

The cover features a large, semi-transparent blue globe of the Earth in the center. In the foreground, several hands of various skin tones are raised, reaching towards the globe. The background is a bright blue sky with soft white clouds. The title 'NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL' is printed in large, bold, black letters with a white outline, stacked vertically on the left side of the globe.

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The 1960s and the Court's Impact on Religious Literacy

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Introduction

In an era of high-stakes testing and measured accountability, states adhere to unique goals and standards. Embedded within such goals and standards is the hope to prepare students to become effective and engaged citizens. To address the importance religious literacy plays in developing practical and engaged citizens, *Overcoming Religious Illiteracy* by Diane Moore (2007) asserts that education that excludes the study of religion fails to adequately prepare students to be influential citizens who promote the ideals of democracy. An active citizen who embodies the ideals of democracy must engage thoughtfully and respectfully with others, even when others hold different ideals and beliefs, particularly regarding religion.

Religious literacy education introduces students to the variety of religious perspectives extant in society. According to Stephen Prothero (2007), religious literacy enables students to develop "the ability to understand and use the religious terms, symbols, images, beliefs, practices, scriptures, heroes, themes, and stories that are employed in American public life." (p 17) America is a secular nation by design, but a religious nation by choice. Most Americans identify as religious and say they believe in God (Nord, 2010; Pew Forum, 2014; Prothero, 2007; Scheiman, 2011). According to the Pew Forum (2014), 70% of the Americans identify as Christian, 5.9% identify as non-Christian, 22% are unaffiliated (although 6.9% of the unaffiliated consider religion necessary). With a significant number of Americans asserting religious beliefs and the vital role religion has had on many aspects of public life, education should include opportunities to gain religious literacy regarding the religious beliefs that influence society (Prothero, 2007). Despite the perceived public acceptance and recognition of religion, the study and incorporation of religion slowly faded from public education during the 20th century as education transitioned from the religiously motivated, predominantly Protestant, educational model of the 19th century to the civic and societal model of the common school movement, most notably with such figures as Horace Mann.

Despite the decline of religious studies throughout much of the 20th century, the national debate about religion in education was most prominent in the 1950s leading up to two court cases directly related to religious education. As a consequence of the cases in the 1960s, the pace at which religion receded from American education quickened. This decline of instruction about religion has resulted in ignorance of religious ideas, both an educational problem and a civic problem.

The 1950s Debate: The Secularization of Public Schools

In the post-war 1950s, progressive and traditional educators battled over the purpose of education, and the role of religion in education was one of the issues discussed. The debate on the relevancy of religion in schools included two probable outcomes. F. Earnest Johnson, professor of education at Columbia University's Teachers College, summarized these two outcomes in a speech (Johnson, 1950):

In a society that has ordained the separateness of church and state and at the same time has undertaken to educate its children in a system of public schools, one of two things are likely to happen. Either the whole of life will become secularized because religion is given no place in the educational system that furnishes the young with patterns of thought and conduct, or religion will come to

be recognized as a vital factor in the common culture and as such studied in the schools without imposition or any ecclesiastical sanction. (p. 311)

Johnson argued that if schools ignored religion throughout education, a secularization of students would occur, thereby creating a new religious mindset, albeit a secular one.

In his speech, Johnson (1950) argued that the Protestants' growing demands to include more religion in education, as evidenced by a growing number of independent religious schools, was a reaction to increasing hostility toward religion in education. Johnson, a self-described Protestant (1950), agreed with the Protestant desire for more teaching about faith. Johnson's position is like a contemporary argument by Warren Nord (2010), who argues that educating students without mentioning religion would cultivate religiously illiterate students.

Like Johnson, others supported the inclusion of religion in education. Joseph Dawson, founder and first Executive Director of Protestants and Other Americans for the Separation of Church and State, argued:

Public schools are the number one asset in the nation's civic life, the trustworthy source of our democracy, and the greatest means to national unity. They teach moral and spiritual values, properly teach much about religion, and most teachers are members of our various churches. (as cited in Smith, 1957, p. 203)

Dawson fastened religion, education, and civics as a vital means for national unity. Although schools were supposed to be places where students were prepared for civic life, the growing hostility toward religion in education led to the emergence of independent schools as an alternative education option. Joseph Dawson supported public education just as Earnest Johnson did. However, Johnson considered the growth of independent, parochial schools as a possible reaction by parents to the perceived marginalization of religion. As a result, Johnson believed that religious perspectives were needed in the school curriculum. As Johnson (1950) wrote, "religion is one of the major forces in history and contemporary life. . . The separation of religion from life is a reactionary tendency which the very persons who are now calling for it do not really, deeply and permanently want" (p. 314). The Educational Policies Commission (1951), which emerged from the Executive Committee of the National Educational Association's study of the role of moral and spiritual values in the classroom, stated that teaching about world religions would not only enhance understanding of the world but would also enhance the "unity of our country" (p. 78). However, not all educators agreed.

Charles B. Smith presented an argument against religion in public schools. In 1957, Smith, the president of State Teachers College at Troy State, contended that American schools must remain secular despite the growing tide of religious voices. For Smith, granting religion more attention on the public-school curriculum was harmful to students' educational growth due to the way religion declares "truth" compared to secular views. Smith (1957) wrote:

Introducing religious teaching into the schools admits an approach to truth and the discovery of truth in opposition to the approach used in our secular schools. This is confusing to the learner. Religious truth is primarily outlined in an authoritarian fashion. This is necessarily the case because religions claim many of their facts as supernaturally arrived. Other religions do not accept the

revelations of some religions as genuine. This is still more confusing. The secular school, on the other hand, assumes that truth is gained through experience and reason. (p. 204)

Like Dewey (1900) in *The Child and The Curriculum*, Smith understood the truth and learning to stem from individual experience and exploration. Contrary to Dewey, the largest religions in the world, such as Christianity and Islam, assert that truth is authoritatively revealed, not experientially derived. Smith argued that such a method of instruction, one of authoritarian disposition rather than student experience and discovery, did not belong in the secular school.

Smith (1957) did note that the Bible could be studied in public education if studied "as other things are studied, historically, critically, and inductively" (p. 204). However, Smith (1957) objected to the inclusion of the Bible in education due to the supernaturalism within the Bible's narrative (e.g., the ten plagues, the parting of the Red Sea in the book of Exodus). According to Clive Staples Lewis (1947), supernaturalism was philosophically distinct from naturalism, which described physical reality as governed only by cause and effect from within the natural world. Similarly, Jacques Maritain, a French philosopher, defined supernaturalism as "a spiritual, metaphysical order, superior to external nature above all the mechanisms and laws of the material world. . . . As such, it is no part of this universe . . . it rises above the created world, the sensible and the supersensible both" (as cited in Spiegelberg, 1951, p. 316). Smith's objection to the study of the Bible in education may have been rooted in Smith's position that supernaturalism was no longer an acceptable philosophy (1957).

Smith's objection to the supernaturalism of the Bible, the Qur'an, Guru Granth Sahib, the scriptures of Sikhism, or other religious texts, is one of the reasons that modern religious literacy scholars think religious education should be included in the school curriculum. For example, Nord (2010) argued that education must have religious ideas but must be educated to think like "insiders" of religious and secular thought. When religion's supernaturalism is not addressed in the school curriculum, education loses its neutrality regarding religion, and secularism against religious perspectives is implicitly endorsed. Charles Smith (1957) argued that supernaturalism is not a way to understand the world in education, and Nord (2010) later challenged such claims by emphasizing that statements like those are anti-educational and possibly unconstitutional.

As the 1950s closed, there was a renewed emphasis on science education in America. Following Russia's launch of Sputnik in October 1957, fear for the quality of American education, which existed in the early 1950s, was crystallized, and the search for an educational remedy began (Peacock, 2014).

The 1960s: The Influence of the Court and Changing Educational Landscape

Several significant events occurred in the 1960s, such as the debate over public funds for private education, or two Supreme Court Cases, *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and *Abington School District, Pennsylvania v. Schempp* (1963). Each of these events affected the relationship between religion and education. Until the 1960s, the relationship between religion and education had been contentious yet cooperative. Through the 1940s and 1950s, public schools were often located in Catholic-owned buildings and often relied on the employment of Catholic priests and nuns for staffing

(Gordon, 2007). Some public schools used religious spaces, yet other schools in public buildings could not be used for religious purposes. As of 1948, religious instruction was permitted in public school buildings during school hours (Illinois ex rel. *McCullum v. Board of Ed. of School Dist. No. 71*, Champaign County, n.d.). Debates regarding the relationship between religion and education revolved around the precise application of the 1st amendment to the U.S. Constitution and the separation of church and state. The 1st amendment includes the phrase, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the exercise thereof" (Gordon, 2007). The exact meaning of this phrase became a hot-button issue in the 1960s with issues such as funding for parochial schools and school prayer.

