, stress, anxiety, loneliness, depression, and grief. Three months into the pandemic, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020) conducted a survey of 5,470 U.S. adults regarding mental health and substance abuse. 31% reported symptoms of anxiety or depression,

26% reported trauma- and stressor-related disorder symptoms related to COVID-19, 13% had started or increased substance use to cope with emotions related to COVID-19, and 11% had seriously considered suicide in the past 30 days.

Between October and December 2020, the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (2021) also collected data regarding these same issues. It found that since the pandemic began, 25.9 million people drank alcohol “a little more or much more,” 10.9 million people used drugs “a little more or much more,” and among adults who received mental health services that year, 4.9 million people were unable to access needed care (6). In addition, as employees shifted to working from home, they began working under the influence. Sierra Tucson (n.d.b), a premier addiction treatment center in Tucson, Arizona, conducted a survey in late 2021 of 1,011 U.S. employees. One in five employees reported using alcohol, marijuana, or other recreational drugs while working remotely, and 22% reported they had participated in a virtual work call while under the influence of those same substances. Although the most common reason for using substances was for enjoyment, it was followed by stress, anxiety, depression, and loneliness (Sierra Tucson, n.d.a).

Mental health and substance abuse issues affect employee cognition, behavior, and performance. Thus, lacking a fit, attentive, and committed workforce will diminish organizational success. Mind Share Partners (2021), a national nonprofit organization dedicated to improving workplace mental health, conducted a survey of 1,500 full-time U.S. employees between May and June 2021. 50% of respondents reported they had left previous roles due to mental health reasons, an increase from 34% in 2019. The top three workplace factors that negatively impacted their mental health were emotionally draining work, challenges with work-life balance, and lack of recognition. Respondents also reported they missed an average of eight days a year due to mental health reasons, an increase from 4.3 days in 2019. Respondents were only performing

at 72% of their full potential in the past year and only 50% knew the proper procedure to get support for mental health at work.

It is clear there is a direct correlation between personal well-being and employee productivity. Employees are the heart of any organization. If they are not properly taken care of, especially during a crisis, the organization will likely decline. EAPs help workers address issues that interfere with their work performance. Features such as counseling and referrals guide employees to the appropriate care. EAPs also benefit employers by improving productivity and reducing absenteeism, impairment, accidents, injuries, deaths, health insurance costs, workers' compensation claims, and employee turnover. According to the American Psychiatric Association, employees with depression alone are 35% less productive, which causes the U.S. economy to lose \$210.5 billion every year in absenteeism, reduced productivity, and medical costs (McLean Hospital 2020). When workers are in a healthy state of mind, job satisfaction and loyalty are likely to increase. With no satisfaction and loyalty, there is "no trust, innovation, [or] dedication" (Berman et al. 2022, 115). EAPs can make all the difference for improving employee morale, and "nothing can transform a workplace more than energetic employees" (Berman et al. 2022, 115).

Government, healthcare, and education serve an essential purpose in society. Employees who work in these fields understand their value and responsibility to current and future generations. Their happiness and health affects their service to their communities. So, they should be aware of resources that will help them stay in solid shape. To better understand how to improve and leverage EAPs in the public sector, this research explores the experiences of three organizations in Oklahoma during the pandemic: (1) the City of Oklahoma City, (2) the University of Oklahoma healthcare system, and (3) the University of Central Oklahoma. This paper also compares EAP literature from before and after the pandemic, employee reasons for using an EAP, employee demographics, costs, issues, alternatives, solutions, and recommendations.

## BACKGROUND

First, it is important to examine how EAPs are delivered in order to understand the advantages and disadvantages that employers must consider when choosing the best option. The most common EAP format is an external EAP, where the employer contracts with a provider that serves employees outside the workplace. This separation from colleagues and the work environment helps employees feel there is stronger confidentiality and reduced bias when receiving therapy (Marschall 2022). External EAPs also allow employees to choose their own counselor and services extend to family members more easily (Marschall 2022). However, many providers have limited availability and do not accept EAP plans (Marschall 2022).

An internal EAP has staff employed by the organization and employees are served at the workplace. EAPs originally operated with this model, but overtime, outsourcing became the preferred method. Internal EAPs provide “more customized services, rapid responses and insights into the organizational culture” (Pompe et al. n.d.). Having deep knowledge of the organization allows staff to better understand and relate to employees (Marschall 2022). However, employees may feel uncomfortable working with someone who knows all their problems and may not want to be seen at work receiving therapy. Also, internal EAPs may exclude family members and are more expensive (Marschall 2022).

The Workplace Outcome Suite (WOS) Report is “an annual study of data contributed by multiple employee assistance providers worldwide and over 24,000 employee cases, produced in partnership with the International Employee Assistance Professionals Association” (LifeWorks n.d.). The 2020 report is based on a 10-year study from 2010 to 2019 that was authored by Mark Attridge, president of Attridge Consulting, Inc. and international consultant

and speaker on workplace mental health and EAPs. The report surveyed 35,693 employees before and after EAP counseling and measured five WOS outcomes: Work Presenteeism, Work Absenteeism, Workplace Distress, Work Engagement, and Life Satisfaction (Attridge 2020). Of all 35,693 employees, 72% were from the U.S., 22% were from China, 3% were from New Zealand, and the remaining 3% were spread across 23 other countries (Attridge 2020). 70% of all counseling cases were from an external EAP, 17% were from a hybrid model and 13% were from an internal EAP (Attridge 2020).

Of 14,843 cases, the largest age group was 30-39 years old and the second largest group was under 30 years old (Attridge 2020). Of 14,262 cases, 68% were women and 32% were men (Attridge 2020). Of 11,122 cases, 44% were for mental health stress, 30% were for marriage and family, 16% were for work and work stress, 6% were for other personal issues, and 4% were for alcohol and drug abuse (Attridge 2020). All 35,693 employees who reported problems among the five WOS outcomes before EAP counseling showed great improvement after several months of counseling. Problems within each outcome had been reduced: work presenteeism (56% to 28%), life satisfaction (37% to 16%), work engagement (32% to 23%), work absenteeism (29% to 13%), and workplace distress (22% to 13%) (Attridge 2020).

Pricing for comprehensive EAP services for small, medium, and large-sized employers were also detailed in the WOS report. A small employer was defined as having 75 employees, a medium employer was defined as having 400 employees, and a large employer was defined as having 1,000 employees (Attridge 2020). For small employers, it costs \$25 per employee per year (PEPY) to invest into an EAP, \$20 PEPY for medium employers, and \$15 PEPY for large employers (Attridge 2020). The return on investment ratio for small employers is \$3.25:1, \$5.07:1 for medium employers, and \$9.33:1 for large employers (Attridge 2020). Lastly, the study confirmed the annual utilization rate for counseling

alone for each employer size was just 5% (Attridge 2020). This supports the average 4.5% utilization rate mentioned earlier.

Note the WOS report described EAPs *before* the COVID-19 pandemic, so it is necessary to review the latest EAP research since the pandemic began. A 2021 EAP industry trends study, also authored by Attridge (2021), sampled 351 respondents representing EAP programs, clinicians, and employer purchasers. The study found that EAP utilization had increased from 7.6% in 2019 to 9.7% during 2020 and 2021. 76% of respondents agreed that “employers now have a greater appreciation of their EAP than before the pandemic” (14). 72% also agreed that virtual counseling is just as effective face-to-face. However, personal preference may be an influential factor when determining the effectiveness of a certain format. The study concluded that machine-only technology tools are a “good fit for risk screening...and for use in combination with live counselors” (40).

### COVID-19 EAP CASE STUDIES

Couser, Nation, and Hyde published a study in the *Journal of Workplace Behavioral Health* about the Mayo Clinic’s EAP experience during the pandemic. The Mayo Clinic is a nonprofit organization centered on healthcare, education, and research. Their Rochester, Minnesota location was the focus of the study and is one of four major campuses in the U.S. This location has over 39,000 employees and delivers their EAP internally. Before the pandemic was declared on March 11, 2020, the top three reasons for counseling visits were for relationship issues, mental health, and work problems (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). In the early stages of the pandemic, their EAP experienced *less* utilization; the number of new clients had declined 35% compared to the number of new clients during the same period in 2019 (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). Less utilization may have been due to the assumption that since services were delivered on-site, they were not available anymore because employees transitioned to working

from home (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). Counseling sessions were actually available by phone and later included virtual meetings (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020).

The top three reasons for visits between March 11, 2020 and June 2020 were roughly the same: mental health, finances, and relationships; fears about future work; and health, which were all related to COVID-19 (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). 18% of new clients had cases classified as “severe” (the highest rating), compared to 4.9% during the same period in 2019 (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). The EAP also developed specialized services for both managers and employees in their response to the pandemic. A few services included: an updated supervisor tool-kit, an “EAP Manager Minute” video, articles about leadership issues, a video on how to cope with COVID-19, an employee Facebook group with EAP posts, and a monthly newsletter (Couser, Nation, and Hyde 2020). The Mayo Clinic Rochester EAP during early COVID-19 demonstrates that the severity of cases had increased over three times as much, yet EAP utilization decreased significantly compared to the year before. Healthcare workers most likely did not have time to utilize or be informed of such a resource since they were extremely overwhelmed with handling the crisis. Perhaps there could have been better EAP communication methods.

However, another healthcare environment proved to have better success with their EAP. Hughes and Fairley published another study in the same journal about the Mount Sinai Health System (MSHS) EAP experience. MSHS has eight hospitals in the New York City metropolitan area with about 42,000 employees. The MSHS internal EAP was observed between March and April 2020 and consisted of a director, four employee assistance counselors, an administrative assistant, and three social work graduate students (Hughes and Fairley 2020). The EAP team had developed “innovative, aggressive engagement strategies” and targeted “clusters” of employees throughout the hospital that appeared to be in emotional distress (Hughes and Fairley 2020, 185). Emer-



gency rooms and intensive care units were the areas most targeted, and if an employee had died, their work group was immediately approached by the team (Hughes and Fairley 2020). Employees identified with having pre-existing mental health conditions were also approached first, as they were more vulnerable to having worse effects from the pandemic (Hughes and Fairley 2020).

After being approached, employees were asked about concerns of fellow coworkers and responses would “snowball” from there, forming a “cluster-ball” strategy (Hughes and Fairley 2020, 186). Then, workers were offered the usual services which were now delivered by phone or virtually (Hughes and Fairley 2020). In early April one EAP counselor was tasked with engaging the Emergency Medical Technicians (EMTs), after concerns were expressed for their well-being (Hughes and Fairley 2020). The counselor established a text-messaging initiative, in which he sent out daily self-care messages to the EMTs, which were “well-received” (Hughes and Fairley 2020, 187). Unlike the Mayo Clinic case, MSHS EAP utilization *increased* from 1,082 total contacts in 2019 to 2,351 during the COVID-19 surge (Hughes and Fairley 2020). Overall, the MSHS EAP deployed successful, strategic practices in helping healthcare workers during a dark time. The EAP team had maintained “high standards of confidentiality” and their cluster-ball approach was “effective and well-received” (Hughes and Fairley 2020, 186).

## METHODS

This paper obtained research from numerous sources regarding EAPs and workplace mental health. The two case studies mentioned above were found in academic journals via online scholarly databases. Personal interviews with human resources professionals were conducted in order to fully understand the EAP experience during the COVID-19 pandemic in Oklahoma in municipal, healthcare, and academic settings. The following people were personally interviewed: Lolly Landgraf, Benefits Coordinator at the

City of Oklahoma City; Rachel Ura-neck, Senior Benefits and Retirement Specialist at OU Health; and Mary Deter-Billings, Director of Employee Relations and Communications at the University of Central Oklahoma.

The following section includes the terms “clinical” and “work-life.” Clinical refers to EAP counseling cases that are in face-to-face, telephone, video, and online formats. Work-life refers to the EAP service that connects employees with specialists who research information for their everyday needs when they do not have the time to do so. This can include finding childcare, home repair estimates, travel planning, etc. ]

## FINDINGS

### *City of Oklahoma City*

The City of Oklahoma City has about 4,800 employees which includes municipal workers and first responders. The city has been with their current EAP provider since July 2018 and has a “wonderful” relationship with them, according to Lolly Landgraf. It costs \$2.15 per employee per month to invest into the EAP and employees have six free counseling sessions per issue per year. In 2019 there were a total of 326 clinical and work-life cases, and the total clinical/work-life utilization rate was 6.95%. In 2020 those total cases increased to 568 and the utilization rate increased to 11.99%. In 2021 total cases increased to 705 and the utilization rate increased to 14.98%. The first quarter of 2022 had a total of 172 cases and has a current 14.83% utilization rate. Throughout all four years, the top three issue categories and percentage of cases within each category were remarkably consistent. Each year, the categories remained in the same order: “emotional/psychological,” “relationships,” and “legal.” The percentage of cases within emotional/psychological ranged between 60% and 65%, relationships ranged between 12% and 17%, and legal ranged between 7% and 9%. Each year about 70% of all clients were city employees and the rest were mostly family members.

Landgraf says a lot of EAP inquiries come from police officers and that the city is working on building a separate plan just for them. A plan tailored for police officers would allow them to access specially trained trauma counselors more easily and quickly. Landgraf believes this approach would better serve their specific needs. “Those who come upon a critical incident, they’re going to take that home with them. All the stress, all the anxiety, what they’ve just seen... [it’s a] traumatic experience,” she explains. “If we don’t treat them out of the starting gates, it can create a significant mental illness down the road.” According to the National Alliance on Mental Illness (n.d.), one in four police officers have thoughts of suicide at some point in their life, and more police officers die by suicide than in the line of duty. So far in 2022, 51 police officers have died by suicide in the U.S. (Blue H.E.L.P. n.d.). Thus, EAP awareness is critical for suicide prevention. The city’s EAP is promoted at the new hire orientation every other Friday, on the city’s benefits webpage, in all common areas, and to retiring employees. Landgraf also counsels retirees as they are leaving the workforce. Because they have become so accustomed to routine and structure, she finds “they might have [a] challenge with transitioning into retirement.” Because of this, retirees are allowed to access EAP services six months into retirement.

Overall, the city has had no issues with their EAP. However, Landgraf pointed out a general EAP issue. If a client is being treated for one issue and then the counselor identifies a secondary issue, there is no guarantee that the same counselor will treat the client for that new issue; it is “very rare.” Clients would have to go back into the call-in system and find a new counselor for that new issue. An EAP is not suited for long-term counseling but this can be problematic if clients have already established relationships with their counselors. Landgraf thinks this can be more troubling for police officers who have trust issues. “They live in the police-brutality world,” she says. “They’re already on edge about wanting to disclose anything.” The stigma of mental health also discourages individuals from opening up about their problems. Landgraf be-

believes transparent communication is key to finding help and improving overall mental health. “It’s very good for us to go and release whatever information we have to let go of, and it’s nice to be able to do that to somebody who really isn’t there to judge us,” she says. “The more [we] talk about it, the more we show awareness.”

### *OU Health*

The University of Oklahoma (OU) healthcare system has over 7,000 employees with locations in the Oklahoma City and Tulsa metropolitan area. As of January 2022, they switched to a new EAP provider after going through two providers in the previous five years. Rachel Ura-neck says OU Health was not using the full capacity of what an EAP can provide and wanted a program that offered a full range of services. She claims the pandemic has caused healthcare workers to experience “high empathy fatigue,” so mental health became a “big priority” when searching for a new EAP for the new year. The pandemic has had the most direct and intense impact on healthcare workers, causing their mental health to suffer. Mental Health America (n.d.b), a national mental health nonprofit organization, conducted a survey of 1,119 healthcare workers between June and September 2020. The survey found that in the previous three months, 93% reported stress, 86% reported anxiety, 82% reported emotional exhaustion, and 45% of nurses reported they did not have adequate emotional support.

During the first year of the pandemic, childcare was the main issue for employees at OU Health. Ura-neck explains the organization struggled with finding additional resources as daycares closed and workers were unable to come in. “We [had] a lot of sick patients coming in, it’s a 24-hour operation. [If] we don’t have nurses on the floor, then patients can’t be tended to or admitted if we don’t have the staff for that,” she says. OU Health did not have the work-life benefit during that time, which would have helped employees find childcare, and was one of the reasons why they switched providers. “Because of the pandemic, it caused us to look at some of our benefit offerings a little differently, and this is not just proba-

bly for OU Health but all employers,” she remarks. “The benefits landscape has changed...and when that need arose, it caused us to look at how we can expand our EAP services.” With their new provider, they now have the work-life benefit and seven free counseling visits per issue per year from the previous five visits.

During that time, emails were sent to employees about the EAP, but Ura-neck acknowledges that workers “barely had time” to sit down or think about checking emails. “I just wonder sometimes about the communication efforts, if we could have done anything more to create a more direct impact with those benefits,” she says. Looking back, she admits the benefits team “could have been better” about bringing counselors onsite for workers who needed it in the moment. Therefore, it is crucial to promote EAPs *strategically* in times of crisis. OU Health promotes their EAP on their benefits webpage and sends target messages to employees and managers once every quarter. Their new provider has also made promotional efforts easier for them. “Part of the reason why we decided to go with them is that they have a very robust communication package that they provide to their clients, so it cuts out a lot of extra work on our end of having to create communication materials from scratch,” she says. The benefits team also alerts employees about the EAP when there is a specific “hot button issue” within the organization.

OU Health is about to administer an official wellness program in partnership with another provider. Ura-neck believes as EAPs evolve, they may rebrand themselves as a wellness program. “When I think of wellness, I really think of it from a holistic approach and I think a lot of EAPs in a way [are] a component to wellness, but most people think of it from the mental health side of it,” she explains. “I think [EAPs] can grow to be more robust or they can market themselves as holistic wellness programs.” Ura-neck adds if providers collaborate with wellness companies that focus more on physical, spiritual, and other lifestyle elements, the EAP will become more well-rounded and attractive. Lastly,

Uranek claims mental health is equally important as physical health. She suggests the healthcare industry should establish annual mental health check-ups similar to annual physicals. She thinks things would be “less taboo” if mental health check-ups were normalized.