As the 1960s ushered in the Kennedy presidency, the "separation of church and state" continued. Kennedy, a devoted Catholic, proposed the School Assistance Act in 1961, which provided funds to construct public elementary and secondary schools while excluding aid for private schools (McAndrews, 1991). This bill was created due to the committee's belief that Americans desired excellent schools and demanded that the national government did more to ensure that these schools existed. The Catholic church's leadership argued that funds for education should include private and parochial education. However, some feared that a bill allowing funds for both school types could drastically impede the success of public schools (Battle over Schools, 1961; Fuller, 1964). During a 1961 talk on education, religion, and the Constitution, President Kennedy said, "In accordance with the clear prohibitions of the Constitution, no elementary or secondary school funds are allocated for constructing church schools or paying church schools' teachers' salaries" (as cited in McAndrews, 1991, p. 545). The Catholic church challenged the bill because the funds excluded students in private schools. McAndrews (1991) wrote, "Archbishop Karl Alter of Cincinnati, speaking for the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States, announced, 'If a federal aid program is enacted which excludes children in private schools . . . there will be no alternative but to oppose such legislation'" (p. 545).

Ultimately, President Kennedy believed that the dedication of federal funds for religious schools would be unconstitutional (Battle over Schools, 1961) as this would violate the Establishment Clause. However, an important distinction may be missed concerning the Establishment Clause and the First Amendment. Government endorsement of religion or nonreligion is unconstitutional, but religious perspectives and ideas in education are constitutional. Interestingly, there continues to be a misperception among the public that the Constitution and the Supreme Court clearly state that religion cannot be part of education (Moore, 2007; Nord, 2010; Prothero, 2007). As debates regarding whether aid should be provided for all educational endeavors, public or private, the Supreme Court decided on two famous cases involving religion and education.

***Engle v. Vitale* (1962)**

The Supreme Court's decision in *Engel v. Vitale* is arguably one of the most controversial religious cases in the Supreme Court's history (Nord, 2010). The precedence was regarding a short, voluntary prayer that the New York State Board of Regents authorized for the beginning of the school day and whether such a prayer violated the First Amendment's Establishment Clause (*Engel v. Vitale*, n.d.). The prayer read: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy

blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our Country" (Nord, 2010, p. 157). Preceding the Court's decision, schools could begin the day with prayer. Public schools were not required to open with the prayer, and if a school did elect to use the prayer, the law protected those students who opted out of the prayer (Nord, 2010). Writing for the majority, Justice Black wrote, "it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government" (as cited in Nord, 2010, p. 158).

Engle v. Vitale did not regulate prayer or the performance of private religious acts. The Supreme Court ruled not on the functionality of worship but prayer at secular school events related to the Establishment Clause. Although these cases were crucial to religious activities and education, *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963) was more closely related to the Bible study (and, by extension, other religious texts) and the classroom.

***Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963)**

In *Abington School District v. Schempp* of 1963, the Supreme Court decided on "the most important case by far addressing the role of religion in the classroom and curriculum" (Nord, 2010, p. 163). A critical issue was the Court's distinction between two different approaches in using the Bible: a devotional or proselytizing approach versus an academic, educational approach. At the time of the court proceedings, Pennsylvania law required that public schools read from the Bible at the start of the school day (School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, 1963). The Court combined this Pennsylvania case with a similar case from Maryland. Currently, atheists challenge a city law requiring schools to begin the school day with Bible reading and the Lord's prayer recitation.

Maryland's highest court ruled that these school exercises did not violate the First Amendment (School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, 1963). The question for the Supreme Court was the following: "Did the Pennsylvania law requiring public school students to participate in classroom religious exercises violate the religious freedom of students as protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments?" (School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, n.d.).

In an 8-1 decision, the Court ruled that devotional reading of the Bible was unconstitutional, while the academic study of the text or teaching about religion is constitutional (Nord, 2010; School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, n.d.). In terms of devotional Bible reading, the Court ruled that laws requiring that students participate in Bible reading directly violate the First Amendment (School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, n.d.). Further, the Court overruled and remanded the Maryland court, ruling that the government's public schools should sponsor neither Bible reading nor recitation of the Lord's prayer (Moore, 2007; School District of Abington Township, *Pennsylvania v. Schempp*, n.d.). As these lingering vestiges of Protestantism in education were removed, the Court decision sparked mixed reactions among the public (Chandler, 1966; Moore, 2007).

Many educators and parents believed that the Court's ruling was a strong endorsement of church and state separation, while others thought this ruling evidenced moral decay (Moore, 2007). Christian communities, such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, viewed the Court's ruling in *Abington vs. Schempp* as well as in *Engel v. Vitale* as evidence "that the Supreme Court broke the chain of memory that is

religion when it banned prayer and devotional reading in the public schools in the early 1960s" (Prothero, 2007, p. 110). With the Cold War in progress, many Americans saw this Court decision as a strong endorsement for secularism associated with communism. The Court's ruling received harsh criticism, and "often the criticism was based on claims that secularism would sap the moral foundations of the country, reducing it to the level of the Soviet Union" (Gordon, 2007, p. 1212). For religious people, mainly conservative Protestants who once defended public education, the Court's ruling was disastrous (Gordon, 2007).

This Court decision guided public and professional educators' opinions regarding religion's constitutionality in public schools (Moore, 2007; Prothero, 2007). With school systems and educators grappling to find the best approaches to implement the Supreme Court's ruling, noted religious educator Charles Chandler (1966) acknowledged that removing religious ideologies and pedagogy would negatively impact high school graduates' religious literacy.

Despite the Supreme Court's ban on secular school systems' endorsement of religion, the Court signaled the importance of maintaining faith as a component of a student's education:

...it might well be said that one's education is not complete without a study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advancement of civilization. It indeed may be said that the Bible is worthy of study for its literary and historic qualities. Nothing we have said here indicates that such study of the Bible or religion, when presented objectively as part of a secular education program, may not be effected consistently with the First Amendment. (*Abington v Schempp*, 1963, p. 374)

To clarify the Court's ruling, Justice Clark reiterated the study's constitutionality and teaching of religion in the classroom (Moore, 2007). In support of Justice Clark's clarification, Justice Brennan noted:

The holding of the Court today does not foreclose teaching *about* Holy Scriptures or differences between religious sects in classes in literature or history. Indeed, whether or not the Bible is involved, it would be impossible to teach meaningfully many subjects in the social sciences or the humanities without some mention of religion. (*Abington v Schempp*, 1963, p. 374)

Despite such clear affirmation by the Supreme Court of religion's necessity in a student's education, education declined markedly from the 1960s. Many educators and parents believed that the Court's ruling was a strong endorsement of church and state separation, while others thought this ruling evidenced moral decay (Moore, 2007). Christian communities, such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, viewed the Court's ruling in *Abington vs. Schempp* as well as in *Engel v. Vitale* as evidence "that the Supreme Court broke the chain of memory that is religion when it banned prayer and devotional reading in the public schools in the early 1960s" (Prothero, 2007, p. 110). With the Cold War in progress, many Americans saw this Court decision as a strong endorsement for secularism associated with communism.

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By the time the U.S. Supreme Court finally struck down as unconstitutional state-sponsored religious practices in the 1960s, much of the curriculum rarely mentioned religion. Relics of the bygone Protestant era were retained in some schools, particularly in the south, where one religion continued to be imposed through teacher-led prayer and other practices. Many other schools, out of confusion over Supreme Court rulings or fear of controversy, attempted to ban the expression or discussion of religion altogether. In these religion-free zones, students were often unconstitutionally prevented from expressing their faith during the school day. The tide began to turn in the 1980s. Litigation, including lawsuits over the absence of religion in textbooks, led to a national rethinking of the role of religion in public schools. (p. 5)

One significant consequence of the Court's ruling was the silencing of faith in textbooks from the 1960s until the 1980s (Haynes, 2019). Regardless of the motivations, the exclusion of religion cultivated an unconstitutional education because schools did not provide students with neutral religious education; instead, students were educated in schools that were implicitly against religion. Nord (2010) stated:

When we teach students to think in entirely secular ways about history, nature, psychology, morality, and society, it should come as no surprise that after twelve (or sixteen) years of study, they conclude either that there is no religious fish to find in the sea or that if there are, one must accept their presence as a matter of faith. We teach them to interpret (to see, feel, experience) the world from a broadly secular worldview. Is this indoctrination? (p. 91)

"Constitutional" religious education must be neutral, favoring neither religious nor non-religious ideology. Supreme Court shifts and notable court cases shifted court interpretation of religion in public life and education away from a strict Jeffersonian separationist perspective. After Supreme Court appointments in the 1980s, the Court often interpreted cases with accommodationist perspectives more in line with John Adams (ex: *Wallace v. Jaffree*, 1985; *Edwards v. Aguillard*, 1987). Beyond the courts, noted textbook trials of the mid-1980s in Tennessee and Alabama led to increased public and political outcry towards religion's indispensable role in education. On the 200th anniversary of Virginia's call for the Bill of Rights in 1988, 100 diverse leaders in education, politics, business, faith, media, among other organizations, signed the *Williamsburg Charter* to affirm religious liberty for all citizens and within public life (Haynes & Thomas, 2007). On the heels of the charter at the end of the 1980s, 16 education, religious, and civil groups (including the NCSS, National Association of

Evangelicals, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and several others) released a joint document related to the importance of religion in education (ACSD, 1987; Haynes, 2019; NCSS, 1988). The paper, entitled *Religion in the Public-School Curriculum: Questions and Answers*, included the following consensus:

Because religion plays a significant role in history and society, studying religion is essential to understanding the nation and the world. The omission of facts about religion can give students the false impression that the religious life of humankind is insignificant. Failure to understand even the basic symbols, practices, and concepts of the various religions makes much of history, literature, art, and contemporary life unintelligible. (Haynes, 2019, p. 228)

Their agreement indicated the necessity of religion for an educated citizenry because failure to understand religious symbols and practices "makes much of history, literature, art, and contemporary life unintelligible" (Haynes, 2019, p. 6).

After the group's initial documents, a series of additional papers and guidelines on religion in education were issued. The broadest distribution of religion and education guidelines appeared in 2000 when the U.S. Department of Education disseminated a packet of policies to every public school in the country that included "A Teacher's Guide to Religion in Public Schools," endorsed by NCSS (Haynes, 2019). Nearly two decades later, religion is still minimized—if not avoided—in schools and curriculum (Eck, 2001; Haynes, 2019; Nord, 2010; Prothero, 2007).

The Need for Religious Literacy

The Supreme Court's 1962 ruling has had lasting effects. Presently, as in the aftermath of the Court cases in the 1960s, public education seemingly favors secularism because of the minimization of religion (Nord, 2010). There are several reasons religion is minimized in education. First, general confusion remained about the meaning of the Court's 1962 ruling. For example, the Pew Research Center (2010, as cited in Marcus, 2019) found that 67% of Americans think the law prohibits readings from the Bible as literature in schools, and 51% of Americans think the Supreme Court's ruling does not allow for religion in education, both of which are wrong as indicated within the Supreme Court opinions. Second, public teachers also have misgivings about addressing religion in their classrooms. Prothero (2007) noted that some public-school teachers "are not merely afraid to include religion in their lesson plans; they are scared to death even to mention the subject at all" (p. 158)

Third, religion faded from state curriculum throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, when lawsuits began regarding the absence of religion in school textbooks (Haynes, 2019). For example, at the close of the 20th century, following a multi-year review of 82 high school textbooks in subjects including history, economics, home economics, health, and science, Nord (1999) found that religion had been severely minimized. More recently, Haynes and Thomas (2007) asserted that "the most widely used textbooks largely ignore the role of religion in history and society." (p. 99). When religions are present, they are often described as simplistically or superficially.

In Padela's (2018) research on depictions of Christianity and Islam in *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, she found that the text allowed a more favorable view of Christianity while allowing for an unfavorable view of Islam. Prothero (2010) not only

argues that knowledge of religion is necessary for engagement in society, he argues that Islam is the most vital religion to study due to the expansion of Islam in the 20th century. The present situation has changed in some states as social studies standards have been expanded to include more superb instruction about religion; however, "textbook treatment remains largely superficial" (Haynes, 2019, p. 6). The tide of religion in education needs to surge quickly.

When students do not study religion, students "will not be able to make reflective and critical judgments about anything religiously contested" (Nord, 1995). For example, without some degree of religious literacy, how can students contest, reflect, and dissect statements like, "In their heart of hearts, all Muslims are terrorists," "Homosexuality is a sin," or "Religion and reason are incompatible"? (Moore, 2007, p. 27). Statements such as these often go unchallenged when a student lacks religious literacy. Religious studies enable students to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for civic life but ignoring the influence of religion in civic and political life hinders efforts to prepare students for their real-life roles as citizens (Kunzman, 2005; Prothero, 2007). Nord summarizes the importance of religion, saying, "Schools and universities are constitutionally obligated to set things right by including religion in the curricula conversation, by taking it seriously" (2010, p. 167).

Religion is a necessary element of a liberal, civic education (Feinberg & Layton, 2014; Nord, 2010). Religious studies courses are essential in improving civic participation and the development of student autonomy (Feinberg & Layton, 2014). According to Feinberg (2014), educating for autonomy means that students are educated towards choosing and revising one's conception of the good. Feinberg (2014) asserts that education for independence requires three things:

- 1) they must understand the traditions out of which prevalent concepts of the good arise, 2) be willing to own one conception in light of others, and 3) develop a capacity to recognize and reflect upon one has inherited the concept of the good (p. 400).

In summary, Feinberg writes, "Religion is an important source of people's conception of the good, and to neglect to teach students about religion is to fail to provide them with the material they need to revise their conception of the good intelligently." (p. 400) Educating about religion helps foster student autonomy while also promoting religious literacy.

Religious studies promote students' religious literacy, and religious literacy is educationally beneficial. As Moore (2007) asserted,

Promoting religious literacy in the schools will enhance intellectual rigor, sharpen critical thinking skills, and further advance deep multiculturalism by giving students the tools to understand religions and the plurality of religious experiences across the curriculum and within the school community itself. (p. 33)

Students need religious literacy to be active, productive citizens in a democratic, multireligious society (Haynes, 2019; Marcus, 2019; Moore, 2007; Nord, 2010; Prothero, 2007). Marcus (2019) argued that "religious literacy education can empower students to take informed action as guardians of our First Amendment rights." (p. 11)

An education without religious studies is both educationally deficient and fraught with civic consequences. If not excluded, the depreciation of religion in schools has resulted in a secularized way of life that borders indoctrination. In a society where most

of the population self-identifies as religious, an education that only allows secular voices does not adequately reflect culture. Nord and Haynes (1998) argued that by ignoring religion in schools, we "teach students the (functional) religion of secular humanism" (p. 41). Nord and Haynes (1998) further stated that public education:

...assumes a secular, primarily scientific worldview and teaches students to make sense of their lives and the world in terms of that worldview. By providing students with secular conceptual nets only, by ignoring religion (except in a safely historical context), the curriculum conveys that secular nets are adequate for catching all of reality and that religion is irrelevant to the search for truth. As a result, religion is intellectually and culturally marginalized. (p. 42)

Commenting on the civic consequences of an education void of religious studies, Charles. Haynes (2019) wrote that "in the United States, home to the world's boldest experiment in religious freedom, religious differences, and religious illiteracy contribute to bitter culture wars, growing Islamophobia, and resurgent anti-Semitism" (p. 5). For example, Jandali and Millstein (2019) noted that there had been more bullying of South Asian, Hindu, Sikh, Arab, and Muslim students since the 9/11 attacks. While greater religious literacy does not guarantee an end to bullying, anti-Semitism, or Islamophobia, it may help prevent hate, discrimination, and violence from developing among students (Haynes, 2019). The U.S. Constitution and the Supreme Court indicate that religion cannot be included in education for indoctrination. However, to teach religion constitutionally, Haynes and Thomas (2007) stated: The school's approach to religion is *academic*, not *devotional*, and should foster student *awareness*, not acceptance. Furthermore, schools should *inform* students about religions and beliefs through education and not *conform* to religion or religious beliefs.

When education includes religious studies according to the six principles mentioned above, education better prepares students for the sophisticated, multireligious society they enter. Students are better equipped to engage with the plethora of religious perspectives in an overwhelmingly religious community (Eck, 2001; Haynes, 2019; Moore, 2007; Noddings, 2006; Nord, 2010; Prothero, 2007). To ignore religion is to commit educational malpractice, and ignoring religion is borderline secular indoctrination (Noddings, 2006; Nord 2010). Including religion in education is an academic necessity, but it is a civic necessity (Prothero, 2007). Feinberg and Layton (2014) wrote, "At a time when different religions are playing such an important role in civic life throughout the world, citizenship and informed public participation require a greater understanding of the role religion plays in people's lives" (p. 4).