### *University of Central Oklahoma*

The University of Central Oklahoma (UCO) is located in the city of Edmond, a suburb just north of Oklahoma City. It has about 1,450 employees which includes faculty and staff, and has a population of over 13,000 students. In February 2021 UCO had switched to a new EAP provider, a financial decision that Mary Deter-Billings says she would not have made, especially during a pandemic. As a result, counseling sessions per issue had been reduced from six sessions to four. She describes the switch as “not a great experience” due to the new provider’s lack of communication and poor customer service. Consequently, EAP utilization dropped and UCO returned to their previous provider in March 2022. Their 2019 utilization report was the only report available and is worth reviewing as it illustrates “normal” usage before the pandemic. 2019 had a total of 166 clinical and work-life cases with a 11.86% utilization rate. The largest age group of clients were 31-40 years old and of all cases, 66% were female and 34% were male. The top three issues seen by counselors were “emotional health,” “family/relationship concerns,” and “workplace concerns.”

Deter-Billings says that switching to virtual counseling and “The Great Resignation” were the biggest issues during the pandemic at UCO. Although their EAP provider at the time already had virtual options prior to the pandemic, people had established relationships with counselors and preferred to meet face-to-face. Thus, the experience was altered and may not have been as effective for some individuals. The Great Resignation “describes the higher-than-normal quit rate of American workers that began in the spring of 2021” (Fontinelle 2022). According to a Pew Research Center survey, the top reasons why employees left their

jobs in 2021 were because of low pay, lack of opportunities for advancement, and feeling disrespected at work (Parker and Menasce Horowitz 2022). Perhaps the disruption of life and fear of death from the pandemic made people reevaluate themselves and the work they do. Hence, they left jobs that were meaningless and unsatisfying. Deter-Billings notes The Great Resignation caused “a lot of stress” due to being understaffed, because more people were calling in for help than there were employees to assist them.

One general EAP issue that UCO has is their inability as an organization to access the same work-life service as individual employees. “It would be nice if we could reach out to our EAP and say, ‘Hey, we as an organization are asking for local [Spanish translators],’ ...but because we’re an organization asking, they don’t [provide that to us],” Deter-Billings explains. “If I was to call as an employee looking for a list of interpreters, then I could get that information.” Confidentiality is another general EAP issue, one that discourages employees from seeking help. “One thing that I see as an employer is that often people feel it’s not confidential,” she remarks. “I don’t have any idea if an employee does or does not utilize any EAP service.” When promoting the EAP, she assures all she sees are *numbers*, not names. Deter-Billings says UCO doesn’t have a “proper system for an internet,” so EAP promotion is done through “the Hub,” a place where employees can access information. In addition, when employees share personal issues they struggled with that year on their performance appraisals, Human Resources directly reaches out to the employee and informs them of the EAP. She believes this approach is effective, thoughtful, and sincere.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The City of Oklahoma City highlighted the idea of tailor-made EAPs and how they would better serve the specific needs of workers in high-risk and highly stressful industries. If numerous employees from these industries continue to inquire about an EAP,

then the organization should seriously consider adopting a plan that is specially designed for those workers. Treatment would be more effective, efficient, and valuable. OU Health realized the lack of benefits they had during the pandemic, specifically the work-life benefit. It would have helped employees find childcare and avoid missing work during a time where attendance was a matter of life and death for patients. Additionally, the benefits team may have had feelings of regret for not having more strategic communication efforts during that critical time. To be better prepared for future events, organizations should review their EAP experiences in times of crisis to determine what worked, what did not work, and what was needed. UCO acknowledged that switching providers, which resulted in less counseling sessions for employees, may not have been the best move when mental health was still negatively impacted by the pandemic. Less sessions still may have been sufficient if the new provider delivered quality service, but that was not the case for UCO. Although the switch was a financial decision, organizations should truly weigh the long-term costs and benefits.

Pompe (2021) explains that it is difficult for external providers to attract employees because their services are delivered off-site. Since they are “out of sight, out of mind,” he claims they have “less relevance and impact on the workplace” (Pompe 2021, 18). He recommends that organizations develop an internal or hybrid EAP, which blends internal staffing with external resources (Pompe 2021; Pompe et al. n.d.). Having a presence at the workplace would increase EAP awareness, although Pompe (2021) suggests the internal EAP can be adapted to operate virtually to suit the current flexible workforce. However, organizations should consider workers who prefer in-person support or lack the technology to access services.

Pompe criticizes the current function and perception of EAPs, since their original focus on the workplace has shifted. Pompe (2021) argues, “if the EAP primarily delivers outpatient mental healthcare and is viewed as ‘free counseling,’ the purchaser is



buying a redundant and underfunded outpatient mental healthcare benefit and not an EAP,” (20). He adds that EAPs were never designed or funded for that reason, so they cannot deliver quality outpatient mental healthcare in addition to all the other services they provide (Pompe 2021). The fixed number of counseling sessions illustrates this limitation. Therefore, Pompe (2021) recommends that organizations reevaluate the purpose of their EAP and make effective changes to suit their true needs and wants. He concludes that EAPs need to rebrand themselves from “free counseling” to workplace mental health programs (Pompe 2021, 21).

## CONCLUSION

EAPs serve an essential purpose in the workplace. Research clearly shows there is a direct correlation between personal well-being and employee productivity. By addressing and solving problems that are interfering with work performance, EAPs help workers maintain a healthy work-life balance. Although a majority of employers provide an EAP, utilization rates continue to average at a low 4.5%. Issues such as lack of awareness and promotion, confidentiality, and mental health stigma contribute to such low usage. But for being low-priced, it is still worth investing into EAPs for the overall benefits they grant employers: reduced low productivity, absenteeism, impairment, accidents, injuries, deaths, health insurance costs, workers’ compensation claims, and employee turnover. EAPs are a valuable resource and should be promoted more strategically in times of crisis. The world was unprepared for the COVID-19 pandemic and it caused mental health to suffer under extreme living and working conditions. If situations become worse, then EAPs are designed to make things better.

Employees who work in government, healthcare, and education understand their purpose in society and responsibility to the future. Their happiness and health affects their service to their communities, so they should be aware of resources that will help them stay in solid shape. For that reason, this paper focused on EAP

experiences from organizations in municipal, healthcare, and academic settings. Each organization presented interesting and applicable knowledge to the world of EAPs and Human Resources. Ideas such as tailor-made EAPs, issues from lack of benefits and communication efforts, financial decisions that yield service reductions, and employment trends highlight the importance and impact of EAPs in the workplace. EAPs deserve more appreciation from individuals and organizations, and may be the difference between success and failure.

Lastly, it is noteworthy to compare the EAP data amongst each other. While the Mayo Clinic experienced a decrease in EAP utilization during the early months of the pandemic, the Mount Sinai Health System had an increase. Utilization for The City of Oklahoma City has continued to increase significantly since the start of the pandemic. The Mayo Clinic, the City of Oklahoma City, and UCO all had the same top three reasons in the same order for EAP utilization: emotional/psychological, family and relationships, and work. This supports the same data by the WOS report, in which the top three reasons for EAP utilization were mental health, marriage and family, and work. In UCO's 2019 report, the largest age group of clients were 31-40 years old, and of 166 cases, 66% were women and 34% were men. This also supports the same data from the WOS report, in which the largest age group of clients were 30-39 years old, and of 14,262 cases, 68% were women and 32% were men.

### LIMITATIONS

The two COVID-19 EAP case studies focused on organizations who had *internal* EAPs, while the three organizations studied had *external* EAPs. Also, the two case studies only focused on healthcare institutions. Age and gender were not reported in any of the utilization reports for the City of Oklahoma City. OU Health and UCO both went through changes in providers in the past few years, and since they were no longer account holders with a provider,

they lost access to EAP data. Utilization reports were unobtainable for OU Health and only the 2019 report was available for UCO. EAP pricing was also unobtainable for OU Health and UCO. In addition, several Oklahoma state agencies were contacted for interviews but none had responded. A government perspective at the state level would have provided key insight into EAP utilization due to its more serious nature and status as a major employer. Specifically, the Oklahoma Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services would have been an ideal source because it has its own EAP office and offers unique programs and resources to state employees.

### **FUTURE RESEARCH**

Other occupational settings should be studied to discover unique EAP perspectives and determine if the type of work influences employees to use EAPs more than others. Employees who did use an EAP during the pandemic should also be interviewed for an in-depth explanation of their experience. This is significant because qualitative research provides detailed insight for understanding and improving EAPs and explains the reasoning behind quantitative research.

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## EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

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**HOW MUCH IS YOUR WATER BILL?  
IS IT FAIR OR FAILING?  
AN EVALUATION OF OKLAHOMA'S WATER RATES**

REANNA H. ANDERSON

**ABSTRACT**

When looking at municipal water schemes, we must look at rates. How can cities set their rates without a statewide comparative analysis? Without a comparative analysis, cities are affecting the city infrastructure blindly. This project will cover a few important questions by examining and comparing water rates in Oklahoma. What effects can the price of rates have on the city's water infrastructure? Are citizens able to pay for their water? This study is important in Oklahoma due to the lack of publications showing state-wide quantitative analysis of water services.

## **HOW MUCH IS YOUR WATER BILL? IS IT FAIR OR FAILING? AN EVOLUTION OF OKLAHOMA'S WATER RATES**

While some cities have their water rates posted on their website and some on the water bills, some do not have an uncomplicated way of knowing how much water customers are paying. There is currently no publication that has a comprehensive look at the water rates in Oklahoma. Some believe that cities should not compare water rates (Barnes 2019). This could be due to varying salaries of public works employees, water quality, and water distribution.

While these factors due vary, comparing water rates is a good system to see where your city's rate should be. "Increasingly, city utilities are also learning more from each other and collaborating with a variety of public and private partners to adopt a more flexible, forward-looking approach in future projects" (Kane, 2022: n.p.). Collaboration could help these cities alleviate some of their stress by looking at other cities to fix their struggles with information gaps, tight budgets, and infrastructure issues.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

There are four water rate structures used in Oklahoma (Barnett 1981). The first type of rate structure is block rates. There are two types of block rates used in Oklahoma: increasing and decreasing. Block rates charge a different rate for specified amounts of water. With decreasing block rates, the price per block decreases as the quantity of water use increases. Decreasing block rates are the most popular rate in Oklahoma. This method is used to help attract industry to an area, but it does not provide an incentive for reducing the amount of wasted water. With increasing block rates, a predetermined amount is charged for the first block and the price of additional blocks increases. This rate structure encourages con-

servation by giving economic incentive and creates capacity for expansion. This rate system is rarely used in Oklahoma. The next type of rate structure is flat rate. Flat rate is calculated by dividing total operating and fixed asset cost for a period by the number of customers. This method is usually found in unmetered areas. This rate usually causes wasteful water use. Many object to this type of rate structure due to it not providing a fair method of distribution of cost. The last type of rate structure is uniform rate. Uniform rate is determined by dividing the total quantity of water produced by the annual capital costs needed to supply. It is a constant price for each unit of water, no matter how much is used.

There have been a few illustrative examples in the past years that happened in Oklahoma that have proved that water rates need to be transparent and documented. The first example is the city of Spencer, Oklahoma, installing electric water meters. Switching from mechanical water meters to electric has happened in many parts of Oklahoma. Spencer is an interesting case due to the push-back from the citizens. The electric water meters caused a spike in water bills across the city. Many citizens said that the meters were reading inaccurately, causing a spike in water bills. City of Spencer Councilwoman LaTonya Williams said, “My bill on the average for the summer should typically be anywhere from \$60 to \$80 on the high end, but I received a bill for \$1,300.” (Kaye, 2021: n.p.) The bills did not show the water rate. The mayor stated that the issue with these bills was the calculations in the billing system. If the water rate were more transparent, the citizens would be able to see the problem without confusion. The second example occurred with Oklahoma City capping water utility prices. This was due to the substantial number of citizens dripping their faucets during the large ice storm that occurred in 2020. If a resident used more than 100,000 gallons of water, they would not be paying a higher water rate. A third example has happened across the United States- a general rise in water rates. Water rates have risen more than 3% in the past 4 years in many states (Layne, 2019). There has been some push-back from citizens about these increases.

Water rates have been slowly rising over the years. There are almost 1 million miles of pipes across the United States that give citizens their water with many of these pipes being laid in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. (Kane, 2022) The average life span of these pipelines is 75 to 100 years, and most of these pipes are coming to their retirement age. The American Society of Civil Engineers gave the United States water infrastructure a grade of D in 2017. In 2021, the grade has risen to a C. “By 2019, utilities were replacing between 1% and 4.8% of their pipelines per year on average” (ASCE, 2022: n.p.). While cities are increasing the number of pipelines being replaced, these projects tend to be reactive and not proactive. In the city of Norman Oklahoma, water rates must be approved by voters. The last approved rate increase was in 2015. The latest proposal to increase rates was rejected in April 2022 (Wood, 2022). The City of Norman proposed these increased rates would “help the city finance a \$15 million project to install automatic water meter readers and a \$17 million well-blending initiative to combine groundwater and surface water to better maintain residual chlorine levels” (Phillips, 2021: n.p.). This would also help replace and maintain aging water lines. This proposal was rejected, and now the City of Norman must pull from other budgets to do these infrastructure renewal projects. Why were these proposals not approved?

Many believe that the cost of providing water should be the same, regardless of who or what provides it. But that is not true. Water rates can change due to the demands of upgrading and replacing water infrastructure or salaries of public works employees. Salaries of public works employees can be one of the major operating costs for cities (Barnes, 2019). Some rural areas rely on volunteers to manage and repair one of the most vital resources for their community due to low budgets.

## **HYPOTHESES**

H1: Less populated cities will have a lower water rate.

H2: Families in less populated cities will be less likely to be able pay for their water bill.

## METHODOLOGY

Across Oklahoma, there are multiple city utility offices trying to provide water for their communities. Many of them provide their water rates online, but not every office has a website. First, I pulled all the water rates from online sources and calculated how much the minimum rate, 5,000 gallons, and 10,000 gallons would cost. Many of these online sources were Rural Water District websites, so I used their primary office as the city. Next, I called the city utility offices for the missing cities. Not every city in Oklahoma is on the list due to city utility offices not responding and some utility offices providing water to other surrounding cities. While this is not a complete list, it still can show some trends across Oklahoma. For the major list and map of water rates in Oklahoma, please visit [www.okainstitute.org](http://www.okainstitute.org). All the sources for this list are located in Appendix A. Data accuracy is contingent upon calculations and city rate changes.

### **H1: Larger-populated cities will have a lower water rate.**

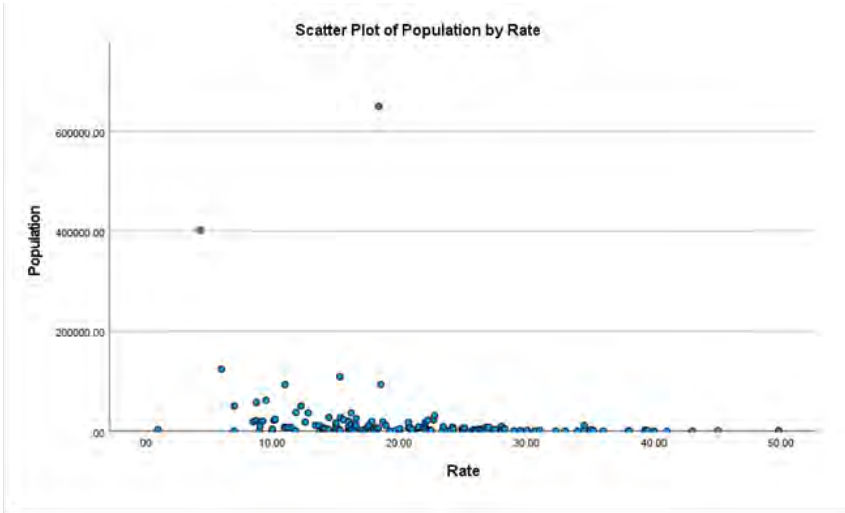
Less populated cities have more unique challenges compared to more populated cities. The water pipelines are more dispersed, cities lack sufficient funding, and smaller cities have higher poverty levels (Haddaway, 2014). “By definition, small utilities have fewer resources to meet those challenges,” said Matthew Holmes, Deputy CEO of the National Rural Water Association (Haddaway, 2014; n.p). These deficiencies can lead to smaller cities not investing in new infrastructure, employee training, and growth in the community. This can cause smaller cities will act reactively and not proactively, resulting in jumps in prices for water consumers. “Water infrastructure is typically paid for by the rates charged to individual users”(Condon, 2019:n.p.) With a smaller population means rural areas will need to either have a higher rate to cover these projects or keep the water rates the same and not be able to

complete the project. There is some federal funding these smaller-populated cities can receive, but many are weary due to not knowing how grant processes work or unable to help to provide the money for the cost-shares.

In Figure 1, I plotted all of the minimum rates and compared that to the population of cities. Oklahoma's state average for the minimum water rate is \$21.46 and the average population is 16,019. When dividing the population of cities into those above-average population and those below-average population we find that there are 135 below the average and 33 above the average of 16,019. When analyzing the average minimum rates of these cities we find that above-average sized cities have an average minimum rate of \$13.98 per household per month. Smaller cities, however, have an average minimum rate of \$22.89 per household per month. This difference in means is statistically significant at the  $p < .001$  with a t-test value of 5.765.

Further, we can analyze the number of small and large cities in relationship to whether they have low or high rates. This can be seen in Figure 2. A chi-square analysis show that the most common combination is for a below-average sized city to have an above average minimum water bill for a household. There are 72 cities in this category whereas there are only 4 above average cities with an above average minimum water bill. The data shows that hypothesis 1 is supported.

Figure 1



**H2: Families in less populated cities will be less likely to be able to pay their water bill.**

Water rates have been steadily rising over the years. But has it been fair, or has it caused issues within the community? According to the U.S. Census, the average salary in Oklahoma is \$51,868. We learned in our study for Hypothesis 1, that the average rate for the minimum, not including infrastructure or sewer, amount of water is \$21.46. In a year, that would be a total of \$257.52 for just water. The average family in Oklahoma spends around \$22,008 for the rest of the house utilities, including the average price for a house mortgage according to the U.S. Census. When combined with the water rate, this would be 43.6% of a family of four’s annual salary. Many believe that utilities and mortgages should be 30% of a family’s pay. “The 30% rule is based on how much a family can reasonably spend on housing and still have enough money left over to afford everyday expenses like food and transportation” (Leonhardt, 2021: n.p.). This means that there would need to be some cutbacks in the utility bills to be a fair amount of utility and home bills. Many believe that just the utilities should be about 10% of a

household’s salary (Leonhardt, 2021). Now, 43.6% is the average for the whole state of Oklahoma. What about the delineation of rural and populated areas?