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BOOK REVIEW:

Justice Deferred: Race and the Supreme Court, by Orville Vernon Burton and Armond Derfner. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2021.

This timely and important book presents a comprehensive overview of the history of race in America from the perspective of the United States Supreme Court. While some justices in the Court's past are regarded as villains or enigmas when it came to deciding cases regarding racial minorities, others like Thurgood Marshall stand out as heroes. Both the book's authors graduated from Princeton University, albeit Armond Derfner with an undergraduate degree and Orville Vernon Burton with a Ph.D. Both have published extensively on the topic of race and the judiciary. Derfner has served as a civil rights attorney for more than half a century and led desegregation efforts in university systems and legislatures throughout the South.

The book has thirteen chapters in addition to an Introduction and Conclusion. While the first six chapters present information in chronological order, the remainder of the examines topics associated with race and the law.

In analyzing the period before the Civil War, the authors initially focus on the establishment of English colonies in North America. The importation of black captives to America started in 1619 and continued until the early nineteenth century. Slave codes enacted during the 1700s placed restrictions on movement, gatherings, education, marriage, and commerce among captives. A draft of the Declaration of Independence attacked slavery but that passage was excised in the final document. Although the Constitution banned importation of slaves after 1808, it provided no protections to blacks in free states and counted each enslaved person as three-fifths of a person. The Supreme Court's rulings on race during this span, whether dealing with Native Americans or African Americans, were largely negative, culminating in the 1857 Dred Scott case in which citizenship rights for blacks were denied.

The duration between 1865 and 1900 started out with strong momentum toward furnishing civil rights for freed blacks. These positives included the 13th, 14, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, the Klu Klux Klan Act of 1871, and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. However, the imposition of black codes, several Supreme Court rulings, and state actions promoting segregation and disenfranchisement reversed the earlier gains.

From 1900 through 1934, the Supreme Court advanced rights for blacks by applying the Constitution to state court cases and advancing fairness in state criminal trials. However, discrimination continued in areas like banking, housing, and voting rights. Conversely, the span from 1934 to 1955 witnessed a progression of Supreme Court decisions fostering free speech and due process for blacks together with desegregation of schools and universities. The 1954 and 1955 decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education* reversed the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling on segregation. Significant achievements by African Americans over this period included Jesse Owens' track victories at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Joe Louis' fighting career, and the performance of the Tuskegee Airmen during World War II.

Though the era between 1955 and 1968 included violence and intimidation against blacks, it is regarded as the most progressive period of rights for blacks by the authors for several reasons. First, the civil rights movement's peaceful protests educated the nation about the goals of blacks while exposing recurring abuses. Second, U.S. Congress enacted a series of laws like the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964 along with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Fair Housing Act of 1968. Third, Supreme Court rulings dealing with voting and interracial marriage furthered equality.

Burton and Derfner cover a plethora of issues pertaining to race over the last fifty years. These included busing, capital punishment, voting rights, affirmative action, and criminal justice reform among others. They likewise chronicle progress by African Americans in the areas of sports, politics, and law. Regarding the last point, they assess changes in Supreme Court composition which included the addition of both blacks and women.

In the book's Conclusion, Burton and Derfner argue that an expansive reading of civil rights amendments to the Constitution is actually consistent with the interpretive approaches of originalism and textualism. While noting times of civil rights headway, they find that progress is not inevitable and worry about the current direction of the Supreme Court. Finally, they identify persons in American history who have inspired others in the area of civil rights, particularly Abraham Lincoln, poet-author Langston Hughes, and more recently author Ta-Nehisi Coates and U.S. Youth Poet Laureate Amanda Gorman.

Over the last three decades, there have been a handful of books published with a similar focus on race and the Supreme Court. These include Girardeau A. Spam's book, *Race Against the Court: The Supreme Court and Minorities in Contemporary America*; Abraham L. Davis and Barbara Luck Graham's book, *The Supreme Court, Race, and Civil Rights: From Marshall*

to Rehnquist; Michael K. Klarman's book, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*; Lawrence Goldstone's book, *Inherently Unequal: The Betrayal of Equal Rights by the Supreme Court*; Erwin Chermerinsky's book, *The Case Against the Supreme Court*; and Adam Cohen's recent book, *Supreme Inequality: The Supreme Court's Fifty-year Battle for a More Unjust America*. The major differences pertain to the breadth of Supreme Court history analyzed and greater number of cases examined by the current text.

Despite the book's many strengths, there are a few shortcomings. Burton and Derfner might have probed more of the personal histories of Supreme Court justices. Additionally, they could have included more slavery cases involving individual claims for freedom. Further, they should have studied Native American rulings by the Supreme Court in further detail. Finally, they neglected to recognize the complexity of racial politics associated with criminal justice policy. Still, none of these limitations take away from the overwhelmingly positive response which the book has garnered from critics and scholars alike.

Given the uneven progress toward equality depicted in their book, Burton and Derfner could easily have left the reader with a pessimistic view of the

future as far as race and the judiciary. Instead, they remind us that “[n]o institution is better suited than the Supreme Court to define the golden ideals of America...” (p. 11).

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Creating an International Education Event: Sharing and Learning from Others

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Abstract

This paper discusses the development of an international education event at a university in the Southeastern United States. The event aimed to promote meaningful dialogue between international students and domestic attendees and was hosted in November of 2022. Participants included 12 international students who were invited to share their experiences and views on the education systems of their home countries and the United States. In addition, six local students and one faculty member attended the event. The paper begins by explaining the importance of having international education events as well as the benefits of intercultural communication. It then proceeds to explain the planning process of the international education event and provides some key takeaways. The paper concludes with reflections on the event and suggestions for future activities pertaining to international education.

Keywords: international education, intercultural communication, cross-cultural communication, university education, K–12 education, educational differences

Introduction

This paper describes the process of creating an international education event and highlights pertinent literature related to the benefits of improving intercultural communication and awareness of other cultures and education systems. In the Spring of 2022, a team of doctoral faculty and students proposed an international education event that was funded by an internal university grant. The team spent a few weeks brainstorming a project that was connected to the education field and supported international

students. The initial planning centered on the creation of an event in which international and domestic students and faculty could share their experiences related to education at home and abroad. The team considered the benefits of the international education event and how it could improve awareness of education systems in other countries and promote intercultural dialogue.

Importance of International Education Events

Many universities endeavor to promote culturally competent graduates who have a global mindset (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). Researchers have defined global competence in several ways, with an emphasis being placed on learners' ability not only to experience countries, cultures, and lifestyles outside of their own but also the ability to empathize with, scrutinize, and critically engage with the global community (Hughes, 2014;Kopish et al., 2019; Todd, 2017). Universities play a critical role in fostering global awareness (Daniels &Niemczyk, 2021). It is important to engage students in conversations that encourage them to intentionally interpret, analyze, and discuss issues on both personal and global levels (Daniels &Niemczyk, 2021). Participating in aninternational education eventaffords myriad benefits to local students and faculty as well as international students. In the short term, students can learn more about educational experiences in other countries and how they compare to the United States. In the long term, students can use the experience to expand their understanding of international education through research, collaborative projects on and off campus, and class assignments or projects.

Less than 1% of the students at the university where the event was held are international students. The team wanted to encourage more meaningful cross-cultural exchanges on campus and enrich local, regional, and global communities through value-added programs, strategic programs, and meaningful service. This event created an opportunity to increase international student engagement and meet cultural and global expectations of the university's mission and values. The university is a mission-driven, community-minded institution that provides transformational experiences through innovative, creative, and scholarly activities. Furthermore, the university strives to foster an inclusive community of learners to make a positive impact regionally and globally. The team aimed to incorporate the university's mission, vision, and values into the project while promoting greater awareness of international education and encouraging cross-cultural communication.

Benefits of Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication can be challenging, but it has several benefits for students' learning and development as global citizens. Intercultural communication allows university students to learn from a diverse group of peers, which can improve students' learning experiences and ability to connect with people who are different from themselves (Poort et al., 2019). International students can gain insider knowledge and develop new perspectives when integrating into another country or culture (God & Zhang, 2018). In addition, local students can benefit from intercultural communication by gaining insight into what it feels like to be in a foreign country unable to communicate and understand everything around them (God & Zhang, 2018).