Using a random number generator, I chose 4 cities above the average city population and below the average city population for a total of 8 cities. Then I gathered the information on the city’s population and median household income from the U.S. Census Bureau. Then, I looked at the city’s water rate for 10,000 gallons. I chose 10,000 because this is closer to the average amount of water a family uses in a month (EPA, n.d.) Next, I calculated the percentage for how much a citizen would pay for water for a year based on the median household income. Then, I compared this to the population and found the percentages of how much of their salary is dedicated to their water bill. This can be seen in Figure 3.

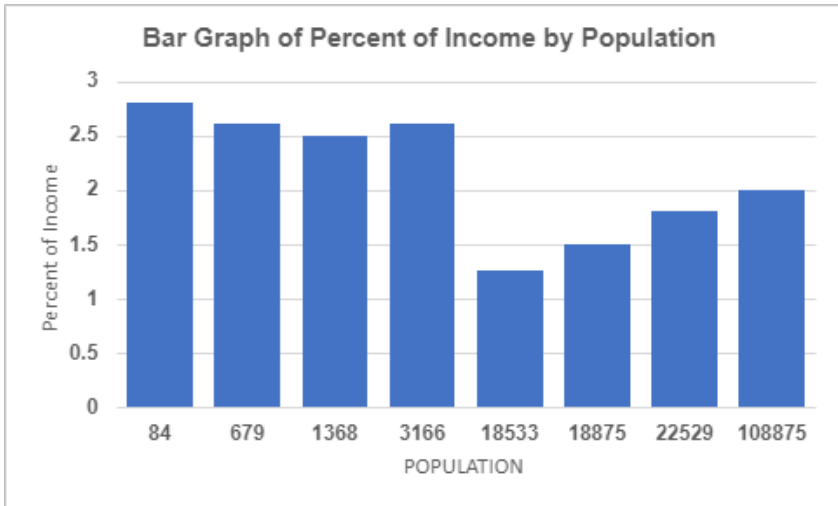
Figure 3 shows that lower population cities use more of their income towards water usage compared to higher populations. While the percentages are still below 10% of a person’s salary, rural areas tend to have a higher percentage of their utility bills dedicated to water. This would make it harder for families in smaller populated cities to pay for all their utilities due to the imbalance of finances. The data shows that hypothesis 2 is supported.

**Figure 2**

	Low Water Rate	High Water Rate
Low Population	63	72
High Population	29	4



Figure 3



## CONCLUSION

Overall, this project allowed data to show if the Oklahoma water rates are fair or failing based on a comparative analysis of the population and average salary of a city. Without a comparative analysis, cities are blindly affecting their community. This project should be able to help guide cities to make sense of their infrastructure and culture around utility bills, by looking at examples around them.

My hope is this project is able to affect Oklahoma's water rate in a positive manner. This will help the cities be able to show citizens that rates need to be increased, but not to the point the citizens are unable to afford them. This project will help the cities be able to see how the rates are affected by the population. These factors can help cities show citizens and local governments how important rates can affect their city, not just in infrastructure but overall. I hope this project will be able to fill the lack of comparative analysis of Oklahoma's water rates.

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### Appendix A

CITY	SOURCE OF RATE DATA
ADA	580.436.8140
ADAIR	<a href="https://mayesrwd5.com/rates-and-policies">https://mayesrwd5.com/rates-and-policies</a>
AGRA	<a href="https://www.rwsd4lincolncounty.com/rates-and-policies">https://www.rwsd4lincolncounty.com/rates-and-policies</a>
ALBION	918.563.4318
ALTUS	<a href="https://www.altusok.gov/152/Utility-Rates">https://www.altusok.gov/152/Utility-Rates</a>
ALVA	<a href="https://www.alvaok.org/vimages/shared/vnews/stories/5c76c66c42e19/Approved%20Utility%20Rate%20Schedule2017.pdf">https://www.alvaok.org/vimages/shared/vnews/stories/5c76c66c42e19/Approved%20Utility%20Rate%20Schedule2017.pdf</a>
AMBER	<a href="https://gerwd6.com/rates-and-policies">https://gerwd6.com/rates-and-policies</a>
ANADARKO	<a href="http://cms1files.revize.com/revize/anadarkook/Copy%20of%20proposed%20Customer%20Rate%20Sheet%20Effective%20oct%201%202021.pdf">http://cms1files.revize.com/revize/anadarkook/Copy%20of%20proposed%20Customer%20Rate%20Sheet%20Effective%20oct%201%202021.pdf</a>
ANTLERS	580.298.3274
ARDMORE	<a href="https://sowcwater.com/rates-and-policies">https://sowcwater.com/rates-and-policies</a>
ATOKA	580.889.3341 ext.22
BARTLESVILLE	<a href="https://www.cityofbartlesville.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Utility-Rate-2022.pdf">https://www.cityofbartlesville.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Utility-Rate-2022.pdf</a>
BEAVER	580.625.3331
BERNICE	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
BETHANY	<a href="https://www.cityofbethany.org/government/city_departments/customer_service___utility_billing/index.php">https://www.cityofbethany.org/government/city_departments/customer_service___utility_billing/index.php</a>
BIG CABIN	<a href="https://mayesrwd6.com/rates-and-policies">https://mayesrwd6.com/rates-and-policies</a>
BIXBY	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
BLACKWELL	<a href="https://irp-cdn.multiscreensite.com/b204b320/files/uploaded/ORDINANCE%202020-16%20WATER%20RATES.pdf">https://irp-cdn.multiscreensite.com/b204b320/files/uploaded/ORDINANCE%202020-16%20WATER%20RATES.pdf</a>
BLANCHARD	405.485.9322

BRADLEY	<a href="http://www.bradley-ok.us/Water/waterrateschedule.htm">http://www.bradley-ok.us/Water/waterrateschedule.htm</a>
BRISTOW	<a href="https://static1.squarespace.com/static/60478a85a0a3ed5aaf77eece/t/604b9ef801627a770cca97ac/1615568633009/Municipal+Authority+Rates.pdf">https://static1.squarespace.com/static/60478a85a0a3ed5aaf77eece/t/604b9ef801627a770cca97ac/1615568633009/Municipal+Authority+Rates.pdf</a>
BROKEN ARROW	<a href="https://www.brokenarrowok.gov/government/utility-billing/utility-rates">https://www.brokenarrowok.gov/government/utility-billing/utility-rates</a>
BROKEN BOW	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
BUFFALO	<a href="https://www.buffalooklahoma.com/UtilityInfo.html">https://www.buffalooklahoma.com/UtilityInfo.html</a>
BURNS FLAT	580.562.3144
CACHE	<a href="https://www.cachegov.com/public-works-and-utilities/#:~:text=Utility%20Rates%20according%20Ordinance%2021,to%2010%2C000%20gallons%2D%244.30">https://www.cachegov.com/public-works-and-utilities/#:~:text=Utility%20Rates%20according%20Ordinance%2021,to%2010%2C000%20gallons%2D%244.30</a>
CADDO	<a href="https://atokacorwd3.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies">https://atokacorwd3.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies</a>
CARNEGIE	<a href="https://www.caddoruralwater.org/">https://www.caddoruralwater.org/</a>
CASHION	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
CATOOSA	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
CHICKASHA	<a href="https://www.chickasha.org/540/Utility-Billing-Fee-Schedule">https://www.chickasha.org/540/Utility-Billing-Fee-Schedule</a>
CHOCTAW	<a href="https://mychoctaw.org/232/Utility-Billing">https://mychoctaw.org/232/Utility-Billing</a>
CHOUTEAU	<a href="https://rwdno2.com/rates-and-policies">https://rwdno2.com/rates-and-policies</a>
CLAREMORE	<a href="https://www.rwd3rogers.com/documents/331/2020-01-01_SingleRateChart.pdf">https://www.rwd3rogers.com/documents/331/2020-01-01_SingleRateChart.pdf</a>
CLEVELAND	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
CLINTON	<a href="https://clintonok.gov/utilities/utility-rates/">https://clintonok.gov/utilities/utility-rates/</a>
COALGATE	<a href="http://www.cityofcoalgate.com/about/municipal_services">http://www.cityofcoalgate.com/about/municipal_services</a>
COLLINSVILLE	<a href="https://www.cityofcollinsville.com/207/Utilities">https://www.cityofcollinsville.com/207/Utilities</a>

COMANCHE	580.439.8832
COMMERCE	918.675.4373
COOKSON	<a href="https://www.cherokee13.com/rates-and-policies">https://www.cherokee13.com/rates-and-policies</a>
COWETA	<a href="https://ruralwater5.com/rates-and-fees">https://ruralwater5.com/rates-and-fees</a>
CRESCENT	<a href="https://logancorwd2.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies">https://logancorwd2.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies</a>
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DEL CITY	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
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GUTHRIE	<a href="https://www.loganrwd1.org/documents/682/Water_Rates_August_2018.pdf">https://www.loganrwd1.org/documents/682/Water_Rates_August_2018.pdf</a>
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MCALESTER	<a href="https://www.cityofmcalester.com/residents/utilities/utility_billing__collection/utility_rates.php">https://www.cityofmcalester.com/residents/utilities/utility_billing__collection/utility_rates.php</a>
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MORRIS	<a href="https://okmulgeecountyrwd4.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies">https://okmulgeecountyrwd4.myruralwater.com/rates-and-policies</a>
MOUNDS	<a href="https://rwd6okmulgee.com/rates-and-policies">https://rwd6okmulgee.com/rates-and-policies</a>
MUSKOGEE	<a href="https://www.muskogeeonline.org/departments/city_clerk/water_services/rates.php">https://www.muskogeeonline.org/departments/city_clerk/water_services/rates.php</a>
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NEWCASTLE	<a href="https://cityofnewcastleok.com/city-services/public-works/utility-rates">https://cityofnewcastleok.com/city-services/public-works/utility-rates</a>
NOBLE	<a href="https://cityofnoble.org/services/rates-payment/">https://cityofnoble.org/services/rates-payment/</a>
NORMAN	<a href="https://www.normanok.gov/your-government/departments/finance/utility-rates-and-information">https://www.normanok.gov/your-government/departments/finance/utility-rates-and-information</a>
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O K L A H O M A CITY	<a href="https://www.okc.gov/departments/utilities/customer-service/rates-fees">https://www.okc.gov/departments/utilities/customer-service/rates-fees</a>
OKMULGEE	918.756.4060
OSAGE	918.766.2627
OWASSO	<a href="https://www.cityofowasso.com/254/Utility-Rates">https://www.cityofowasso.com/254/Utility-Rates</a>
PAULS VALLEY	405.238.1300
PERRY	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
PIEDMONT	<a href="https://www.piedmont-ok.gov/167/Water-Rates">https://www.piedmont-ok.gov/167/Water-Rates</a>
POCOLA	<a href="https://www.leflorerwd2.com/rates-and-policies">https://www.leflorerwd2.com/rates-and-policies</a>

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PRESTON	<a href="https://prestonwater.com/rates-and-policies">https://prestonwater.com/rates-and-policies</a>
PRYOR CREEK	<a href="https://mubpryor.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/WATER-FEB-2022.jpg">https://mubpryor.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/WATER-FEB-2022.jpg</a>
PURCELL	<a href="https://www.cityofpurcell.com/DocumentCenter/View/556/Utility-Rates-2022">https://www.cityofpurcell.com/DocumentCenter/View/556/Utility-Rates-2022</a>
RALSTON	<a href="https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf">https://oml.neocities.org/Uploads/2019_-_2020_Utility_Cost_Survey.pdf</a>
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SAND SPRINGS	<a href="https://sandspringsok.org/217/Utilities">https://sandspringsok.org/217/Utilities</a>
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**THE THEORY OF NULLIFICATION FROM JOHN C. CALHOUN, ITS ORIGINS IN THOMAS JEFFERSON'S COMPACT THEORY, AND HOW THE IDEAS HELPED SHAPE AMERICA THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR**

CAS NORTHCUTT

**ABSTRACT**

“The Theory of Nullification from John C. Calhoun, its origins in Thomas Jefferson’s Compact Theory, and how the ideas helped shape America through the Civil War.” The majority of the previous research done into this topic focuses heavily on the two concepts’ similarities, and less so on the exploration of the connection of the political environments, nor the importance of the acts on the era outside of its origins. Looking into many of the original documents, there was an ability to get an advanced understanding of the topic. Using the methods laid forward above, reading much of Thomas Jefferson and John C. Calhoun’s works have allowed a study into the effects not only at the time, but also how they have created a wave going forward into history. Much of their language and ideas are repeated in the documents related to secession. Looking at the tie to the Civil War has helped understand how these actors changed history with their theories.

## INTRODUCTION

Thomas Jefferson and Compact Theory, John Calhoun and Nullification, and the Civil War are events in history that are closely tied. The goal and objective of this paper is to explain just how intertwined much of their history is, and how each event came to be. This will be done by looking over multiple different historical documents and tying them together using the narrative of history. At the end, there will be a discussion on how these events have influenced American history.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to get a peek into Thomas Jefferson's mind on his views of The Constitution, in a letter from himself to George Washington in 1792. In the letter, he explains that he favors a much stricter reading of The Constitution that looks down upon the concept of implied powers, and instead only believes in what is explicitly written. The Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) were a series of laws passed by the Federalist party from inside the Federal United States Government in order to stifle the freedom of speech from opposing parties. The Alien and Sedition Acts is the full name of the laws, but as the Alien section reports to immigration, it is unnecessary to refer to the laws in their entirety. The Constitution's First Amendment (1791) of the United States Constitution guarantees, among other things, the freedom of speech. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798) were a set of two resolutions by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson in direct response to the blatant suppression of speech in The Sedition Acts, in which Jefferson suggests his famous Compact Theory. This was done in direct response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, as both actors make clear in their writings.

To set the stage of the era John C. Calhoun lived in, we will briefly



discuss The War of 1812 (1812 - 1815), The Era of Good Feelings (1815 - 1825), and the split of the Democratic-Republicans into the Whigs and Democrats after the Election of 1824. To get a basic understanding, we will look at the Encyclopedia Britannica entries for each of the events. The Tariff of 1828 was a protective tariff that, at the time, was not popular among southerners due to the belief it unfairly benefited northerners at the expense of the southern states. The South Carolina Exposition and Protest (1828) was a statement released by John C. Calhoun, stating that the tariff was unconstitutional due to its favoring of the north over the south. This suggests that the state of South Carolina should have the right to nullify it, or make it invalid within its borders. The Tariff of 1832 was another protective tariff that was unpopular from within the south for much the same reason as the Tariff of 1828. The Ordinance of Nullification (1832) was released by John C. Calhoun, and it nullified the protective Tariff of 1832 from within South Carolina's borders. According to the Supremacy Clause in The Constitution (1787), this act was unconstitutional, due to federal laws reigning supreme over state ones. Regardless, The Compromise Tariff of 1833 was an agreement by South Carolina and the Federal Government that gradually decreased the cost of the tariff over time.

Jefferson Davis gave a speech to the state democratic convention in 1844, and in the speech, he talks of recommending John C. Calhoun to be the president of the south (in the event of there being a legally distinct south in need of ruling). The Encyclopedia Britannica page surrounding the Election of 1860 discusses the election in which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency of the United States. In response to the election, The southern states announced succession in "The Declaration of Causes of Seceding States" (1861), where they formally announced their secession from the United States. Following secession, Jefferson Davis gives a Farewell Address (1861), in which, among other things, he expresses that the south should have a right to secede. Alexander H. Stephens, The Vice President of the Confederacy, established

in his famous Corner-stone speech (1861) establishes that a significant reason for leaving the Union is due to a belief that the Union is suppressing southern state's rights to practice slavery. Following this, Abraham Lincoln gave a proclamation (1861) surrounding the onset of the Civil War where he discusses the implications of secession, and his future plans related to the issue at hand.

After a long and difficult war, in 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered his forces in Courthouse Appomattox. An article referenced from Ohio State University surrounds the number of dead soldiers from the Civil War from 1861 - 1865. It states around 600,000 Americans died in the Civil War. Going along with numerical quantification surrounding the details of the war, the 1860s census of the United States among other things, that around 4 million people were held in slavery at the onset of the Civil War. In The Emancipation Proclamation (1863), Lincoln had given a speech regarding his plans for the federal outlawing of slavery. With The Constitution's Thirteenth Amendment (1865), this act was played out, ending slavery at the federal level. With the General Order No. 3 (1865) General Gordon Granger gave a proclamation in Galveston, Texas where he forcibly freed the remaining slaves in Texas following the amendment outlawing slavery.

## METHODS

There was a baseline of information regarding the subject due to having classes that have touched over the time periods in question in this assignment. Finding supplemental material became much easier due to a familiarity with the time-frame and search terms needed to acquire resources around the subject. The methods used in this assignment are as follows. Many transcriptions of original documents and bills regarding the subject were used. Much of the conclusions garnered came about due to a combination of understanding the subject matter, as well as also understanding the results of what came after. Doing this, tying the events together was much easier to create a cohesive story that explains the reasoning

and logic of these political figures and their actions.

## FINDINGS

In the 1790s, the political divisions between the Democratic-Republicans and the Federalists (the two main political parties of the time) were focused on interpretations of the Constitution. Democratic-Republicans favored a strict construction while the Federalists favored a broad construction. In a letter to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican, makes it clear he is worried about Congress overstepping its boundaries and harming the freedoms of America's citizens. In the 1798 Sedition Acts, the Federalist Congress, with help of Federalist president John Adams, signed into law that the people could no longer show opposition to the government. It oddly excluded, however, the Democratic-Republican Vice President, Thomas Jefferson. The Constitution, in its first amendment from 1791, does not allow for the Congress to make a law prohibiting free speech. In the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions from 1798, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson claimed that the Sedition Acts were in blatant breach of The Constitution. Jefferson went further, and posited that if a federal law is unconstitutional, then a state should be allowed to step in and nullify it, therefore keeping it from being used within the state. This is what was later known as Compact Theory.

After the War of 1812 (1812 - 1815) with The United States versus Great Britain, there was a brief era called The Era of Good Feelings (1815 - 1825) where there was relative harmony in America. The Federalist party, the rivals of Jefferson back in his era, dissolved, leaving just the Democratic-Republican party. The country worked together to put forward internal improvements, caring little about their home states and instead helping the nation as a whole. However, as the late 1820s took hold, political ideology had shifted as sectionalism ran rampant. This is where John C. Calhoun really began to become who he is known for, a strict advocate for state's rights. There were many things people argued

upon, but the biggest divisions came from subjects such as slavery and taxes benefiting one area of the country over the other. The north / south divide continued to grow, splitting the Democratic-Republican Party into 2 parties after the Election of 1824. This is not where the divide would stop, however.

In 1828, a proposed protective tariff from the federal government came to the attention of South Carolina. South Carolina believed the tariff to unequally benefit the north over the south. John C. Calhoun, anonymously, released *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*. In it, Calhoun says that South Carolina should be allowed to nullify - they pass a law that reads that the federal law no longer applies in the state - the tariff. Calhoun's justification was that he thought it was unconstitutional. In 1832 another similar protective tariff was released. Calhoun helped release the *Ordinance of Nullification*, which nullified the law within South Carolina's border. South Carolina also threatened secession. It should also be noted that according to the Supremacy Clause in the Constitution, this defying of federal law by a state is in itself unconstitutional. However, in response, the Federal government and South Carolina worked together, and the *Compromise Tariff of 1833* took its place.

In 1844, Jefferson Davis gave a speech to the State Democratic Convention recommending John C. Calhoun to be the southern President in the event that there would be a legally distinct south in need of ruling. Davis, in his speech, expressed his interest in Calhoun's ideals. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected the 16th president of the United States, and in January 1861, the south seceded from the Union. Davis, using Calhoun's belief for strong states' rights, stated in his *Farewell Address* also in January 1861, that the states had the right to secede from the Union. Shortly thereafter, Davis was elected the first president of the Confederacy. The Confederate Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens, in his *Corner-stone Address*, stated that the reason for the revolution was due to the belief that black and white men are not equal. Fur-

thermore, their subordination to the “superior race” is normal, and the reason they’ve seceded is due to the Federal Government’s encroachment on that right.

On April 12, 1861, the Confederate troops fired on the Union’s Fort Sumter, marking the beginning of the Civil War. The Civil War lasted until April 9, 1865. The Civil War killed, according to Ohio State University, around 600,000 Americans. According to the 1860 census, there were around 4 million slaves in the south. On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was given, where The Union, through Lincoln, announced its plan to make human slavery illegal. On December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the United States Constitution, making it illegal for slavery in the United States. On June 19, 1865, the last slaves were freed by General Gordan Granger in Texas.

## **DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The America that Thomas Jefferson lived in during the 1790s was very different from the America we would call home today. In politics, the political divisions between the parties are a stark contrast to the parties of today. Much of what divided the nation had to do with the two main political parties, The Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, had to do with a strict versus broad view of The Constitution. Federalists favored a broad view, while The Democratic-Republicans favored a strict. Thomas Jefferson, one of the founders of the Democratic-Republicans, stated in regard to constitutionality in a letter to George Washington that a ... “step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress, is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition,”. Jefferson was extremely worried about Congress overstepping its boundaries and understanding that concept will help make further discussion make far more sense.

Thomas Jefferson, the first Secretary of State, the second Vice

President, and the third President in the United States was a very influential figure in early American history - specifically in the southern states. It was still the era of understanding how this new country worked, and so there was much trial and error before we were able to find the country we know today. Jefferson posited that maybe it should be the states that decide whether or not something is constitutional. The states, after all, are the ones who approved The Constitution. It should be the states that interpose their authority to protect their citizens in the case of the federal government abusing their power. In 1798, The Federalist president and Federalist Congress attempted to suppress speech in the Sedition Act. This law was supposed to create a cohesive people in America during the current war with France, but it only led to more division.

This law was blatantly an attack on the Democratic-Republicans as it protected the President from hate speech (John Adams, Federalist) but not the Vice-president (Thomas Jefferson, Democratic-Republican). It was also set to expire right before the next inauguration date, making it extremely evident with its goals. It was never about safety or creating a cohesive people in the time of war. It was used to silence the enemies of the Federalists, who just so happened to be their main political rivals, the Democratic-Republicans. In direct response, the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, Thomas Jefferson, the nation's leading Democratic-Republican, explained what he thought should be done in order to prevent this from harming the citizens of his party, stating: "...the several states... being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction; and that a nullification, by those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under colour of that instrument, is the rightful remedy..." However bold this move was, this was never truly put into practice in his time, but the idea still loomed in the mind of many. The theme of Nullification, such as a state nullifying (or rendering a federal law invalid in their own state), was perhaps just a bit too ahead of its time.

Before John C. Calhoun ran with Jefferson's concept, there was a brief interlude of harmony within The United States. The era after The War of 1812, starting in 1815 as the war ended, was marked with nationalism the kind of which the nation would not see again as the Civil War loomed in the distance. The era is called The Era of Good Feelings, and it ran until 1825. During this era, the Democratic-Republican party was the only party left as the Federalist party dissolved. The Democratic-Republicans absorbed many of the Federalist ideologies, leading to them passing bills that benefited the entire country far more than it benefited but one state. In the 1820s, the sectionalism within the Democratic-Republicans formed a split after the Election of 1824, creating the Whigs and the Democrats. The Democratic party is where John C. Calhoun would find his home in. The divisions continued to grow as arguments about slavery and taxes arose and split the country's ideology very close to being a literal geographical north / south divide.

During the late 1820s, and up until his death in the 1850s, John C. Calhoun faced a similar issue as Jefferson when you look at his pull between his national pride versus state pride. Calhoun was also a national leader; he was the 7th Vice President, and the Secretary of State for the 10th President. Calhoun, and many others in the south, thought that they should be given the right to nullify laws at a state level if it is, by their eyes, unconstitutional. It is, at the heart of it, Thomas Jefferson's Compact Theory. Calhoun mirrors Jefferson's words by using even the very word of Nullification in many of his writings surrounding this subject. In 1828, a proposed tariff from the Federal government came to the attention of South Carolina, which was Calhoun's home state. It was seen as something that would essentially take money from the south and put it in the hands of the north. It was so hated that the south referred to it as a Tariff of Abominations. Without his name listed, Calhoun authored The South Carolina Exposition and Protest. In it, Calhoun states the following: "... feeling it to be their bounden duty to expose and resist all encroachments upon the true spirit of the Constitution, lest an apparent acquiescence in the system of

protecting duties should be drawn into precedent, do in the name of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, claim to enter upon the Journals of the Senate their protest against it as unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust...” However, as Calhoun was the Vice President at this point, he largely used this as an example of what could be done in extreme cases. He tried to quell the fears of South Carolina, lest he spark extreme civil unrest against the federal government while he was one of the most powerful people in the federal government.

In 1832, Calhoun was ousted from the Vice Presidency in favor of Martin Van Buren. In that same year, another tariff (similar to that of the one passed in 1828) reared its head. No longer Vice President, Calhoun no longer worried about pleasing the entire country. Calhoun, and the people of South Carolina, went full force with Nullification theory. Using Calhoun’s earlier notes inspired by Jefferson’s Compact Theory in *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest*, the state of South Carolina put forward the Ordinance of Nullification, which stated, in part, “...it is the right of the states, in their sovereign capacity, each acting for itself and its citizens, in like manner as they adopted the Constitution to judge thereof in the last resort and to adopt such measures—not inconsistent with the compact—as may be deemed fit to arrest the execution of the act within their respective limits...” This act nullified the tariff from within South Carolina’s border. On top of that, South Carolina also threatened to secede from The Union. As they had done this to “protect” The Constitution, they had ironically broken one of its key components. In Article 6, it makes it clear that the federal government’s laws reign supreme over state laws. Regardless, in direct response, The Federal Government and South Carolina, represented by Calhoun, passed the Compromise Tariff of 1833, which worked to gradually decrease the tariff rate over a period of time. The south would not forget the fact that The Federal Government flinched here in response to threatening secession.

Not long after the Nullification Crisis, there was a talk of a south-



ern president taking power in the south, and for it to be legally distinct from the north due to their interests being wildly different. In Jefferson Davis' speech in 1844, he outlines just that, and he recommends John C. Calhoun to be the southern president. This event helps establish that Davis looked up to Calhoun, because in his speech Davis talks extremely favorably for Calhoun and his ideals. His love of Calhoun would not waver, and with his eyes still very much on things like Nullification Theory, he would soon find himself in the heart of a similar national crisis.

In 1860, Lincoln was elected the 16th president. The south seceded from the Union in 1861 in direct response. Jefferson Davis, who was shortly elected president of the Confederacy, believed that it was the right of a state to secede if it so wished. This undoubtedly was inspired by Calhoun, who in turn had been inspired by Jefferson. The south seceded due to a fear of the United States government encroaching on their rights. Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice President of the Confederacy, explains very simply that it is due to their belief in human slavery and the assumption that the United States government was violating their rights to own slaves.

Soon, after the south fired on Fort Sumter, The American Civil War had begun. The Civil War is one of the most important events in American history. By 1865 at the end of the war, nearly 600,000 Americans were dead. With that fact alone, it could very easily be a reason the war changed America. The war has much more importance, however. Another way that America was changed forever that cannot be overlooked was the freeing of the slaves. According to the 1860 census, around 4 million men, women, and children who were formerly in bondage were given freedom after the Thirteenth Amendment & through force through military involvement via General Granger in Texas physically freeing many slaves. The Civil War gave the north the reason it needed to finally abolish slavery and open the door for millions of people to be given the freedom to live their life how they wanted, undoubtedly shaping America as they did so.

## CONCLUSION

Thomas Jefferson and Compact Theory, John C. Calhoun, and Nullification, and even secession and The Civil War all are connected. Thomas Jefferson's Compact Theory is virtually indistinguishable from John C. Calhoun's concept of Nullification. Following how Jefferson Davis and many other men like him listened to Calhoun's words and used them to formulate their own ideas makes secession and the Civil War all make more sense. Nullification did not come from thin air; the ideas can be traced back to Jefferson. Secession, also, can be traced back to Nullification. The last logical step of Secession to a Confederacy is barely even a leap. To say that Jefferson's ideas caused the Civil War would be ridiculous, but the fact of the matter is that Compact Theory is at the heart of many of the men who did cause the Civil War. The Civil War freed millions of slaves, it killed several hundred thousand people, and through these actions it shaped the south into much more of what it is today. If Thomas Jefferson had never suggested Compact Theory, America might be a completely different country.

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**EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL IMPACTS (BOTH  
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE) OF IMPLEMENTING  
CAPITALIST SYSTEMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

AISLINN BEAK

**ABSTRACT**

The central objective of this study is an examination of the cultural effects (both positive and negative) of capitalist systems of production in the context of developing countries. To accomplish this objective, the study was guided by the following two research questions: 1) what is the definition of a capitalist system of production and how has the process of globalization promoted it? and 2) what are the cultural effects (positive and negative) of the capitalist mode of production being implemented in developing countries. Uncovering answers to these questions entailed the use of secondary data collected through East Central University's Linscheid Library, Google Scholar, and texts such as *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by Walter Rodney and *Global Politics* by Andrew Heywood.

The results of this study confirm that there are some positive impacts of capitalism and globalization in the developing world. The positive effects/impacts include free trade, the creation of non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations, the spread of democracy, global connectivity, and the minimization of wealth disparities. Conversely, the negative impacts are greater wealth and income inequalities and underdevelopment, a flattening world and borderless societies, disease and uncontrollable pandemics, cultural issues and divisions of tribes, and capitalism's roots in slav-

ery as well as racial capitalism. Overall, based on these findings, it is important to note that the negative impacts greatly outweigh the positives. An important policy suggestion made in the study is that the capitalist system of production ought to be highly regulated, especially in countries that do not have a strong system of checks and balances against economic exploitation.



## INTRODUCTION

Capitalism has grown and changed over the years since its inception in the 1500s. Jurgen Kocka in his book titled *Capitalism: A Short History* (2016) argues that capitalism as a theory is mostly used to denote an economic system that has far-reaching social, cultural, political, and economic consequences. For instance, by promoting market competition and rewarding innovation, capitalism through globalization has moved millions of people out of poverty and ensured consumers have access to new products from different regions of the world. Conversely, one can argue that capitalism is often seen as serving the interests of elites, large corporations, and businesses. It does not entirely serve the interest of the consumers or workers. Instead of benefiting common people, the market system prioritizes profits and contributes to social harms including income inequality and poor labor conditions— especially among the many who live in the developing world working in the mineral mines. Moreover, some scholars argue that capitalism is dependent on a culture of consumption. This, therefore, leads to unsustainable waste and a dilution of unique cultures around the globe. Consequently, the overarching objective of this study is to *examine how capitalism and globalization are two parts of the same whole, and the effects it imposes on different cultures, especially in the developing world*. More specifically, this study evaluates the cultural effects (positive and negative) of capitalist systems being implemented in developing countries. The study is guided by the following two research questions: 1) what is the definition of a capitalist system of production and how has the process of globalization promoted it? 2) what are the cultural effects (positive and negative) of the capitalist mode of production being implemented in developing countries?

This study is important because, first, it will make an original contribution to this topic. Based on the literature search, this study

will be among the few that examine literature from both practice-focused and critical academic perspectives. This literature has been synthesized to examine the cultural effects of the capitalist mode of production from the perspective of developing countries. Second, this study will provide an important foundation for future research and discussion surrounding what capitalism and globalization impact the developing world. Third, this study moves to propose a lens that has not been examined in great detail. This lens is the understanding that capitalism and globalization are positive in some ways but also can be disastrously detrimental to the lives of those residing in the developing world.

The study is divided into six sections. Section one begins with the methodological issues. This includes a description of how data were assembled for purposes of answering the two research questions. In section two, a review of different definitions of the term capitalism is presented. In section three, a discussion on different definitions of globalization is undertaken. Section four presents the positive and negative impacts of both capitalism and globalization. Section five is a discussion of the findings. The central issue raised here is an examination of the cultural impacts of implementing the capitalist mode of production in developing countries. Finally, section six consists of general conclusions, contributions to literature, study limitations, and suggestions for future research.

## METHODOLOGY

Secondary data was used in this study and a purposive sampling technique was employed while assembling information gathered from several sources. The sources included academic literature from East Central University's Linscheid Library, prominent databases such as Science Direct, Web of Science, Google Scholar, conference proceedings, and books i.e., *Global Politics* by Andrew Heywood, *Thinking Globally: A Global Studies Reader* by Mark Jurgensmeyer, and *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by

## EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL IMPACTS

Walter Rodney. For web-based sources, I completed a word search of the titles and abstracts using key terms under four broad categories including; “capitalism,” “globalization,” “the negative effects of capitalism on developing countries,” and “the positive effects of capitalism in developing countries,” “social responsibility in developing countries,” and in general, “the cultural effects of capitalism.”

The purposive sampling technique was employed to gather information because it enabled the study to focus on articles best suited for answering the two research questions. Subsequently, articles were chosen based on their relevance to the subject material, quality of the research, and their impact since publication. More consideration was given to scholarly textbooks and older sources that could clarify definitions that may otherwise have ambiguous interpretations such as what is capitalism, what is globalization, what is the relationship between globalization and capitalism, and what are the cultural effects of capitalism. The assumption was that the findings were going to demonstrate either the positive or negative effects of the capitalist system of production on developing countries’ cultural environment/development. Furthermore, it was presumed the authors of the literature sampled in this study used the best methods available to them to arrive at the findings posed in their studies, the findings of which were partially used to answer the research questions raised in this study.

Overall, this research is limited in its scope. It is a foundational step in discovering if capitalism hinders actual cultural and/or economic progress in developing countries. It is limited because only two research questions are asked and only a sample size of published secondary materials has been used to answer the aforementioned two research questions.

In the next section, the paper begins by providing a brief definition and overview of two important terms used throughout this study. These are the terms “capitalism” and “globalization.”

## CAPITALISM DEFINED

“Capitalism began when men began to exchange goods and services,” (Heath, 2015). Under the capitalist mode of production, the trading of goods is just as important as the production of them. In fact, “what destroys trade, destroys the system” (Heath, 2015). Capitalism is a creative system in which we can advance both our profits and our wellbeing; however, any restrictions that may be imposed can lead to a loss that both the individual and the community may have to absorb (Heath, 2015).

The official origins of Capitalism as a system can be traced back to the 17th century and be defined as “a system of generalized commodity production in which wealth is owned privately and economic life is organized according to the market principles” (Heywood, 2014 pg. 87). While this may be true, we often see that this wealth is not divided equally, illustrated by the lives of those performing the labor that leads to maximum profit creation. Consequently, the system of capitalism is fueled by the market which can be defined as “a system of commercial exchange shaped by the forces of supply and demand” (Heywood, 2014). Walter Rodney (1972) for instance, has argued that capitalism is a dying system, as it is no longer serving the majority of people, and in many cases, when not properly implemented and monitored, is perpetuating the development of underdevelopment in the periphery countries. Through the use of case studies, Rodney’s main focus with capitalism, as argued in his book, is that there is unequal exchange among the parties involved. In other words, one actor is seen as exploiting, the other party is exploited. In countries that have not developed, this exploitation can deprive the communities of their natural resources and their labor force (Rodney, 1972).

In the capitalist model of labor production, resources are commodified. These resources include labor, power, land, and exchange relations. Because of this commodification, people are easily able

to move around and integrate into different populations (Valiani, 2021). Capitalism allows for a uniform system where currency and wealth circulation are centralized. This centralization allows for the formation of nations (Valiani, 2021); however, Valiani (2021) addresses the work of Samir Amin and acknowledges that nations were formed even before the system of capitalism was conceived. Amin claims that while capitalism is by no means the largest mode of production, it is the driving force behind all other modes (Valiani, 2021). All other modes are therefore integrated into a uniform world system that is dominated by the capitalist mode (Valiani, 2021).