Intercultural communication can lead to character development because students need to be open-minded when connecting with different groups of people (Poort et al., 2019). By participating in these exploratory conversations with diverse people, students can learn about the experiences of others and reflect on their own cultural experiences. Students can also develop intercultural competence and skills when they engage in intercultural communication (Poort et al., 2019). These developments can lead to valuable experiences students will need in their future careers, such as cultural tolerance and adaptability to new environments (Poort et al., 2019).

Promoting Intercultural Communication on Campus

Many universities around the world are aiming to increase globalization initiatives (Tsang & Yuan, 2022) and promote intercultural exchange (Zou & Yu, 2019). There is also a push to increase students' knowledge of other cultures and improve intercultural communication skills (Tsang & Yuan, 2022). Research has indicated that students' engagement in intercultural learning is limited (Yuan et al., 2019). Local students tend to interact with other local peers, while international students often "gravitate together due to shared understandings about cultural norms and the ease of communication in a similar language" (Arthur, 2017, p. 891). Merely being in close proximity to other cultural groups does not necessarily lead to meaningful interactions (Wessell, 2009). Implementing effective intercultural activities can help universities to fulfill their global missions while promoting successful adaptation and intercultural dialog among local and international students.

Various forms of intercultural communicative activities have been implemented on campuses to engage students in meaningful intercultural exchange (Aaron et al., 2018; Bentall et al., 2014; Busse & Krause, 2015; Gareis, 2012). Through intercultural learning activities, students can examine their own cultural beliefs, expand their understanding of the world, and develop a stronger understanding of diverse cultures (Yuan et al., 2019). Although these activities can lead to a deeper understanding of other cultures and improved intercultural communication skills, it can be difficult to implement these types of activities (Lomicka&Ducate, 2019). Some educators may lack the knowledge and background to be able to successfully create intercultural learning opportunities (Göbel& Helmke, 2010).In addition, students may not be provided with ample opportunities to engage in intercultural activities. Schartner and Cho (2017) found that students believe there should be more opportunities for informal events outside of the curriculum to encourage internationalization on campus. It is important for educators to create effective learning activities for local and international students to engage in intercultural activities that foster meaningful intercultural communication and understanding of diverse cultures.

Development of the International Education Event

The international education event was implemented to promote a better understanding of educational systems in other countries through the lens of international students and to explore international students' perceptions of education in America. The initial project team met in the Spring of 2023 to discuss ideas. In the Fall of 2023,planning meetings took place with a student leader of the international student organization who provided valuable insight into the event and feedback that was used to make modifications to the initial plan. The original planning team was undecided in terms of whether to make the event a formal forum, where international students would sit at a table and answer questions from the audience, or informal, where a roundtable discussion would be held among all participants. The team decided to use an informal conversationalapproach. Furthermore, the original planning team designed the event to promote mutual exchange in which local and international attendees could participate in meaningful conversations and learn from each other.

The planning team encouraged students, faculty, and staff to attend. Doctoral students and faculty in the College of Education helped with planning and developing questions and topics for the event. The event was advertised on the university event portal online and on social media platforms. It was also promoted through various cultural clubs and student organizations on campus. Traditional flyers were also posted around campus to better promote the event. Furthermore, since the event had a significant focus on education, it was intentionally promoted within the College of Education.

The Event

Event participants included 12 international students who engaged in informal discussions related to the education systems of their home countries as well as their educational experiences in the United States. International students represented diverse countries including South Africa, Zimbabwe, the United States, Germany, Switzerland, Ghana, Costa Rica, Nigeria, and Malaysia. In addition, six local students and one faculty member attended.

To facilitate the discussions, a moderator explained the purpose of the event and provided directions so that participants were aware of what would take place. To promote open dialogue, participants sat in one large circle, and they were provided with a list of sample education questions to ask related to education. Participants were encouraged to create their own questions as well. The team created a list of discussion questions pertaining to education in the students' home countries and the United States, which include:

1. What is a typical day like for university students in your country?
2. How does university life at APSU differ from university life in your country?
3. What surprised you the most about education in the US? What was unexpected?
4. What do you wish you knew when you first arrived in the US?
5. What do you wish APSU faculty/staff knew about you and your home country?
6. What is the process like for entering university in your home country? How is it different in the US?
7. What are popular university activities and events for students in your country?
8. How many classes do students normally take in university?
9. What do university students normally do after class in your country?
10. How much do public universities typically cost in your country?
11. What is the relationship between professors and students normally like?
12. Can you tell us about your high school experiences?
13. What is the public school system like in your country?
14. What are some differences between public and private schools in your country?
15. How is the teaching field perceived in your country? Do you think that teachers are paid fairly in your country?
16. Did you learn any foreign languages in school? What languages are popular?
17. Are there any major exams that students have to take in your country?
18. What do you think are some of the major pros and cons of the education system of your country?
19. What would you like to change about the education system in your country?
20. What do you like and dislike about the education system in America? (If they feel comfortable sharing information).

Reflections of the Event

Following the event, the planning team invited participants to complete a post-event Google Form survey. The feedback collected during the event and through the online survey will be considered when developing similar future events. Participant input was obtained on the successes of the event and areas to improve on. Participants shared that programming such as this event served as a catalyst for relationshipbuilding between international and local students. Although the event had many positive outcomes, it is imperative to consider the needs and interests of the international students and local attendees. International participants viewed this program as an opportunity to share their experiences, while local students viewed this program as an opportunity to break down barriers between international and local students. For future events, it may be beneficial to provide more formal forum-type panels as well as social events to promote conversation and interactions between local and international students.

Participants also identified other topics of interest such as international cuisine and having an event in which students prepare foods from their home countries and discuss key elements of their cultures.

There were factors that may have negatively impacted the event such as scheduling and low attendance by local students. This event was scheduled immediately before a major U.S. holiday. This prevented many local students from attending the event. Furthermore, the low rate of attendance of local students may have further negatively impacted the event by creating an imbalance of local and international participants. For future events, scheduling around major holidays will be considered to improve the attendance of both local and international participants. Improving the imbalance of local and international participants in future events would lead to meaningful conversations about educational experiences in the United States and abroad. Furthermore, improved attendance would broaden the representation of educational systems and experiences.

While these factors may have negatively impacted the event, extracurricular programming surrounding comparative and international education addresses a need within the university. Presently, within the College of Education, courses on international and comparative education are not offered. By providing events such as this, students may be exposed to international and comparative education to further their understanding of education both locally and globally. Specifically, these types of events provide a glimpse into the education systems of other countries while promoting intercultural exchange and reflection on their own cultural beliefs.

Considering the successes of this event, a similar event is planned for the Fall of 2023; however, some improvements will be made. To expand the representation within the event, 15 to 20 international students will be invited. To address the limited attendance of local students, one to two undergraduate classes will be invited to participate in this event. The classes will likely focus on diversity and multiculturalism in education. Future events may also use HyFlex classrooms on campus to provide opportunities for face-to-face and online participants. Instructors for the courses will be encouraged to incorporate this event into the curriculum or during class time as part of class participation. To address the desire for more organic, intercultural conversations, participants will be encouraged to create their own questions or topics of interest instead of relying on the provided questions. Furthermore, students who have expressed interest in this type of programming or international education will be identified and contacted individually to encourage participation. For future events, more formalized program evaluation methods will be utilized to gauge the effectiveness and success of the programs. These evaluation methods will be used to guide and expand future events. Suggestions from readers are welcome. Feel free to reach out to us if you have any recommendations for future events or how to improve this international education event.

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Mobsters and Medicine: Health Care Issues in *The Sopranos* and *The Many Saints of Newark*

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Abstract

America's health care problems are well reflected and satirized in HBO's *The Sopranos* and its prequel movie *The Many Saints of Newark* as gangsters deal with consequences of their violence and illnesses. From the stitching of the mobsters' wounds to the solving of corporate problems about how to pay for health care, the plots of the series and movie delve into areas of great applicability to American society in general.