Several inferences are made about the capitalist mode of production. Tauesch (1935) discusses some of those. He states that many ask what capitalism is and have identified capitalism with “the ‘profit motive’ in business; others with the ‘competitive system.’ Especially the so-called ‘cut-throat’ variety.” Tauesch argues that these are rather superficial implications of the capitalist mode of production, but that they must be given some consideration since they have so readily influenced the impression of this system (Tauesch, 1935). Tauesch moves further to discuss the different, concrete definitions of capitalism that are amplified in the work of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. Among these suggest that capitalism consists of the “calculated evaluation of anticipated periodic returns, in the form of dividends or interest payments, and the equation of those returns in terms of present lump-sum money” (Tauesch, 1935, pg. 222). This definition focuses primarily on the financial aspects of capitalism but does allow for further explanation through social interpretation of the exchanges that occur through the capitalist mode of production. Tauesch (1935) states that this view of capitalism is idealistic and relatively passive. Later in the article, Tauesch (1935) goes on to explain that Weber and Troeltsch’s interpretations of capitalism emphasize the pieces of this mode of production that are calculable. The focus is on the financial statement and the balance sheet. By default, “‘profit,’ in this sense, refers not to the sporadic gains on individual trans-

actions, but rather to the persistent incremental improvements in property values and through current gains, which can be ‘capitalized’” (Tuesch, 1935, pg. 224). This idea has led to the development of the corporation, and through this has led to some moral and ethical concerns regarding the role of the corporation in society. The invention of the corporation has “greatly increased the possibility of capitalistic abuses” (Tuesch, 1935, pg. 227).

Contrary to the relatively passive definition proposed above, Tuesch discusses the more pragmatic viewpoint set forth by scholars such as Adam Smith and Lujo Brentano. These scholars explain that capitalism “consists in the organization of productive or distributive agencies to create not only income but also increase original investment” (Tuesch, 1935, pg. 222). Within this definition, different societal roles are filled, i.e., the entrepreneur, inventor, discoverer, advertiser, business manager, etc. (Tuesch, 1935). This conception emphasizes that management plays a large role within the capitalist mode of production—that “periodical earnings and derivative capital values are results of managerial ability” (Tuesch, 1935, pg. 228). Under this view, there is recognition that the “creation of economic values” occurs through scientific and monetary means as well as through good marketing and business practices (Tuesch, 1935). With this, one can understand that capitalism is both an economic and social system.

There is a third interpretation of the capitalist mode of production. Tuesch (1935) discusses the work of Werner Sombart, who proposes that capitalism can be viewed as a historic event. Sombart’s work is very descriptive—it extends past a purely economic and financial definition. Sombart believes that capitalism is an “integral part of the complex fabric of modern civilization, including all of its humanistic patterns and colorations” (Tuesch, 1935, pg. 222).

Tuesch (1935) acknowledges that the capitalist mode of production can take on many different forms and that political govern-

ment plays a large role in determining the form that capitalism takes within a society. How businesses conduct operations also determines the social and economic evolution of a capitalist system. After examining the previously mentioned definitions of capitalism, Tauesch (1935) concludes his paper by stating, “it may easily be that ‘capitalism’ is not one but many.”

Conversely, Marxist-oriented scholars often view capitalism as an unnatural mode of production. They do not view it to be harmonious with our natural world (Empson, 2017). For instance, Marx defines capitalism as “... nature becomes purely an object for humankind, purely a matter of utility; ceases to be recognized as a power for itself; and the theoretical discovery of its autonomous laws appears merely as a ruse so as to subjugate it under human needs, whether as an object of consumption or as a means of production” (Foster as discussed in Marx’s *Grundrisse*, 2008). Capitalism, therefore, creates a new relationship with the natural world and can be defined by lust to create a profit from resources instead of just taking what one needs (Empson, 2017). There are threats to capitalism, especially capitalism as it is known in the United States. While there have been criticisms of the capitalist mode of production since its inception, since the Financial Crisis of 2008, the capitalist system has been under fire. Marxist Jean-Claude Delaunay argues that capitalism is in trouble not just financially, but also because the moral values that once upheld the system are diminishing (Delaunay, 2015). He posits that the historical role of capitalism being a private mode of production is coming to an end (Delaunay, 2015). Along the same vein, Wendy Brown observes that the major implication behind Karl Marx’s work is that the truth behind capitalism can be found in the production sphere. In other words, capitalism has both a “life drive” and a “death drive.” The life drive found in capitalism can be seen in the hunger to find and exploit labor. The death drive is found Marxist belief that the biggest threat to capitalism is the notion that this mode of production produces its own “grave-diggers.” People who were once driven by this system will now be dehumanized and overexploited

and turn against it (Brown 2015).

After an in-depth examination of work from several scholars, the proposed definition of capitalism for this thesis becomes “a system of exchange where wealth is mostly controlled by those who have previously owned capital and resources, natural resources and labor are heavily relied upon and often exploited, and there is easy movement and integration between communities that rely on the capitalist mode of production.” Based on this background and the proposed definition, the study moves forward to provide the definition of the term “globalization” and showcase how it’s closely intertwined and related to the capitalist mode of production and or orientation.

### GLOBALIZATION DEFINED

The term “globalization” gained currency among scholars in the 1990s (Barrow, 2021). Today, it remains a growing phenomenon within the international arena. An often-used definition of globalization is that it is “the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness that means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur, and decisions that are made, at a great distance from us” (Heywood, 2014, pg. 8). This shows that when a society becomes more globalized, there is less regard for national boundaries and individual states. There is a general reduction of sovereignty seen in the different nation-states worldwide, and a heavier reliance on all peoples in the world (Satkiewicz, 2012). Consequently, the concept of globalization entails an increasing “westernization” of most systems—including but not limited to: “economic, technological, and communicational patterns in the world” (Ferrara, 2015). With globalization, there is also the easier movement of goods and people across borders, thus making borders obsolete.

Jan Aart Scholte asserts that globalization makes relations among people *distance less and borderless*. This means that human



life can be conducted in a single global arena (Scholte, 1999). Therefore, globalization increases interactions among different groups of diverse people. In broadening this discussion, Nayef Al-Rodham proposes an all-inclusive definition of globalization. After reviewing hundreds of different scholars' interpretations of the topic, he concludes that "globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities" (Al-Rodham, 2006, pg. 7). One can argue that Al-Rodham's view of globalization is consistently evolving and mutating and that globalization cannot be limited to one definition. Globalization, therefore, becomes multidimensional and is an evolutionary idea that consistently changes with the development of human society (Al-Rodham, 2006). Moreover, by drawing from the work of Andrew Young he illustrates that globalization is a process that "generates flows and connections" and because of this becomes "a historical process which engenders a significant shift in the spatial reach of networks and systems of social relations to transcontinental or interregional patterns of human organization, activity and the exercise of power." (Al-Rodham, 2006). The argument then becomes that globalization does not just occur between states, nations, and national boundaries, but instead impacts entire global regions and civilizations (McGrew, 2006).

Similarly, Immanuel Wallerstein of World System Theory, through case studies, states that "globalization represents the triumph of a capitalist world economy tied together by a global division of labor" (Wallerstein, 1974). Strong capitalist states such as the United States are often the proponents and driving forces behind the globalization process. With this, one can see that, generally, the driving force behind globalization is strong nation-states (Barrow, 2021). These states must "penetrate civil society" to institute norms. This is done through the implementation of laws or some other forms of coercion (Barrow, 2021). In response to this force towards uniformity pushed by superpower countries in the West, like the United States, there has been some resurgence in

traditional “ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious practices” (Trask, 2020). Other communities have responded by incorporating a hybrid of different cultures and practices into their communities. With this, we observe that globalization has contributed to the pluralization of identities (Trask, 2020). By the same token, globalization has increased choices by providing more access to different ideas, identities, and cultures. It has shown new representations of the different lifestyles and beliefs found in different locales worldwide (Trask, 2020).

On the other hand, some scholars argue that globalization is the resurgence of colonization defined in different terms. Martin Khor states that “Globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization” (Khor, 1999). Along the same vein, Jain Neeraj proposes that globalization is simply re-colonization in “new garb” (Neeraj, 2001). As the narrative goes, globalization is often pushed by developed countries. These nation-state field studies data tend to indicate that they are often very exploitative and have a colonist or “conqueror” approach to their relations in the global realm.

One of the central ideas found within globalization is the idea of core, semi-periphery, and periphery nation-states as showcased by the dependency theory proponents. The term periphery can be traced back to different words in Ancient Greek (Peeren et al, 2016). These words mean “arc of a circle” and also “to carry around” giving the notion that countries on the periphery are not fixed in location and that they carry some sort of burden that the nation-states in the core do not (Peeren et al, 2016). The periphery distinguishes what is inside versus what is outside, though geographically, the countries on the core and the periphery are not always set up this way. It is also important to note that even though these periphery countries serve as a distinguishing feature or strata between what is being exploited versus what is exploited. These periphery communities often are marginal and not of direct concern to the leaders of the developed world (Peeren et al, 2016).

Globalization can be directly attributed to setting up this divide.

While the core is in a substantially better position than the periphery countries, it is interesting to note that the periphery does not survive off of the core nation. Instead, the core lives on and profits off of the periphery states (Peeren, et al, 2016). This is a highly parasitic and exploitative relationship in which only the core nation-states thrive. Since the peripheral countries are on the outside, and they are not reliant upon the core (as the core is highly exploitative rather than beneficial), the peripheral theoretically is “which is most able to escape the center’s impact and thus potentially able of developing independently of it” (Peeren et al, 2016). The periphery can be regarded as a place of oppression and/or exploitation, or, with development, might be a place of potential individual freedom (Peeren et al, 2016). With the strong Western hand in globalization, however, we more often than not see the periphery being exploited and unable to develop independently of Western ideals. Other than the Western world being predominately much more developed, there is not much of a geographical component with regards to the differences between the core nations and the peripheral nations. The term periphery gives the implication of a center (Ferrara, 2015), but core countries like the US are not surrounded by the periphery countries which they consistently exploit.

After completing the literature review of the different interpretations and definitions of globalization, this study attempts to provide a working definition: “globalization is an ever-evolving term that refers to the movement of ideas— including cultural, social, economic, and political—across national borders. With technology and globalization, borders become less meaningful: therefore, norms and national identity have been diminished in societies now than in other points in humanity.”

As a result of these wider perceptions, it is thus difficult to develop a more comprehensive definition of either globalization or

capitalism—a definition that can encapsulate all these significant variables. Based on this foundation, the coming section, this study will attempt an evaluation of the specific cultural impacts of capitalism and globalization, including both their positive and negative effects.

**THE IMPACTS OF CAPITALISM AND  
GLOBALIZATION EXAMINED  
THE POSITIVE IMPACTS OF CAPITALISM AND  
GLOBALIZATION EXAMINED  
FREE TRADE: INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY,  
INNOVATION, AND INCLUSION**

Under the capitalist mode of production, efficiency is increased (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2017, pg. 406). Capitalists seek to create development paths that tie the developing world into the world economy and trade. Even if these strategies defer equity, in the beginning, many capitalists argue that they maximize efficiency in the long run (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2017, pg. 406). After a state has accumulated some wealth and is self-sustaining, it can redress the issues of poverty and inequity. The global North holds the accumulation of wealth for now; however, Pevehouse and Goldstein (2017) highlight that this unequal concentration creates rapid economic growth, which in turn will bring wealth and prosperity to the global South. Capitalism is a pillar of liberalism philosophy, which holds that market capitalism best allows for the most efficient allocation of scarce resources within a society (Burchill, 2013, pg. 57).

Globalization has eroded the states' power of regulating global markets. Capital, therefore, becomes more sovereign than the "interventionary behavior of the state and the collective power of the working people" (Burchill, 2013, pg. 75). Burchill (2013) presents the argument that liberals believe globalization is leading to a new era of capitalism, and that through this, national borders are not as relevant to the economic process. Because of this, capital is

liberated from constraints, both national and territorial. Burchill (2013) delves further into the theory of free trade by describing how commercial trade should be able to exchange goods and money without the overarching concern of national boundaries. Thus, free trade combines both the capitalist and globalization arguments—the movement of goods and services, of capital and wealth, should not be restricted by borders. Therefore, “only free trade will maximize economic growth and generate the competition that will promote the most efficient use of resources, people, and capital” (Burchill, 2013, pg. 76).

One of the most notable components of the free trade theory is the idea of comparative advantage. Scott Burchill (2013) defines this as nations relying not on self-sufficiency, but instead specializing in goods and services that they can produce at the cheapest cost. Instead of self-sufficiency, there becomes global efficiency. Burchill (2013) illuminates how wealth becomes maximized, and the global community is better off as a whole. “The self-interests of one becomes the general interest of all” (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 76). Within the free trade argument, there is also a discussion of the developing world. Burchill (2013) states that it creates a “trade profile” for communities that would have been excluded from the world of trade altogether. Free trade helps to integrate the developing world into the global economy. This combined pro-globalization and pro-capitalism effort promote more innovation, productivity, and efficiency for all who live in the world.

### **CREATION OF NONGOVERNMENTAL (NGOS) AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (INGOS)**

In a world where there are complex arrangements regarding communications, trade, movement across borders, questions over laws, morals, and regulations develop. Perhaps one of the greater successes to emerge from the movement towards globalization and global interconnectedness is the creation of non-government-

tal and intergovernmental organizations. Some NGOs and INGOs promote global unity and work to implement and secure human rights for all citizens of the world—regardless of state citizenship. There are many different types of NGOs and INGOs. Much that goes on within the world depends on how much these two different types of institutions can influence people. Nongovernmental organizations, specifically, must be able to influence both people and governments. If they can influence the global community, their mission is often organized around the importance of alleviating human suffering through changing what is seen as internationally legitimate, i.e., internationally acceptable (Linklater in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 102). An example of a strong NGO is the Human Rights Watch. This institution has been very successful in ensuring the protection of and diminishing atrocities against “women, indigenous people, and ethnic and religious minorities” (Darrian-Smith in *Thinking Globally*, 2014 pg. 383).

The United Nations (UN) has been a particularly successful Intergovernmental Organization. The UN models most democratic governments—there are parliamentary procedures, voting, and accountability that are used to make decisions for the body. Legal protections of citizens globally are promoted and debated. Burchill (2013) states, “The legal protection of civil rights within liberal democracies is extended to the promotion of human rights across the world” (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 85). The UN was founded in 1945, post-World War II. This was in response to the many horrific acts committed by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party. Because of this dire need to protect human rights, countries joined the UN and helped draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Darrien-Smith in *Thinking Globally*, 2014, pg. 382). This declaration was an attempt to override state sovereignty when it comes to human rights. The idea is that people, regardless of physical location, should be ensured certain protections (Darrien-Smith in *Thinking Globally*, 2014). The UN Declaration sought to respect the “global ethic of dignity and respect towards all human beings” (Jurgensmeyer, 2014, pg. 374).

## EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL IMPACTS

While some INGOs may have been created for economic benefits, trade, etc., some have benefitted communities socially. A strong example of this is the North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA. NAFTA includes the United States, Canada, and now, Mexico. While NAFTA has undeniably helped Mexico become more economically viable in recent years, there has been another very positive social outcome from the agreement. Post-NAFTA Mexico has given Mexican women the chance to challenge traditional gender norms within their societies. They have been able to create feminist identities (True in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 247). The UN has also been a promoter of women's rights and has even formed a women's empowerment agency, UN Women (True in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 247).

Thus, it is apparent that through the creation and protection of nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations, human rights are promoted and protected for people globally.

**SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACE**

Capitalism and democracy often go hand in hand. Democracies often tend to be capitalist states, and by the same token, capitalism often requires the promotion of or movement towards democratic institutions to operate efficiently. Capitalist states tend to have very strong trade institutions that create a significant level of interdependence between the different nations. In democratic states, war would be very costly because it would disrupt the trade balance between the nations (Pevehouse & Goldstein, 2017, pg. 80). Francis Fukuyama, through collecting data in case studies, argues that capitalism sparks a movement towards cooperation between nations as democratic institutions and ideals must be upheld to maintain the system. While capitalist-democratic states do go to war, it is not with other capitalist-democratic states (Pevehouse, Goldstein, 2017, pg. 80). Thus, it can be noted that as more nations in the developing world move towards the capitalist mode of pro-

duction, democratic institutions are likely to follow.

Mueller (1989) contends that the world is already witnessing the obsolescence of war among the major powers. These powers are all democratic and often members of the developed world (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 63). War is seen as morally unacceptable, repulsive, immoral, and uncivilized (Mueller, 1989). Following the tradition of the capitalist mindset of costs versus benefits, democracies have to weigh the costs and benefits of choosing to disturb the peace and go to war with one another. “Because war brings about more costs than gains and is no longer seen as a romantic pursuit, it has become ‘rationally unthinkable’” (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 63).

Throughout history, war has occurred as a way of achieving wealth. Wealth is a source of power within the global arena. Many liberal scholars believe that war and the spirits of commerce are mutually incompatible (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 65). Free trade under the capitalist mode of production provides the grounds for more peaceful ways of achieving national wealth and power. Under the theory of comparative advantage, each nation is better off trading and cooperating than they would be solely pursuing their national interests and autarky (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 65). Free trade breaks down different barriers to unite people globally. Barriers that are artificially put up to free trade cause international tensions (Burchill in *Theories of International Relations*, 2013, pg. 65). Thus, it is extremely beneficial for states globally to engage with capitalism and free trade to assist in alleviating tensions between nations. Burchill (2013) discusses the work of John Stuart Mill and how he believed the end of war would be brought about by the implementation of free trade. Using war to resolve tensions and conflicts would hinder trade, which would result in harm to economic prosperity for different actors within the global arena. To conclude, it is unlikely that states engaging in the capitalist mode of production will wage war with one another. They are



more likely to be democratic and use diplomacy as a means to resolve conflict.

### GLOBAL INTERCONNECTIVITY

Global interconnectivity as promoted by globalization has contributed to large global changes. Through globalization, there have been surges in competition. While some worry that competition may be bad for the developing world, it has promoted growth and helped many of these countries improve their economic conditions (Shareia, 2015, pg. 84). Globalization theory shows us that communication is increasing daily—countries globally are finding it to be substantially easier to interact with each other. These relationships not only exist among developed countries but also in developing nations. This means that less economically developed communities now have more of a say in the global arena (Shareia, 2015, pg. 84). New technologies have been sparked by globalization. These developments allow even minor businesses to benefit as they can now participate in the evolving connected world. Technological developments ensure that minorities obtain the opportunity to use their voices in the “*modern pattern of communication*” (Shareia, 2015, pg. 84). While these minorities may still be marginalized in the context of the developed world, this chance is the first step to better representation in the modern world. Technological advances also lead to economic connectivity and can unify social and international groups (Shareia, 2015, pg. 84).

Globalization Theory promotes a unified universal system—the primary areas of focus are communication and economic relationships (Shareia, 2015, pg. 85). While the focus of the theory is centered on the aforementioned points, there is still an interconnection of cultural characteristics that follow. Thus, cultural links develop between the nations (Shareia, 2015, pg. 84). Shareia (2015) highlights an argument proposed by Reyes (2001): “it [globalization] underlines both the universal dynamic system of communication and current economic situations, specifically those of

highly active financial transactions and trade.” Thus, globalization followed by the improvement of technology and communication has provided better opportunities for local businesses (Shareia, 2015, pg. 85). Shareia (2015) later argues that globalization and unity are caused by the positive condition of global improvement in communication. Technology has become the vehicle and driving force of communication throughout the international environment. Nations are increasingly more unified in the global arena (Shareia, 2015, pg. 85).

These changes have largely impacted the way international relations are conducted. Developed and developing nations interact far more often than they did before globalization swept the globe (Shareia, 2015, pg. 86). Nations are now able to integrate their demands, interests and products past the normal confines of borders and other physical boundaries. They can unify regardless of governmental controls (Shareia, 2015, pg. 86). Globalization has sparked an increase in the ability to influence the developing countries of the world. Now, marginalized individuals can use technologies to “relate on a global scale” (Shareia, 2015, pg. 86). Shareia (2015) highlights the work of Intriligator (2004) and states: “They can unify with the global village and develop modern and contemporary universal interrelationships.” There becomes a social and economic unification and integration from different social sectors globally. Globalization thus promotes global interconnectivity that can be very beneficial for both the developed and marginalized communities of the world.

### **MINIMIZATION OF WEALTH DISPARITIES AND SOCIAL CAPITALISM**

The central idea within the social model of capitalism is what has been identified as the social market. The social market is “an attempt to marry the disciplines of market competition with the need for social cohesion and solidarity” (Heywood, 2014, pg. 89). There is an emphasis on long-term social investment as opposed

to short-term profitability—the latter of these which is often an emphasis and characteristic of more extreme forms of capitalism such as vulture capitalism. There have been many benefits that have resulted from social capitalism. An example of this is the transformation of war-torn Germany into one of Europe’s leading powers (Heywood, 2014). Germany was able to reap such large rewards because of capital investments paired with an emphasis on training and/or education within a variety of fields including vocational and craft skills (Heywood, 2014).

The social model of capitalism also known as the European model of capitalism is argued to be better than the liberal model, or what we currently observe within the United States (Bresser-Pereira, 2012). Many political forces within the United States keep the country from being able to move from liberal capitalism to social capitalism despite the many benefits that have been experienced within different European countries such as Germany. In the liberal form of capitalism, individualism is often held in the highest regard, which is ultimately detrimental to the national community. Within European countries, there is a willingness among members of the society to pay taxes, thus there is a more egalitarian form of consumption (Bresser-Pereira, 2012). This means that consumption is regarded as a collective endeavor and is achieved through the “provision of education, health care, and social security services free of charge or almost free of charge, financed by the state” (Bresser-Pereira, 2012). There is a minimization of wealth disparities—income is distributed more equally and social rights are guaranteed. European countries have far surpassed the United States when it comes to standards of living that are often valued by countries that also subscribe to the capitalist mode of production. Five of these standards include security, freedom, social justice, welfare, and environmental protection (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, pg. 29).

While this form of the capitalist mode of production has not been universally accepted, it certainly has led to economic and social

prosperity within different European countries. Similar to Germany, if implemented in other impoverished and war-torn communities, there would be a great opportunity for economic and social stability to come out of a dire situation.

**THE NEGATIVE CULTURAL IMPACTS OF  
CAPITALISM AND GLOBALIZATION EXAMINED  
GREATER WEALTH AND INCOME INEQUALITIES,  
EXPLOITATION, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT**

On one hand, globalization and the spread of capitalism have led to many positive changes – as aforementioned— within different societies and the global community as a whole; however, it has also contributed to many problems that must be faced by global leaders today. The capitalist system has allowed for an accumulation of wealth. This wealth has not been attainable by everyone, and in many cases, capitalism can be noted to create a bigger gap between the impoverished and the wealthy tyrants. One of the issues with trying to implement the capitalist mode of production everywhere lies in the fact that the system cannot be identical everywhere (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, pg. 22). The model of capitalism found in the United States is much different than the model seen in European countries. Within the United States, the “liberal democratic model” is the functioning capitalist mode of production. Within this model, state intervention is as minimal as possible. There is a lack of state involvement in education, health care, social care, and social protections (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, pg. 25). While the people essentially buy into the system, there are relatively fewer social benefits remitted to them. As implemented in the United States, there are few universal rights and capitalism does not minimize income inequality (Bresser-Pereira, 2012, pg. 27).

For the developing countries to enter the capitalist system, a person must already have some sort of wealth or capital—there must be a prior process of generation of wealth or starting capital (Har-

riss-White, 2006, pg. 1241). Disadvantaged groups are consistently denied the ability to even enter the system. Inequality, at high and persistent rates, leads to inequality of opportunity (Murshed, 2020, pg. 3). Thomas Piketty (2015) argues in his book, *The Economics of Inequality*, that this inequality is present because of an unequal distribution of human capital. Murshed (2020) argues that this inequality has been accelerating in recent years due to the increase in globalization since the 1980s. This inequality is largely a result of less regulated labor markets and financial globalization. Financial globalization, along with the greater international mobility of capital, has led to increases in inequality because it lowers the “bargaining power” of the labor force rendered by the threat of moving all economic activities overseas (Murshed, 2020, pg. 4). Capital is much more concentrated—it falls into the hands of the super-wealthy as opposed to the much more prevalent labor class. The greatest beneficiaries have been the top 1%, but the lower middle class and the poor have suffered immensely, even in developed countries (Murshed, 2020, pg. 4). This rising inequality also changes the political situation. Money helps to ensure political success (Milanovic 2016, 2019), and national policies tend to reflect the interests of those who are owners of mobile capital and skills, etc. (Murshed, 2020, pg. 5).

Hyper globalization and increasing inequality in income can be linked to the increased rise in populism; though strangely, in many recent elections worldwide, the median voter voted to become poorer (Murshed, 2020, pg. 6). It appears that this willingness of the voter to *not* overcome economic inequality resides in the fact that they chose to identify with nationalist ideas over their economic interests. These ideologies were pushed forward by leaders such as Donald Trump and his “America First” rhetoric (Murshed, 2020, pg. 6). Many nationalist ideas stem from an irrational response to the idea that globalization is the only cause of the economic inequality that individuals face globally under the capitalist systems.

Since the capitalist system often operates without any sort of state regulation or intervention, capital can accumulate in the hands of a few. This prevents small firms and businesses from having a competitive opportunity within the system. When these small firms are able to be successful, it is an exception, rather than a norm (Harris-White, 2006, pg. 1242). Commercial capitalism, as a whole, then becomes managed by those who benefit most from the system. Harris-White (2006) argues that this regulation is determined by gender, religion, and race, and it is effective but also highly exclusive. While these regulatory factors may look unintentional, they often are developed because they are advantageous to the business and/or the state. This group, with few exceptions, reaps the rewards, while market and environmental risks are then put onto an unprotected class of workers (Harris-White, 2006, pg. 1242). Under this highly exploitative operation, new and old forms of low-cost labor are incorporated. This labor process is controlled through a variety of means, specifically the inability to form unions or exert some form of response to the dominance (Harris-White, 2006, pg.1242). Within this form of commercial capitalism, commercial firms control production. The producers within the system are unable to leave the exploitative system without the threat of becoming destitute (Harris-White, 2006, pg. 1242).

Murshed (2020) states that the capitalist mode of production will be durable and long lasting; it is very important to reexamine the positive aspects of the system. This would entail better public spending on social programs such as education, health care, social, protection, etc. (Murshed, 2020, pg. 6). In the last four decades, Murshed (2020) argues that the capitalist mode of production has created greater inequality. Ostry, Berg, and Tsangrides (2014) prove that the cross-sections between growth in developed and developing countries show that inequality has a negative effect on growth—that exploitation in favor of the rich does not lead to better investment in productive capital. Murshed (2020) states that “inequality [exploitation] is the mother of all forms of con-

flict, which demands amelioration.” Thus, it is important to fix the inequalities and inequities that taint the capitalist mode of production.

### FLATTENING WORLD AND UNIPOLARITY

Globalization has made it possible to share many ideas and experiment with different cultural ideologies without having to travel to a new country. This rapid spread of ideas—particularly from the Western world to the developing countries—has been positive in some instances. However, it has also been extremely detrimental to the traditional way of life within the different global communities. As mentioned in the previous section on globalization, through globalization there is a pluralization of identities (Trask, 2020, pg. 1). With this access to different identities, the idea of national identity and therefore sovereignty is challenged. In some respects, globalization has given individuals the ability to choose how they want to represent themselves outside of a prescribed national identity; it becomes critical to note that not all people can choose how they or their communities identify. Identities are given to them with different consequences (Trask, 2020, pg. 1).

With less stress being put on the borders of a country, there has been speculation that globalization might produce the end of the nation-state (Barrow, 2021, pg. 170). Barrow (2020) observes, “*The central theme in these eulogies was that the nation-states had lost control of their national economies, currencies, territorial boundaries and even their cultures and languages as macroscopic forms of power shifted from the nation-state to the global market, transnational corporations, and global media and communication networks*” ( why do this)(Barrow, 2021, pg. 170). Barrow (2021) goes on to argue that it is nation states that maintain the relations of unequal influence around the world. Along the same vein, Barrow (2021) discusses how states are not helpless when it comes to the process of globalization and that [powerful] nation-states are the agents of globalization. They guarantee that the political

and material conditions are properly suited for the accumulation of capital. Barrow states that the way globalization is currently implemented in society shows American dominance and hegemony and is a form of an American empire (Barrow, 2021, pg. 174).

Similarly, Steven Weber in *Thinking Globally* (2014) documents how America is the sole contributor to the problems the world experiences with globalization. Ironically, he discusses that the officials of the United States believe that the way to solve the problem is to combat the issues with the expansion of American power. This is sometimes done multilaterally, but more often is implemented unilaterally. In Weber's eyes, the United States is pushing for a "flat" globalized society—the rules and institutions controlled by a single superpower (Weber in *Thinking Globally*, 2014, pg. 23). Weber argues that globalization and unipolarity cannot be combined. Globalization then becomes a monopoly, which is deleterious for all members of the global community, including the monopolist. "Globalization under unipolarity" has many dangers (Weber in *Thinking Globally*, 2014, pg. 24). One can conclude that these dangers may be economic, political, or cultural.

### **DISEASE SPREAD AND UNCONTROLLABLE PANDEMICS**

In a society that is so greatly impacted by globalization, there is a large dissemination of ideas, sharing of economic principles, technological advances, and connectivity; however, with so much movement between different parts of the world also comes the great spread of disease. Disease cannot be contained by borders—especially not with the travel of large amounts of people and different goods from country to country (Weber in *Thinking Globally*, 2014). Weber (2014) argues that globalization is turning the world into an enormous "petri dish." He states "Humans cannot outsmart disease because it evolves too quickly. Bacteria can reproduce a new generation in less than 30 minutes, while it takes us decades to come up with a new generation of antibiotics" (Weber in *Think-*



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ing *Globally*, 2014, pg. 26). Solutions to these quick changes are only possible where and when people have the advantage. This is rarely the case in poor and developing countries, where people may live in proximity to farms and/or wild animals and have a substantially higher chance of contracting a zoonotic disease (Weber in *Thinking Globally*, 2014, pg. 26). Often, these countries that face the harshest realities concerning health crises are the same countries that are subjugated and threatened by American power (Weber, 2014, pg. 26). Many of these countries—due to the link between American predominance and globalization—now resist any intervention as they have come to understand that this means American interference. Weber (2014) argues that in the future, these communities may even resist the involvement of Western agencies such as the World Health Organization due to the negative ways that globalization has impacted the developing world. This is extremely dangerous. If there are wide outbreaks of infectious disease, but a resistance to work as a global community to fix the problem, there may be a dark future of unmanageable spreads of illness. Weber (2014) goes on to explain that the best way to resolve this pressing issue is to advance a counter balance to the global arena through the influence of another powerful country. He believes that this new power should have different ideological and cultural leanings—that they have the best interests in mind for the developing countries that may suffer from proportionally larger amounts of disease and disease spread (Weber in *Thinking Globally*, 2014, pg. 27).

There are many factors to consider with regards to what pandemics and the spread of disease in general, do to society. In times of crisis, such as a pandemic, income inequalities are highlighted and there is often a decline in a country's economic condition. This has been seen throughout history and was certainly highlighted again during the Covid-19 Pandemic. Murshed (2020) discusses how since the beginning of the Covid-19 Pandemic, there has been a steep global recession—the worst since the 1930s. He argues that the “consequence is the immiserization of vast swathes of hu-

manity, particularly endangering the lives and livelihoods of the marginalized and vulnerable across the globe” (Murshed, 2020, pg. 1). Once again, the global health crisis that spread so rapidly due in part to globalization disproportionately impacts the already economically downtrodden communities in the developing world. The developed world is much better equipped to respond and survive a pandemic such as Covid – 19.

### **THE REDRAWING OF BORDERS IN AFRICA: SOVEREIGNTY ISSUES, CULTURAL ISSUES, TRIBAL DIVISIONS**

One can argue that the process of globalization and the search for resources through the spread of capitalism immensely contributed to colonization. The European colonization and then decolonization of African territories was done arbitrarily and without any respect to the different African communities, tribes, and kingdoms. The colonization of these communities was done out of selfishness and desire for resources and a broader reach of control in the Southern Hemisphere. In comparison to other parts of the global community, Africa has experienced high levels of post-decolonization violence (Gleiditsch, 2002). This violence can be linked to the arbitrary borders and weak government institutions left behind by colonizers. These traits fuel conflict and can be linked to separatism within the African continent (Englebert & Hummel, 2005).

Herbst (1989) states that “The stability of boundaries in the world’s most partitioned continent, where few other political institutions have survived for very long, is often seen as particularly surprising because the borders were initially drawn without respect for social and linguistic groupings and because the colonial and post-colonial political authorities charged with maintaining the borders have been weak or absent.” Colonists came into the continent of Africa without respect for its traditions, tribes, different languages, etc., and forced new arbitrary boundaries to be maintained. Herbst (1989) argues that these boundaries are haphazard—that

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the creators of those boundaries, i.e., Western European countries, did not factor in a variety of things that are important when creating new borders. The first thing listed has to do with the adaptations to poor soil conditions. Large populations within Africa are often seminomadic due to this fact—there are waves of movement through different times to guarantee sufficient amounts of food. The second factor is that many people do not have allegiance to anything outside of their village, thus ethnic differences and identities did not provide adequate information regarding the creation of new boundaries (Herbst, 1989). This has led to numerous detrimental consequences. Often, people identify politically with a certain chief versus identifying ethnically, linguistically, or culturally (Ranger, 1985). The establishment of European boundaries divided groups that already had preexisting loyalties (Slinn, 1981).

Due to underdevelopment, African communities are now left hanging between in the local and international contexts (Deng, 1993). There are extreme amounts of marginalization, and even though the developed world arguably caused many of the issues facing the African community today, there is little done to help repair the conflicts and help dismantle corruption. Africans collectively have decided that the world does not regard their problems to be important them or the urgent issues at hand (Deng, 1993). There is also the reality that to reemerge in the global context, there must be some sort of reliance and interdependence on the current global system. Thus, there is a resistance to marginalization (Deng, 1993).

It is simply not fair that the problems and hardships created by the developed world is now having to be addressed by the countries already facing the consequences. The roots of this problem are much deeper than a political misjudgment and many of the reasons the African communities are still marginalized will be discussed in the following section.

## **CAPITALISM'S ROOTS: SLAVERY, COLONIALISM, AND RACISM**

Since its beginnings, capitalism has been linked to a variety of very negative social and cultural consequences. To be more specific, Andrew Linklater summarizes the work of Anderson (1974) and states, “In preceding centuries and millennia, coercion was central to the appropriation of wealth” (Linklater, 2013, pg. 132). Coercion refers to the capturing of different people and forcing them to become slaves and help to acquire wealth through forced labor. Many slaves were captured through war (Linklater, 2013, pg. 132). Modern industrial capitalism has propelled the world past the period of antebellum slavery; however, it is important to note that there are still many biases within the capitalist system and that the system is designed to serve the few who hold the majority of the capital within any given society (Harris-White, 2006).

Anievas and Nisancioglu (2018) argue that plantation slavery in the United States was not a “non-capitalist enterprise” but that it was a definitive part of the capitalist process. Slavery, at one point in time, had been integral to the functioning of capitalism (Anievas & Nisancioglu, 2018, pg. 186). They proceed to argue that many of the processes that are experienced within the system today—such as work regimes and methods of discipline—had their roots on plantations. Enslavement and exploitation of slave labor continue to be an aspect of the capitalist mode of production. Because of this, Anievas and Nisancioglu (2018) find that instead of transitioning from plantation slavery capitalism to industrial capitalism, there is a combination of those two elements that more accurately describes their relationship.

Within the umbrella of capitalism is Racial Capitalism -- another term that is growing to be more popular among scholars. It refers to the “mutually constitutive entanglements of racialized and colonial exploitation within the process of capital accumulation”

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(Edwards, 2021). The argument is that the system of capitalism became realized because of imperialism, colonialism, racial slavery, expropriation, and super-exploitation. This has led to a system of unequal exchange where the periphery is depleted by supplying the core with labor and other resources needed to fuel the capitalist model (Edwards, 2021). It is important to note the Western push toward capitalism was not the birth of racism. With this focus, it is impossible to understand the complicated relationship between racism and capitalism (Hanchard, 2019). While racism's roots did not stem from capitalism, it is important to examine how capitalism has promoted the proliferation of racist institutions (Hanchard, 2019).