Background

The Sopranos (Chase et al., 1999-2007), David Chase's series that served as a mainstay of HBO's lineup for six seasons, has maintained to an extraordinary degree its reputation as "the highest peak of series TV" (Gilbert, 2006, para. 1). During the current pandemic, the show has been binged enormously, signaling a surge in popularity (Staley 2021). Characters from *The Sopranos* have even appeared in a Super Bowl ad in 2022 (Stern, 2022). Overall, *The Sopranos* remains relevant because, in addition to its entertainment value as a gangster drama, it features scathing satirical critiques of great issues in American society that have not gone away. One of the most significant of these issues is health care, a seemingly odd subject for a crime series. But apart from medical dramas such as *ER* and *New Amsterdam*, few series have ever featured more hospital scenes or included more discussions of health care problems than *The Sopranos*. It is remarkable that at least 14 out of the 86 episodes have one or more nurse characters, and at least 24 episodes have one or more medical doctors ("The Sopranos Guide," 2007). Furthermore, the recent *Sopranos* prequel movie *The Many Saints of Newark* (Taylor, 2021), which opened in theaters October 1, 2021, contains much about health care as well.

Purpose and Methodology

This article will discuss through close analysis of health-related themes and pertinent medical scenes the ways in which illness, injury, and health insurance problems in the *Sopranos* series and prequel movie reflect comparable issues in American society.

Discussion and Analysis

The Prequel: *The Many Saints of Newark* (2021)

The movie prequel, *The Many Saints of Newark*, written by Chase and Lawrence Konner (Taylor, 2021), reveals the previously untold story of how the teen-age Tony Soprano, future head of the New Jersey Mafia family, first decides to become a gangster, and the unexpected role that health care and related societal issues play in that crucial decision. *The Many Saints of Newark* takes place mostly in and around 1967 when Tony is seen as a fairly typical high school student unsure about what line of work he might take up as an adult. Possessed of intelligence and leadership ability, but unmotivated and lacking direction, Tony wavers between potential paths. In particular, he can either listen to the conventional wisdom of his high school guidance counselor or follow the example of his outlaw relatives. With his father usually behind bars and his mother often emotionally debilitated, Tony's main influence is his

charming but depraved uncle, New Jersey Mafia captain Dickie Moltisanti. (The name “Moltisanti,” incidentally, is Italian for “Many Saints,” which gives the film its ironic title.) Dickie seeks to groom Tony to be his eventual successor. Tony is tempted by much in Dickie’s lifestyle: the money, the clothes, the cars, the women. But Tony still has some shred of decency and honesty in him, and he has personally had the frightening experience of seeing a member of the local mob get shot in the back. So what might decide for Tony which way to go?

The answer becomes evident in a crucial scene halfway through the film. Tony and his mother Livia are in their kitchen discussing her deteriorating mental health. Livia, by the way, is based on Chase’s own mother, “a thin-skinned and paranoid woman” (Martin, 2007, p. 54) whose real-life issues are likely the reason why Chase fills his work with discussion of such health problems. In this scene, young Tony learns from Livia that she has been to the family physician, a certain Dr. Cuomo. The doctor has told her she might be helped by a new drug called Elavil. This is a real-life pharmaceutical, generically known as Amitriptyline. Developed by Merck in the 1960’s, it was considered a breakthrough in its day and gained a place on The World Health Organization’s Model List of Essential Medicines (World Health Organization, 2021). Elavil, according to the Mayo Clinic (n.d.), is a prescription antidepressant useful in the treatment of mood disorders and sleeplessness, which are Livia’s main problems. But she refuses to consider using a medication that she believes is only for “lunatics.” And since the Mafia is not the kind of organization that offers Blue Cross (Acocella, 2008), it is unlikely that she could afford the prescription for such a new drug. Tony, however, wants to help her. So Tony goes to Dickie and begs him to procure some Elavil, reasoning that if Dickie can supply Tony with stereo speakers that “fell off a truck” (the Mafia expression for stolen goods), he can get him some Elavil that fell off a truck too. Dickie promises to do so, but then never seems to get around to it. Frustrated and angry, Tony decides he wants nothing more to do with Dickie or the Mafia life. But after Dickie eventually meets his inevitable demise, lying full of bullets face down in the street, it is discovered that he had in his coat pocket a bottle of Elavil. Hearing about that, Tony realizes that Dickie did try to come through for him, whereupon Tony swears to follow Dickie’s path into the Mafia. He becomes a gangster literally because there was no affordable health care for his mother. The message is that if you are uninsured or underinsured you have to go to criminals to get your medicine. So it is that the movie’s analysis of Tony and Dickie’s tragedy dares to symbolically equate America’s profit-driven health care system with the worst of gangsterism.

The Television Series: *The Sopranos* (1999-2007)

Tony’s story is picked up in *The Sopranos*, when, three decades later, he has become the head of the northern branch of the New Jersey mob, ranking behind only the Jersey capo, Jackie Aprile. And once again, the story line (Fergus, 2021) discusses how it is a medical matter that determines Tony’s fate. For in the fourth episode, “Meadowlands” (Cahill and Patterson, 1999), Aprile dies of intestinal cancer, opening up the top spot eventually for Tony. Cancer rears its head throughout the series, becoming a significant symbol. The Mafia is a cancer upon society, and cancer appropriately eats up one member of the mob after another. Tony’s Uncle Junior, for example, is diagnosed in the episode entitled “Another Toothpick,” a term which turns out to be nurses’ slang for a cancer patient who is wasting away (Winter and Bender, 2001). Upon learning of his cancer, Junior orders Tony to promise not to tell anyone else. Junior explains that if people learn you are sick, “they look at you differently” and treat you as a “nonentity.” This is a highly insightful remark, expressing perfectly the attitude that too many in American society have toward illness and the ill. Two episodes later, in “Second Opinion” (Konner and Van Patten, 2001), Tony suggests that Junior inquire with another doctor about the advantages and disadvantages of chemotherapy. Accordingly, Junior tries repeatedly to get a doctor’s advice, but cannot get the busy physician to return his phone calls. The doctor is not too busy to play a lot of golf, however, and soon has the surprise of encountering Tony and his violent enforcer Furio on the links. Once Furio has finished “educating” the doctor about the virtues of returning calls, Junior has no more trouble getting a consultation. Many a viewer of the series must get some vicarious satisfaction out of that scene. Not everyone has a Furio on hand to get their doctor’s attention, of course, even if secretly wishing they did.

Although our focus in this paper is chiefly issues involving physical injuries and illnesses, psychiatric medicine also plays a substantial role in *The Sopranos*. The early episodes in particular follow a simple

idea: “A mobster, suffering from panic attacks and a midlife crisis, goes to see a shrink and ends up on Prozac” (Martin, 2007, p. 103). But the plot’s emphasis is not on the therapy itself or Tony’s progress as a patient. Rather, the real question is how the mob will react when learning that Tony is seeing a therapist. Will Tony appear weak for seeking psychiatric help? Will he face ridicule for getting the help from a woman (Dr. Jennifer Melfi)? Will there be fear that Melfi might go to the police when Tony spills crime secrets to her? Yet, despite these potential problems, when Tony admits to his crew that he is in therapy, “the revelation mainly draws shrugs” (Martin, 2007, p. 103). In fact, at least one other member of the gang, Paulie, turns out to have seen a therapist for “anger issues.” Thus, *The Sopranos* reflects the changing social attitudes toward mental health treatment, as America gradually evolves from considering psychotherapy shameful to considering it a more normal part of medical care for the general public.

Repeatedly, ailments of all sorts fill the series: cancers, contagious diseases, drug addiction, alcoholism, heart attacks, strokes, panic attacks, dementia, comas, burns, food poisoning, emphysema, impotence, and motor vehicle accident injuries (Martin, 2007, pp. 197-225). On top of that, there are, needless to say, the countless acts of gangster violence. All of this adds up to an enormous need for health care. The issue of how to pay for it leads, in turn, to making America’s health insurance crisis a major focus of *The Sopranos*.

Per capita (Huston, 2006), “the U.S. health care system is the most expensive in the world” (Tikkanen and Abrams, 2020). With 30 million Americans uninsured today (ASPE, 2021), 47 million uninsured and many more millions underinsured in Tony’s day (Rivers, 2008), usually because of not being able to afford the premiums, and no end to the crisis in sight, the health insurance issue intensely concerns the American public and mobsters alike. Except for a few notable exceptions, the gang members in *The Sopranos* are uninsured. Insurance companies must see them as a high risk, for some reason. So, just like General Motors (Reindle, J.C., 2018), the mob pays its own medical expenses out-of-pocket, which is the embodiment of the free market at work.