As mentioned, capitalism is regulated by norms often outside of a government or system. These norms are not always just—they are arbitrary and incomplete—and are often instituted at the exclusion of large populations of people (Harris-White, 2006). These norms are upheld by those who they serve, even with the social consequences, and will not be changed without governmental or state involvement. It can be concluded that racism and capitalism are not mutually exclusive and that a system built off of the exploitation of certain peoples is not a system that has miraculously changed to serve them.

**Table 1:** Summary of the negative and positive impacts of capitalism and globalization

Positive Impacts	Negative Impacts
Free Trade: Increased production, innovation, productivity	Greater wealth and income inequalities, underdevelopment, and exploitation/colonization
Creation of non-governmental (NGO) and intergovernmental organizations (INGO)	Flattening world and borderless societies
Spread of democracy and development and perpetual peace	Disease spread/ Uncontrollable Pandemics
Global connectivity	Cultural issues/ divisions of tribes when borders have been redrawn
Minimization of wealth disparities/ social capitalism	Capitalism’s roots of slavery, colonialism, and now racial capitalism

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

There are certainly some very positive things that both capitalism and globalization have brought to both the developed and the developing world. As illustrated, some positives include economic development, global interconnectedness, increased production and innovation, the spread of democracy and development, and the spread of intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental agencies. Each of these is designed to lift people worldwide out of dire situations. In other words, move people out of poverty and into better, more stable economic standings. The function of globalization is to provide the network for ideas—economic and cultural alike—to be accessible to all, regardless of the region of the world or the standing of their country regarding the global hi-

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erarchy. This is an optimistic set of conditions and in some cases has worked, but often, the developing periphery countries get left out of the equation. The capitalist system has been designed to serve the few who already have the resources and ability to develop them. While it has been marketed for years as a system that can help the masses through innovation, competition, etc., very rarely does that ever actually occur—at least for those who are in the developing world. Centuries of colonization, slavery, wars, and unequal access to opportunity do not just get rendered obsolete or too damaging to the world system through the institution of capitalism through means of globalization.

Globalization has been extremely beneficial to the developing world in some regards, but it has also hurt these countries gravely. There is often the idea that Western aid and influence are positive and will help developing countries. Piketty (2015) discusses that this is not the case and that this assistance ignores the fact that these countries are not the owners of their wealth. This spread of Western assistance and help has masked what is going on—the West is taking resources and labor unchecked (Piketty, 2015). Through the spread of Western ideas, there has been a loss of tribal and/or traditional cultures. In response to this, there has been a rise in nationalism in some communities, and dysfunction in others. In parts of Africa, where country borders have been redrawn to benefit the Western Colonizers, the response has been dire. Many tribes have been broken up by these borders, and there is a lack of national allegiance to the new boundaries, and still allegiance to the tribal members. This lack of allegiance to a new government and sovereign society has tended to lead to cycles of corruption within the political system. The citizens of these countries have borne the harms brought about by the negative impacts of globalization and capitalism. To survive in this system, the people must play by the system's rules, which often are in conflict with the traditional values of their communities. This is very distressing. The principles of globalization suggest the unity of the world and the sharing of different ideas globally; however, there is mostly just the spread

of ideas from the Western world to the developing countries and not the other way around. It seems there is a one-way channel for ideas—ideas from the West are directed downwards. Aside from resources and labor, little is brought from the developing world to the developed countries.

It is extremely important to note that while capitalism has been ex-effective in developed countries, it does not always have the same success in the developing world. The idea of developed countries implementing capitalist systems in the developing world more closely matches the principles of realism as opposed to assisting these communities in the process of moving on the path towards progress. As noted in the previous section, the relationship between the core and periphery countries is highly exploitative (Rodney, 1974). The core becomes the dictator of what goes on in the global arena, making it impossible for the periphery to have opportunities for substantive and meaningful input regarding both their domestic affairs as well as international relations. Even though the core relies heavily on the periphery, it highly disregards these marginalized communities. This means that these communities do not have much of an opportunity to grow past the level that the core keeps them at. The capitalistic core develops the periphery to the extent whereby the periphery can aid the core, but not to the point where these countries could develop to be a competitor in the international arena. The communities in the developing world are highly displaced, restructured, and exploited. While one might assume that the negative impacts of this would be offset by large economic or financial growth, this is often not the case, and these communities continue to exist under the undue influence of the parasitic core capitalist countries in the developed world.

There is also a strong tie between capitalism and poverty except for those who own the capital living in extreme wealth. To enter the capitalist system successfully, one must first have access to or have an accumulation of wealth. These institutional preconditions (Harris-White, 2006) make it next to impossible for those in the



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developing world to reap the same benefits that might be seen by the elite few even in countries like the United States. Often to enter the capitalist system, individuals must give up certain values. This exchange of values for promised better economic standing is most often empty. The capitalist system is not regulated by a governmental body, meaning that what happens is effectively determined by norms outside of a system (Harris-White, 2006). The system, therefore, continues to be oppressive and exploitative because it benefits those who are in positions of authority (Harris-White, 2006). Those who do not embody those positions of power are exploited. Not only do these people not have much of a say in the way that their society serves them, but they also have to absorb risks. These risks can be economic, environmental, etc. To conclude, to maximize the benefits afforded by the capitalist mode of production, one must have some wealth and fit the societal norm of who should hold power. In the developing world, most do not fit this description, and therefore, the capitalist system is not designed to serve them.

Globalization makes borders and other physical boundaries irrelevant when it comes to the spread of information. This openness also provides for the possibility of negative effects that are unchecked, as well. With a borderless society comes a rapid spread of disease. Large epidemics, which could once be contained to a community, now spread globally. Societies are almost toxically interdependent on one another. For example, in response to the threats of the Covid-19 virus, many countries shut down their borders. Through trade and necessary travel between borders, this disease spread. A virus pays no mind to physical barriers based on national identity, and it becomes impossible to contain when different countries are so reliant on each other to function (Rashkova, 2020). For obvious reasons, a pandemic is an extremely negative thing and hurts society at large. These pandemics are even more dangerous in the developing world. This is because these countries and communities do not have the resources they need to respond to such a rapid threat. In some particularly impoverished commu-

nities, there is no access to sterile equipment or personal protective equipment. This puts those who are in charge of health care at extreme risk. If they are unable to take care of the sick citizens, the threat becomes unmanageable. Developing countries also do not gain access to medications and vaccinations at the same rate or amounts that their counterparts in the developed world do. This is a serious disadvantage with the result leaving these regions and countries significantly behind in the process to overcome the health crises. While the Western world is returning to a sense of normalcy since the Covid-19 Pandemic has begun, the rest of the developing world will fall behind. This harms communities and prevents any other progress from occurring. Times of high amounts of disease also highlight income inequalities. This can be seen throughout history and currently in the day-to-day lives of many because of the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The general issue surrounding the spread of globalization and the implementation of the capitalist mode of production in developing countries lies not with the systems themselves, but how they are being implemented and monitored. There are certainly more responsible ways in which the developed West could bring these ideologies to the developing world.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Throughout the previous sections, this study has elaborated upon a review of the practice-focused and critical analytic literature on the positive and negative effects of capitalism and globalization on the social, political, and economic development in developing countries. In so doing, 1) the study has examined the definition of capitalism and globalization, and 2) the effects (positive and negative) of the capitalist mode of production being implemented in developing countries. Overall, the study has revealed the following;

First, capitalism as an economic theory has certainly evolved

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since its inception in the early 1500s. By promoting open markets and free trade, there has certainly been innovation, competition, and growth. Combined with globalization, the capitalist mode of production touches most communities worldwide and has brought about many changes to traditional ways of life. These changes are positive in some respects and incredibly debilitating in others. With these changes emerged issues such as colonization, slavery, the proliferation of racist ideas and systems, extreme income inequality, changes in traditional ways of life, the spread of uncontrollable disease, etc. These negative impacts harm those in the developing, or periphery, countries at a disproportionate level as compared to those in the core, Western, developed world. This is interesting to note given the fact that the leaders and large corporations in the West are the ones who are pushing forth these theories and systems.

Second, for these systems to operate effectively (that is capitalism and globalization) the study proposes that there must be a variety of large economic, social, governmental, technological, and therefore cultural changes that take place. The changes brought about can be beneficial, but often, due to how they are implemented and monitored, end up bringing about great societal consequences, specifically within countries in the developing world. As aforementioned, some of these consequences include greater wealth and income inequalities and underdevelopment, flattening world and borderless societies, disease spread and uncontrollable pandemics, cultural issues, divisions of tribes, and capitalism's roots in slavery as well as racial capitalism. Often, when the Western world implements these systems in developing countries, they are not properly managed, or they are implemented before a strong government structure is put into place. This leads to cycles of corruption where the elite few control the wealth and many other citizens end up in extreme poverty. Underdevelopment perpetuates this cycle. Systems are created without strong foundations and institutions, and because of this, many people in the developing world are left with conflicts to resolve but do not have the resour-

es to adequately do so. This is extremely harmful and impedes progress as well as prevents future development from occurring. For the capitalist mode of production to operate more efficiently, it would be suggested to first promote a strong democratic government with a sound and non-corrupt leader. From there, it should be ensured that wealth would not be kept in the hands of the elite few and that it would be distributed among those who are working within society. From this study, it is concluded that the issue is not with the systems of capitalism or globalization, but instead with how the developed world is choosing to implement them in the developing world. There is still hope for progress for these countries; however, the West must be more responsible with how they choose to aid these communities. The West must also be held accountable for its actions of colonialism and exploitation.

### STUDY LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to this study, the first being that the research conducted only used secondary data such as books and academic journals. The second limitation is the means used to collect the research. The research was conducted through sources including academic literature from East Central University's Linscheid Library, databases such as Science Direct, Web of Science, Google Scholar, Ebscohost, conference proceedings, and books i.e. *Global Politics* by Andrew Heywood, *Thinking Globally: A Global Studies Reader* by Mark Jurgensmeyer, and *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* by Walter Rodney, *Theories of International Relations* by Scott Burchill et al.

### AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Based on the findings from this thesis more studies that used primary rather than secondary data are needed to help in providing a deeper understanding of the effects of capitalism and globalization in the developing world. Such studies should specifically use primary data collected through interviews and anthropological meth-

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ods documenting the horrific living conditions of communities impacted by capitalism and globalization in the developing world.

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BOOK REVIEWS



Hight, Joe. 2019. *Unnecessary Sorrow: A Journalist Investigates the Life and Death of His Older Brother, Ordained, Discarded, Slain by Police*. Oklahoma City, OK: The Roadrunner Press.

*Unnecessary Sorrow* is a powerful indictment against the social systems and institutions that fail those with mental illness. This book is a lovingly written and poignant biography of the author's eldest brother. Hight tells this story from a deeply personal, familial perspective—but it's also powered by the drive and talents of a renowned investigative journalist. The book anticipates one of the main critiques advanced by the "Defund the Police" movement. That is, law enforcement generally is under-equipped and badly trained to handle the violent and threatening behavior by certain persons with mental illnesses such as schizophrenia with paranoia. With that in mind, resources should be reallocated to improve law enforcement training, demilitarize police forces, and perhaps even support other social service instruments more capable of handling mental health crises. The author suggests that professionals beyond police officers might better serve as the default first responders for these types of incidents. With this in mind, Hight helped form the nonprofit organization, Oklahoma Partnership for Creating Change, to "bridge the gap between agencies and organizations that deal with those who struggle with mental illness" (p. 306).

This brutally honest recollection is also an incredible window into the history and culture of Oklahoma. Hight really sets the stage through authentic detail and colorful character studies. He takes the reader through a tour of small-town, rural Oklahoma during what we often think of as a simpler time. Because of its descriptive scope and ability to pique the reader's interest throughout, it's easy to miss at first blush that this book has profound political implications.

As the youngest of seven children, Joe Hight grows up to idolize his oldest brother Paul. This devout Catholic family is shaped by its unique development in the rural setting of Guthrie, Oklahoma during the postwar period. The lowest point in the family's history

comes from the death of “Baby Linda” who tragically dies in 1948 shortly before her second birthday. This heartbreaking event reverberates through the decades and greatly impacts even the lives of the Hight children born much later. The book reveals that the tragedies of this family are both acute and chronic.

More happy times are described as well. The highest point in this family saga is when the author’s eldest brother Paul joins the priesthood in 1968. This was a culmination of over a dozen years of study going back to Paul’s selection to attend Saint Francis de Sales Seminary. The school’s mission was to prepare sophomores and juniors for a life in the priesthood. Hight notes that his brother failed to attend his own graduation from this junior seminary due to illness. This was a small detail mentioned early in the book. In a later chapter, the author elaborates on how a probable mumps infection in Paul’s early life may have a possible connection to his subsequent mental illness. Hight cites some of the recent research on this likely link to schizophrenia (e.g. Khandaker, et al, 2012).

The beauty of this book is how it unexpectedly intersects the needs and hopes of one family with the hopes, dreams, and wants of the nation as a whole. To his credit, Hight is a wonderful storyteller. He brings us vividly into his world. He breathes life into the institutions that surround us and aspire to protect us. He demonstrates that even at their best, these organizations are still just tools of *human* invention. Despite the noblest of goals, these institutions quite often succumb to inherent limitations. The Catholic Church, for example, undergoes tremendous challenges with its priesthood. Hight takes us inside the inner workings of the Catholic Church as it struggles to deal with errant and troubled priests. One of the major themes of the book is how the Catholic Church failed to support one of its own, Father Paul Hight. The hypocrisy of “once a priest always a priest” (Paul, 1992) is shown in stark relief here.

Among the diverse set of other institutions that come under Hight’s critical eye include banks, healthcare providers, police departments,

prisons, social welfare institutions, state agencies, and tobacco companies.

In the spirit of Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), Hight notes the importance of a few people who when strategically placed throughout someone's lifetime can make a real difference. In Paul's case, the significance of a supportive and understanding local sheriff, an encouraging state agency supervisor, and former priest colleagues who would occasionally check in helped the family cope with "the fragility of caring for an independent adult with mental illness" (p. 255). These people are eventually transferred, promoted, or stricken with illness. If they are replaced at all, it's usually by those who are less familiar or unwilling to provide a similar degree of support. Without the care and oversight of this extended network of key individuals, Paul would stop taking his medicines. Then the voices of schizophrenia would take over. These relapses proved scary for family members, friends, neighbors, church parishioners, and law enforcement officials. In the latter case, Paul ended up being shot by the Guthrie police and coming close to death during one of his episodic breakdowns. However, he survived this Spring 1996 experience and even thrived—only for the tragic cycle to return again. Ultimately, Paul would check in and out of residential and outpatient mental health facilities throughout Oklahoma during his lifetime. Having access to Paul's prolific writings allowed Hight the ability to track changes in Paul's mental health over time. He was also able to buttress this information with interviews and medical records.

The shooting in Guthrie prompts Hight to ask if there are better ways for officers to deescalate these situations. The author notes that it wouldn't be until 2015 that a *Washington Post* article (Lowery, et al) documented that "people with mental illness were sixteen times more likely to be shot and killed by police" (p. 222). The title, *Unnecessary Sorrow* foreshadows the idea that proper political intervention might mitigate the severity of these circumstances. The availability of pharmaceutical interventions along with political

pressures from the Reagan administration deinstitutionalized subsequent generations of persons with mental health disabilities. Hight notes that these individuals and their families never regained a similar level of support services. By interweaving the experiences of his own family, the author is able to effectively illustrate one of the major public policy problems of our time.

Paul's dreadful encounter with the Guthrie police would be replayed once again, but this time in Oklahoma City during a cold wintry evening in December 2000. This time, Paul did not survive being shot. During discussions with mental health professionals, Hight would learn later that people with schizophrenic illness are not likely to respond well to the "command voices" that police are trained to use to quell domestic disturbances.

What are the answers? Hight realizes that these problems are complex and interconnected. He shows a keen empathy for the challenges faced by law enforcement professionals. His time on the streets as an investigative reporter informs his analysis. He's able to come up with numerous specific policy recommendations. His main points are that "a lack of training for police in how to deescalate an encounter with someone suffering from mental illness, as well as a lack of treatment for those with serious mental illness" (p. 222) should be strongly considered. Hight's involvement with the nonprofit organization helps to advance the mission to help those struggling with mental illness. One of the early successes was a "revamping" of "the mental health component of CLEET-approved training for new officers" in Oklahoma (Dolive, 2012). Continued work by advocates for persons with mental illness has helped implement the new 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration at the national level. What ostensibly is a biography of his older brother turns out to be a persuasive treatise on public policy toward persons with mental illness.

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Markus Smith. 2021. *Journey Through the Hoods: From Poverty to Ph.D. to Million-Dollar Real Estate Agent*. Mustang, OK: CLC Publishing.

Smith's book is perhaps the most important perspective on the practice of political science in Oklahoma ever published. It exemplifies the participant observation approach to research, what Richard Fenno described as "soaking and poking" (1978, pp. xiv and 249). From the perspectives of both student and professor, this memoir compares and contrasts the organizational cultures of several academic departments from across the state over time. The author's coverage of political science programs is informed through his other experiences with related disciplines such as criminal justice, education, leadership, public administration, religious studies, and sociology. He describes his experience taking classes (and sometimes teaching) at the University of Central Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City Community College, and Phillips Seminary in Tulsa. Smith even took some classes at Harvard.

In full disclosure, Markus was one of my first undergraduate students. Later, I was fortunate to have him around as a Graduate Assistant while he was working on his Masters. I had the privilege of writing one of his letters of recommendation to get into the University of Oklahoma Ph.D. in political science program.

*Journey Through the Hoods* is impossible to pigeonhole into a single genre. It's a nonfiction coming-of-age story, courtroom drama, family saga, gritty street-gang thriller, heroic adventure, how-to-succeed-in-business guide, martial arts disciplinary treatise, parenting handbook, personal memoir, romance novel, satisfying comeuppance, self-improvement book, and social critique. The book traces the many twisted paths and turns that one individual takes during a lifetime. It celebrates the many people who help along the way and lambastes those who make life difficult for others. It's also a spiritual book, filled with allusions to a higher

purpose and finding one's calling. Smith does not believe in coincidences in his quest for a career with meaning,

The author documents a period of history in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area that is often overlooked. Hobbes reverberates through Smith's writing when he paints "living on the east side 'hood of Oklahoma City" as "violent, poor, and bleak" (p. 21). But no "Leviathan" arrives to improve the situation. Smith describes how his childhood and early years are framed by constant eruptions of violence and the menace of rival gangs. Smith offers his personalized, but now all-too-familiar accounting of the many African American men in his life being killed in street violence or ending up in prison. Smith himself routinely dodged stray bullets. Because he is biracial (African American/Asian), Smith endures countless acts of racism. He speaks about how surviving on the city streets limited the vision of what one can hope and dream. Some of the pages echo S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders*. Although Smith's book does have the flavor of literary flourish, it is a *personal* narrative describing very particular realities. Even so, the author finds it difficult to stray from his academic roots so that when he talks about his life among the street gangs, he cites an Oklahoma Bureau of Narcotics task force report (p. 2) to support his characterization.

Later, Smith describes a "driving-while-black" encounter with the City of Moore police. When several other patrol cars arrived at the scene, he and his passenger were forced out of their car and "told to lay face down on the street" (p. 38). The officers then proceeded to search through their car where they all but destroyed his stereo system and CD collection. The officer in charge finally sent them on their way with a smirky goodbye that included a self-righteous use of the "N" word.

Almost everyone who enters into a doctoral program can relate their own nightmare story. Smith's description of the culture of the University of Oklahoma's political science department was partic-

ularly damning. His characterization confirms what I felt during my own doctoral work there which is an outright hostility to the nontraditional student. Smith charges that “there is a double standard for ‘traditional’ versus non-‘traditional’ students” (p. 202). He points to the absurdity of the department urging him to resign from his own full-time teaching job so that he can work as a graduate assistant in preparation for a full-time teaching job (p. 202).

The real theme of this book is rising above the petty people who seem to go out of their way to make life unbearable to others. Smith recounts the numerous indignities he faced in academic settings, social and familial relationships, and in his latest incarnation as a real estate professional. It’s very easy to suspect that the underlying cause of many of these horrible experiences is racism.

The phrase that best captures the sentiment conveyed by the book is, “Living well is the best revenge” (Herbert, 1640, #524). For example, Smith is constructively discharged from the OU’s political science doctoral program through administrative malice (or ineptitude). He immediately dusts himself off and within the year, earns a Ph.D. in another program at OU.

Likewise, Smith over the course of sixteen years working for Oklahoma City Community College “witnessed dozens of faculty, staff, and employees ... being targeted, harassed, and discriminated against by supervisors and administrators” (p. 175). Smith’s burgeoning career as an extremely successful real estate agent provided some measure of financial and professional protection so that he could push back directly, not just for himself but for others similarly situated at OCCC. He conducted a skillful social media campaign that caught the attention of local newspapers and TV news outlets about problems within the college. Smith believes the pressure ultimately forced the early retirement of the OCCC president and the institution of major administrative reforms at the college.

In sum, Smith offers a compelling and heartwarming story full of suspense, rich characterization, and an ultimately satisfying ending. At times, he is almost apologetic about boasting of his successes. But to be really fair, Smith is brutally honest about his failings as well. *Journey Through the Hoods* is inspirational to its core. I encourage all of my colleagues throughout this state to read this book. My only hope is that the life story of Dr. Markus Shintaro Smith is the exception to the rule that a prophet is never honored in his own hometown. Let me close with the prediction that this book will ultimately inspire a major motion picture or limited TV series.

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Sarah Eppler Janda and Patricia Loughlin, editors. 2021. *This Land is Herland: Gendered Activism in Oklahoma From the 1870s to the 2010s*. University of Oklahoma Press. 303 pages.

Herland is volume 1 in the University of Oklahoma Press series on Women and the American West series. The first premise is that although Oklahoma is influenced by Southern demographic and racial attitudes it is now a solidly western state with rural and urban political histories shaped by Oklahoma women whose impact from the 1870s into the twenty-first century resonated regionally and nationally.

If you think that you understand the basic trajectory of women's political history in this country, fasten your seat belts folks, because readers are in for an enlightening ride that will shatter pre-conceptions while expanding conceptual possibilities. The thirteen historically successive scholarly but readily accessible political biographies show how the activism of women shaped Oklahoma by questioning who, in fact, should navigate futures. The title comes from the Charlotte Perkins Gilman 1915 utopian feminist novel, *Herland*. The stories reflect the diverse movement of Indigenous, African American, and white women whose activism often provoked change and/or broadened understanding.

As a state characterized by fluctuating and contentious notions of who spoke for Oklahoma, what constituted power or the ability to control some aspects of the future coupled with the nature of change, from the 1870s and through the 2010s, the gendered political activism of the state's women is formative. The highly sophisticated, exceedingly well educated and respected, Lilah Denton Lindsey, as rendered by Rowan Faye Steineker, was the first Mvskoke woman to earn a college degree. She immersed herself in Progressive reform struggles such as temperance, women's suffrage, and orphan welfare, founding a home for orphaned and neglected girls. She worked nationally in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and locally with the Tulsa Women's Indian Club.

Mattie Mallory, introduced by Heather Clemmer, was devoted to the Holiness movement and as an educator became an entrepreneur founding institutions for orphans in Oklahoma City, purchasing property in Bethany she and instilled city ordinances following Nazarene religious principles. Amy L. Scott introduces us to Alice Mary Robertson who while opposing women's suffrage managed to be the second woman elected to the 1920 United States Congress and the first woman to preside over a Congressional session.

A striking figure and advocate for women, children and all working people, Kate Barnard, ignored women's suffrage activism yet was active in the state's Constitutional Convention and became the first woman elected in 1907 to statewide office before the women in Oklahoma could vote. It was here, as recounted by Sunu Kodumthara, that she became a virtual power broker, determining who would run for public office.

The first Cherokee woman obtaining a Ph.D. in the state graduated from the Cherokee National Female Seminary, a powerful educational institution with many esteemed alumni, in Tahlequah. Rachel Caroline Eaton, a direct descendant of Nanye'hi (Nancy Ward), wrote a 1914 biography, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*, as recounted by Farina King, the first major tribal-specific history on Cherokee nationalism.

Fifty Black founded towns appeared in Oklahoma between 1865 and 1920, giving voice to the call for Oklahoma membership in the union as an all-Black state. Living within a dynamic that rotated between power and suppression, Black women and some white women confronted segregation. The research that Melissa Stuckey carried out to introduce us to California M. Taylor is a lesson in itself. Taylor, as a Black middle-class woman from prosperous Boley, was an entrepreneurial social activist, establishing a chapter of the NAACP, pushing back against segregation and disenfranchisement, while challenging limiting local social strictures.



Cheryl Elizabeth Brown Wattley recants the pilgrimage from Tulsa, following the 1921 Massacre, of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher's family to Chickasha. Ada Lois volunteered to be a plaintiff in the NAACP mid-1940s lawsuit to integrate the College of Law at the University of Oklahoma by calling for equal protection of the Fourteenth Amendment in higher education. Successful in the end, Ada Lois and her family were subject to hate mail and death threats. Rachel E. Watson takes an uncommonly in-depth look at Clare Luper as a mother, teacher, and NAACP Youth Council sponsor whose pedagogy included Black feminism and decolonization.

Sarah Eppler Janda writes about Rosalyn Coleman Gilchrist, a white acolyte of Clara Luper, who planned to sell her Warr Acres home to a Black physician when her ex-husband, Gordon, the Warr Acres police chief, Nelson Beckett, the town's Mayor and leading real estate developer, Eldon Lawson, and a local minister, Garrell Dunn, along with Judge Harold Theus conspired to have her committed to Central State Hospital for what became five years. She was declared insane not only for preparing to sell her residence, but also for attending a Negro church, inviting colored people to her home, holding gatherings for Negro children, her arrests at Negro protests, and riding in a bus filled with "coloreds night and day" to Washington, D.C. and back. Medical records recovered by Rosalyn's children show that she received no treatment while confined. Effectively she was incarcerated for her activism.

From the 1970s through 2010, the nation considered liberalized political change and then lurched to the right. Amanda Cobb-Greetham explores the Comanche values and customs of LaDonna Harris as a matriarch who worked to establish state and national leadership programs for indigenous youth through rematriation, "thus foreclosing colonial erasure and generating – not terminating – a distinctly Indigenous future." This is a carefully crafted in-depth essay worthy of serious study and reflection.

When Wanda Jo Peltier Stapleton unexpectedly declared that she was a “radical American feminist” this unlikely English professor from rural Oklahoma married to a Baptist preacher suddenly “broadened the notion of what it meant to be a feminist in Oklahoma” by supporting both reproductive and LGBT+ rights. The ERA was defeated but Peltier, as recounted by, Chelsea Ball, emphasized how that the proposed amendment “would support women without a separate income and protect property rights and social security benefits.”

Lindsay Churchill takes up the life and work of Barbara “Wahru” Cleveland, founder of *Herland Sister Resources*, a Oklahoma City based lesbian feminist activist group that responded to the need for a “womyn only space” in the increasingly conservative and reactionary state of Oklahoma. As a woman welcoming safe space with a positive lesbian focus, the bookstore became a lending library and gathering place for tolerant political engagement seeking an end to sexual violence. Today the collection of literature and a painting of Wahru are accessible in the University of Central Oklahoma in “The Center”, the combined Women’s Research Center and the BGLTQ+ Student Center. The active lending library holds the largest book donation in the university’s history with rare, lesbian fiction and nonfiction it is a trove of “rare books and materials, many with only a few copies in existence.” The legacy of *Herland* is alive and serves as a continuing tribute to Wahru and the members of *Herland*.

Mary Fallin’s rise from a public servant working in state government to elected official holding two terms as Governor of Oklahoma are cast in the context of Republican maternalist politics by Patricia Loughlin. The candidate who ran for office and won while pregnant continued to argue that as the mother of two children she was equipped to make crucial policy decisions for Oklahomans would align herself with the American Legislative Executive Council or ALEC, a national nonpartisan legislative policy setting entity. She successfully promoted conservative politics including

right to work legislation by speaking widely throughout the state.

This is a good book to read in a group setting with students or among library patrons as it readily lends itself to wide discussion. As you work your way through the biographies you may be, as I was, amazed, appreciative, enlightened, and appalled. Some of the biographies may be fulcrums for larger considerations. Sarah Eppler Janda's excellent study of Rosalyn Coleman Gilchrist, for example, could be recast within the context of civil rights activism starting in the 1950s when whites in other parts of the country began to sell their homes to Black citizens in an effort to kick start residential integration initiatives.

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Connie Cronley. 2021. *A Life on Fire: Oklahoma's Kate Barnard*. Oklahoma. 301 pages.

*A Life on Fire* provides a realistic, fascinating portrayal of the life and career of Kate Barnard, one of the most important political figures at the dawn of politics in Oklahoma. Although known as “the Good Angel of Oklahoma,” Kate lived her life with a fierceness that defied the expectations and limitations placed on women and helped shape the political landscape of the State of Oklahoma. Even while providing an inspiring depiction of Kate and her work, Cronley does not hesitate to acknowledge that Kate was not a flawless icon. She was subject to and part of the language and ideas of her day. This book chronicles Kate’s triumphs and failures including her political missteps, hard decisions, regrets, and tendency to overwork herself until she became ill.

The opening chapters follow Kate’s early life, education, and budding career as a politician and reformer. In many ways, Kate’s personal growth paralleled Oklahoma’s path into Statehood. The book details her lonely childhood with her widowed, often absent father and speculates that this upbringing likely influenced her desire to look out for others. Cronley describes what ended up being a turning point for Kate, when she attended the 1904 World’s Fair and she was first introduced to ideas of social reform and ultimately “found her destiny.” After returning to Oklahoma, Kate began working to organize to feed and clothe poor families. However, she quickly realized that solving poverty required more permanent solutions than clothing and food drives and is quoted in saying, “[i]n my effort to do something for humanity, I was drawn into politics.”

While telling the story of Kate’s early work in politics, Cronley sheds light on the internal struggles at the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention including Kate’s clashes with Alfalfa Bill Murray (President of the Constitutional Convention and later Governor of Oklahoma). Through Kate’s work as the Oklahoma Commissioner

of Charities and Corrections, readers are offered a chilling account of the orphanages, prisons, and “insane hospitals” at the time of early statehood. Among many offenses that Kate uncovered, one that is particularly highlighted is what she called the “Indian Problem,” referring to the extreme theft and mismanagement of the property of Native American orphans by non-Native wards. Kate’s fight to end this injustice ultimately plays a critical role in her political downfall.

*A Life on Fire* provides a thrilling account of not only the life and work of Kate Barnard, but also a unique glimpse into the politics of early statehood. Kate focused her entire existence on protecting the most vulnerable and in Cronley’s book we are able to see their real-life struggles. Through both Kate’s successes and failures, readers are able to gain invaluable insights on politics, justice, and hope.

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Cas Northcutt is an honors student of East Central University in Ada, Oklahoma. They are currently working on their Bachelor's Degree in History with a minor in Political Science. During summer 2022, Cas completed an internship at the Oklahoma Hall of Fame Archives, and is currently completing an internship through Fall 2023 for the National Park Service's Lewis and Clark Historical Trail. Cas is currently serving on the honors leadership team at East Central University, and they previously served as the local chapter president of Business Professionals of America at Pontotoc Technology Center (2017-18). Cas also has competed widely, and while in Business Professionals of America they placed second nationally in Presentation Management Individual in 2019.



Elizabeth S. Overman, Ph.D., is an MPA Professor of Public Policy and Administration at UCO. She teaches classes in policy analysis, program evaluation, comparative administration, and nonprofit management, as well as health policy analysis, and sustainable economic development. She directs MPA internships and advises Pi Alpha Alpha, the global honor society in public administration. Working with lead author Dr. Loren Gatch, she, together with Dr. John Hitz co-authored, “Turkish-Origin Germans: Temporarily Permanent” which appeared in *Global Equity in Public Administration* (2020) edited by Dr. Susan T. Gooden. She is on the national board of the Conference of Minority Public Administrators and serves as treasurer of the American Society for Public Administration section on Ethics and Integrity in Government. As a member of the 2022 Planning Committee for the National Academy of Public Administration Annual Social Equity Conference, she remains deeply honored to have hosted the keynote address by U.S. Congressional Delegate Designate Kim Teehee of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.

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Brett S. Sharp is Professor of Political Science/Public Administration at UCO. He is the founder of UCO's MPA program and its innovative Leadership Minor. Previously he served as Employment Manager for the City of Oklahoma City and Agency Services Coordinator for the State of Oklahoma. He has published several books including *Oklahoma Government & Politics*, now in its 7th Edition and *Managing in the Public Sector*. His research also appears in *American Review of Public Administration*, *Public Integrity*, and *Review of Public Personnel Administration*. For the past few years, he has been serving as a visiting research professor at Swansea University in Wales, UK focused on political communication. His latest research is in LGBTQ+ political leadership and policy to address technological displacement by artificial intelligence. Previous research has been in the role of faith-based organizations in social welfare policy for SUNY's Rockefeller Institute for State Government. He has received numerous awards for teaching and scholarship including Oklahoma Political Science Scholar of the Year, Oklahoma Political Science Teacher of the Year, Faculty Member of the Year, the Vanderford Engagement Award for Leadership, and the ASPA Distinguished Public Service Award. He is also a graduate of the Academic Leadership Fellows Academy, Leadership Educators Institute, Outstanding Professors Academy, and the FBI Citizens Academy.

Jacintha Webster, J.D., is an assistant professor of legal studies at East Central University, focusing on Native American Legal Studies. She teaches classes in Native American Law, Tribal Politics, Wills and Estates, Administrative Law, and U.S. Government. She also serves as the Director of the Native American Legal Clinic and the ECU Pre-Law Advisor. Prior to coming to ECU, Jacintha served as a Staff Attorney for Oklahoma Indian Legal Services, Inc., as an Adjunct Clinical Professor for the University of Oklahoma College of Law, and as a Staff Attorney for the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Jacintha also maintains a small law practice focusing on Native American Law and is the Chair of the Seminole Nation Bar Association.

John Wood, Ph.D. is a Professor of public administration and MPA co-coordinator at UCO. He has edited two books and written 18-peer-reviewed articles in the areas of teaching, transformative learning, local government, ethics, public administration, and sustainability.

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# SEQUOYAH

## ARTICLES

Scale 100000  
APPROXIMATELY 5 MILES TO THE INCH

### THE GERRYMANDERING OF BLACK VOTERS IN OKLAHOMA

*Britney Hopkins, Liz Lane-Harvard, Thomas Milligan,  
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### EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS DURING COVID-19: ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN OKLAHOMA'S PUBLIC SECTOR

*Natalie Nell*

### HOW MUCH IS YOUR WATER BILL? IS IT FAIR OR FAILING? AN EVALUATION OF OKLAHOMA'S WATER RATES

*Reanna H. Anderson*

### THE THEORY OF NULLIFICATION FROM JOHN C. CALHOUN, ITS ORIGINS IN THOMAS JEFFERSON'S COMPACT THEORY, AND HOW THE IDEAS HELPED SHAPE AMERICA THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR

*Cas Northcutt*

### EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL IMPACTS (BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE) OF IMPLEMENTING CAPITALIST SYSTEMS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

*Aislinn Beak*

## BOOK REVIEWS

### UNNECESSARY SORROW: A JOURNALIST INVESTIGATES THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HIS OLDER BROTHER, ORDAINED, DISCARDED, SLAIN BY POLICE

*Brett Sharp*

### JOURNEY THROUGH THE HOODS: FROM POVERTY TO PH.D. TO MILLION-DOLLAR REAL ESTATE AGENT

*Brett Sharp*

### THIS LAND IS HERLAND: GENDERED ACTIVISM IN OKLAHOMA FROM THE 1870S TO THE 2010S

*Elizabeth Overman*

### A LIFE ON FIRE: OKLAHOMA'S KATE BARNARD

*Jacintha Webster*