There are many scenes in which antagonisms between mobsters reach a fever pitch because of insurance issues. For example, in the episode “Cold Stones” (Schneider, Frolov, Chase and Van Patten, 2006), a tough confrontation erupts between New York Mafia gangster Phil Leotardo and Tony. The New York and New Jersey mobs have a system whereby they corruptly require construction companies to supply them with what are called “no-show jobs,” fake employment defined as “a position for which someone is paid but is not expected to do any work” (Cambridge, n.d.). When Phil cuts five of these no-show jobs held by Tony’s people at the Tideland Construction Project, Tony explodes in anger. Why is Tony so upset over the loss of such a small number of seemingly insignificant jobs? Because Tideland supplies health insurance and Tony does not. He explains it succinctly: “I got captains lookin’ at me to deliver those no-show jobs on account of the health insurance.” Tony’s aide Silvio then chimes in, “Health care costs these days” This sounds humorous because it is impossible to imagine Humphrey Bogart or Edward G. Robinson complaining about such a subject in the classic gangster movies of old. But the mobsters of *The Sopranos* have the modern concern of health care on their radar, just as do the viewers at home. If even a few gang members can get insurance from no-show jobs, that appears to be a very big deal to Tony and Phil’s crews. Phil, incidentally, should be watching out for his own medical coverage; in the very next episode, entitled “Kaisha” (Winter, Weiner, Chase, and Taylor, 2006), Phil is stricken by a heart attack that will lay him up for six months.

Sometimes health insurance seems like the main thing on Tony’s mind. When employee Ralphie, in the episode “Whoever Did This” (Green, Burgess and Van Patten, 2002), is emotionally devastated by his son’s getting a brain injury, he comes to Tony’s office weeping uncontrollably. Tony, in a moment of sensitivity, seeks to offer comfort. But the only thing Tony manages to say to him is: “Covered by the Sheetrock and Plasterers Union, right?”

Another telling example: in the episode called “Amour Fou” [French for “crazy love”] (Renzulli and Van Patten, 2001), Furio, the Sicilian assassin, takes a bullet to the leg and is in need of immediate surgery. Instead of rushing him to the emergency room of a hospital, Tony phones a urologist who is busy filming a television commercial for erectile dysfunction treatments. Why, asks the doctor, don’t you just take Furio to the emergency room instead of calling me to come perform back-room surgery on him? No

green card, replies Tony. However, in the doctor's commercial, we hear the doctor clearly emphasize that "erectile dysfunction treatment is covered by most medical plans." In other words, in America many persons can get Viagra reimbursement, but others, due to issues such as citizen status, may not get surgery paid for to save a leg.

We find out how much the Mafia thinks hospital stays cost in the episode "Members Only" (Winter and Van Patten, 2006). As the result of a misunderstanding with some thugs in Phil's crew, mobster Hesh Rabkin's son-in-law Eli gets beaten up and hit by a car. Tony and his boys visit Eli in the hospital. From what we see in this scene, we can surmise (author D. L. Rivers being a nurse) that Eli has his head in a traction device known as a Stryker halo (Smith et al., 2000), indicating neck and skull injuries and possibly a broken jaw. He also has a cast on a fractured leg. There is a Foley indwelling urinary catheter hooked up to Eli, who also has internal bleeding. Tony has to have another confrontational meeting with Mafioso Phil – not because he cares much about Eli, but because the seriousness of the injuries means medical expenses have to be negotiated. What follows is a spoof on real-life health insurance negotiations. Phil, acting as if he worked for an insurance company, tries to lowball Tony by offering \$25,000. Tony, acting as if he worked for a torts law firm, demands compensation for everything on his list – "bleeding internally, pain, suffering." Accordingly, Phil doubles his offer to \$50,000, which Tony deems fair and accepts. Bad move on Tony's part! New Jersey had the second highest hospital stay costs in the nation, behind only California (Maciag, 2013). The average out-of-pocket trip to the hospital during Tony's era was \$2212 per day (Hanley, 2013). In the Intensive Care Unit, where a patient as badly injured as Eli would presumably be kept, daily costs averaged \$6667, assuming no mechanical ventilation treatment, on day one (Dasta et al., 2005). Eli's total medical bills, plus missed work income, could easily add up to hundreds of thousands of dollars beyond what Tony settled for.

Everyone in the Sopranos' sphere of life seems to use an enormous amount of medical care. Consider all the health issues confronted just in one episode called "Irregular Around the Margins" (Green, Burgess, and Coulter, 2004). For starters, Tony discovers moles on his forehead and shoulder – potentially dangerous for having irregular margins – and must have outpatient surgery. This has to be done on the sly, however; echoing Junior's thoughts in a similar situation, Tony muses that "People hear you have cancer, they start to bury you already." Meanwhile, mob moll Adriana starts having stomach trouble, apparently from the stress that the FBI is putting on her. She has to go to the doctor, who orders tests expected to confirm a diagnosis of irritable bowel syndrome. Because of that, says Adriana, she will probably be prescribed Prozac and perhaps other medications as well. Her boyfriend Christopher, a drug addict currently in rehab, is jealous; in a typical bit of irony, he envies her for getting drugs for a tummy ache while he can only get oil of clove for an excruciating toothache. And before the night is over, Tony, with Adriana in the passenger seat, crashes and flips his SUV on the highway. Both are taken to the emergency room, and although Tony is released almost unharmed, Adriana has extensive injuries all over her body and must remain hospitalized for some time. All told, one bad day has presumably produced medical bills burning up more money than the average American family makes in a year.

Luckily for Tony, he has had the foresight (along with large income) to purchase the highly valued health insurance coverage that the majority of his associates and employees lack. In fact, he has two policies, which is a wise decision considering that most health insurance policies in the U.S. at the time had a cap on lifetime benefits paid to the insured person (Rivers, 2009), and that cap could be quite low. We find out about this in Season Six when Tony is hospitalized for a long time after being shot in the belly by a confused Uncle Junior. In a memorable scene in the episode "The Fleshy Part of the Thigh" (Schneider, Frolov, and Taylor, 2006), the recuperating Tony gets out of a sick bed, with his IV pole in one hand and a cigar in the other, and goes outside the hospital to have yet another nasty confrontation with Phil. As in the past, Tony and Phil are risking gang war over an insurance policy. It seems that while Tony was comatose, Phil agreed to sell Barone Sanitation, a company in which Tony owns a part interest. Although Tony cares little about the waste disposal business, he is furious at the prospective loss of his W-2 from Barone because "Barone is my secondary insurance carrier." Phil has to back down, and eventually gets his boss Johnny Sack to agree to a compromise that keeps Tony insured. The lesson

learned is that anyone facing a long convalescence, such as is the case with Tony, could be financially doomed without a secondary insurance policy.

The entire story arc about Tony's hospitalization after getting shot is filled with medical drama. Covering three episodes – “Join the Club” (Chase and Nutter, 2006), “Mayham” (Weiner and Bender, 2006) and “The Fleshy Part of the Thigh” (Schneider, Frolov, and Taylor, 2006), this arc makes the most of the hospital setting and its life-or-death crises in order to plumb in greater depth than ever before the relationships of the series' major characters.

In “Join the Club” (Chase and Nutter, 2006), Tony wakes up after a long coma. As news of this spreads from the Intensive Care Unit to the outer rooms, we perceive a hierarchy in evidence. The two families, blood and Mafia, are both present, but not together at first. The biological family is the inner circle, permitted to surround the bed of the patient. The mob family is the outer circle, unacknowledged as family as far as the hospital is concerned. It is amusing to see big, tough gangsters ordered around by tiny nurses who make them obey regulations about visiting hours and seating arrangements. The mob family has been relegated to the waiting room and must await news from a member of the blood family. Along these same lines, there is a division of duties between the two families. Food and communications are handled by the blood family, whereas transportation is handled by the mobsters. These assignments are handed out by Tony's wife Carmela, who has taken charge. The mobsters are visibly uneasy with this arrangement, and soon begin jockeying for power within the corporate structure of their criminal organization. Consigliere Silvio, temporarily rising to the boss position, immediately supplies Carmela with substantial cash, of which she is appreciative. She informs Silvio that the money is definitely needed because Tony's health insurance “does not pay for physical therapy.” That is exactly the sort of information most people do not know about their own coverage. Finally, in a perceptive bit of satire on corporate America in general, Silvio's happy promotion to top man pending Tony's return puts him under so much stress that after just a short time he is seen being taken out of his home on a stretcher.

Tony, in fact, has his own near-death experience during a new setback in “Mayham” (Weiner and Bender, 2006), when he experiences a bout of what his heart monitor displays as ventricular tachycardia – excessively fast heartbeat. While the medical staff furiously works to save his life, Tony is in the process of seeing the famous “light of death” and has a vision in which he nearly gets drawn into a heavenly mansion filled with relatives who have previously passed away. He hears a little girl calling “Daddy, don't go, daddy.” It gradually becomes his daughter Meadow's voice. But suddenly Tony, to the great joy of his family, returns to the living as the nurses verify his much-improved vital signs. After a while, he manages to hoarsely moan to Carmela, “I'm dead, right?” “No,” replies Carmela, “. . .in Newark” – a line guaranteed to draw a laugh from New Yorkers in the television audience.

Probably the most blistering moment of medical satire in the entire story arc occurs in “The Fleshy Part of the Thigh” (Schneider, Frolov, and Taylor, 2006), when a nearly recuperated Tony receives a visit in his hospital room from a woman whom he assumes is a medical doctor because of the white hospital coat that she is wearing. (Patients often do make erroneous assumptions about who is a doctor or nurse or other employee.) After a moment, she reveals that she is a “Utilization Review Specialist,” working with the insurance companies to make sure that patients do not stay in the hospital too long and run up too much expense for all concerned. Tony is staggered, enraged that she is trying to kick him out in the street, as he puts it, after all the insurance premiums that he has paid over the years. She expresses her opinion that he should just be glad to have insurance because without it he would have been refused admission and sent along to MLK, a “county hospital” where she says he probably “would have died.” And how did her hospital know that Tony, who was unconscious when brought in, had insurance? She explains that an ambulance paramedic did a “Wallet Biopsy” to find Tony's insurance card and thus ascertain that he would not cost the hospital a financial loss. The Wallet Biopsy is a real thing, created by profit-minded medical centers to divert indigent patients to public facilities without regard for whether or not they can get appropriate treatment there. Further angered by this Wallet Biopsy tale, Tony speaks for a few million Americans when he explosively orders the Utilization Review Specialist out of his room, calling her a less-than-polite name in the process. Of course, none of this is actually her fault; rather, it is the system

that has failed, leaving hospitals and patients alike in dire financial straits due to the lack of universal health insurance coverage in this country.

By the end of “The Fleshy Part of the Thigh” (Schneider, Frolov, and Taylor, 2006), all is relatively well for Tony. He is healthy enough to be released, whether he thinks so or not, and because of very good doctors and nurses he has survived his long brush with death. The young paramedic who performed the Wallet Biopsy also has something of a near-death experience of his own courtesy of Tony’s henchman Christopher, who thinks that the lad was stealing cash when he rifled through Tony’s wallet. Fortunately, Tony is in a benevolent mood by the time he leaves the hospital and intercedes to save the young man from harm. In the mandatory wheelchair, Tony squints at the sun shining down upon him as he exits and gives his best “Lou Gehrig speech” about being the luckiest man in the world. “From now on,” intones Tony, analyzing his situation, “every day is a gift.” Thanks to excellent and expensive health care, Tony can now go back to killing people in peace.

In the sixth and final season, however, everything health-related in Tony’s world seems to be falling down. In the third-to-last episode, “The Second Coming” (Winter and Van Patten, 2007), another medical condition strikes, as Tony’s son A.J.’s chronic depression worsens to the point that he has to be put under observation at a psychiatric hospital. Then, in the penultimate episode, “The Blue Comet” (Chase, Weiner, and Taylor, 2007), Tony’s own psychiatrist, Dr. Melfi, who has spent eight futile years trying to turn Tony into a decent human being, finally kicks him out for good when she ultimately realizes that a sociopath like him is a hopeless case. And even as all that is happening, the inevitable gang war between the Jersey and New York mobs erupts, decimating both sides, and leaving most of Tony’s best men either dead or badly wounded.

The final hospital scene of the series appears in the final episode, “Made in America” (Chase, 2007). Tony goes there to visit his beloved adviser Silvio, who lies comatose from the gang violence and apparently has no chance of recovery. After silently comforting Silvio’s wife, Tony sits almost in a stupor at Silvio’s bedside. As the scene plays out, Tony says absolutely nothing. Not a single word is spoken, not a single thought expressed. After 86 episodes of griping about how hard it is to obtain health care, about how high the health care costs are, and about how to pay for the health care, Tony winds up with no solution for any of it, and he is left speechless for the first time.

Later in the episode comes another scene with illness at its core when Tony visits the assisted living facility where Uncle Junior resides. Tony goes there to warn Junior about people who might come wanting to learn if Junior has hidden money anywhere. But that turns out to be a moot point, as Junior’s last and worst disease, dementia, has already robbed him of his memory. “You don’t know who I am, do you?” asks Tony. Just as the coma was victorious in the scene with Silvio, so dementia is victorious in the one with Junior. Again, Tony leaves silent and defeated.

Tony then drives directly to Holsten’s, a real-life eatery in Bloomfield, New Jersey. In what will be the final scene of the series, he takes a seat in a booth and waits for his family members who arrive one by one: first Carmela, then A.J., and finally Meadow. Suspense builds as we wonder what big finale awaits at the very end. Tony looks up into a black void and has nothing to say. The screen remains totally dark until the credits roll. No shoot-out, no final words of wisdom, just total blackness and dead silence. This controversial ending, which caused much frustration and anger among viewers and evoked endless analyses and interpretations from observers, actually should have been quite predictable to anyone who had been paying attention to the medical scenes earlier. For just in the way that loved ones are eventually going to have to pull the plug on the nearly brain-dead Silvio and Junior, so it is that when Tony no longer has anything to say, David Chase chooses to pull the plug on his creation *The Sopranos* and leaves the series, in its final moments, flatlining.

Conclusion

In sum, the enormous amount of medical care used by characters in *The Sopranos* series and its prequel movie can be assessed as being portrayed in remarkably realistic fashion reflecting the situation in American society. The same is true for the portrayal of health insurance issues and the depiction of patients and families confronting illness, injury and pain. Considering that fans of the series and prequel probably would not have complained had the details of these themes not been perfect, it is all the more

commendable that the series' and prequel's producers, directors, writers, and advisers cared enough to get it right while never sacrificing artistic quality or dramatic impact. This potent authenticity serves to convey lessons that are brutal but hard to refute. *The Sopranos* shows us that while the United States may indeed have the best health care that money can buy, not even the Mafia can always afford to buy it. And, moreover, the series illustrates that when it comes to the business of medicine, not all the worst crooks are in the Mafia.

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Albany Jews Solidarity of All Israel

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Jewish immigrants settling in upstate New York created a community out of nothing, Establishing institutions where none existed, Jews carved out an identity for themselves as a small religious minority in an overwhelmingly Christian population. To their fellow Americans, Jewish immigrants were different, “the other.” As historian Hasia Diner noted, for Christian Americans, “Jews served a collective symbol of alienness, of being different from everyone else, and at odds with the ideals of Christian America.” Another historian, Gerald Sorin, stressed the same Christian reluctance to embrace Jews as fellow Americans. According to Sorin, “hatred of Jews was carried to America at the very birth of the nation, and it was nourished by the myths that portray Jews as eternally alien to Christendom...”

How did Jews neutralize their alienness, the identification as the “other?” Ever since their arrival in America, Jews walked a tightrope between maintaining their identity as a distinct ethnic/religious minority and their desire for acceptance as real Americans. Jews looked for opportunities to show their loyalty as Americans and repudiate charges of dual loyalty or questioning their place in American society, while at the same time maintaining their identity as Jews. The passing of presidents and service in wars provided Albany’s Jews an opportunity to show they shared the grief and sacrifice with their fellow Americans. Laying the cornerstone of Beth Israel, a new Orthodox synagogue, in Troy in 1909, Rabbi Hyman Lasker, raised this question for all American Jews: “Let us be patriotic, American patriots, and Jewish believers. Let us teach our children to shed their last drop of blood for our country, America. Let them hold the Bible in one hand and the flag of the Stars and Stripes in the other.”¹

Jewish immigrants and their descendants faced another question---how did they respond to the problems of co-religionists abroad? To what degree did Albany’s Jews respond to discrimination and pogroms aimed at foreign Jews? Did they attempt to raise money to help Jews in Russia or Palestine? Did Jews in Albany stage demonstrations and petition the federal government to intervene to help Jews in foreign countries? In reality, Albany’s Jews from 1853 to 2021 identified with the plight of their fellow Jews, whether endangered by the policies of the Nazi regime in Germany or rockets from Hamas. One of the themes in Albany and American Jewish history was the solidarity of all Israel, when Jews were under attack abroad the Jews of Albany responded, whether to pogroms in Russia between 1903-05 or the Arab attacks on Jews in Palestine in 1929. The actions of Jews in Albany reflected the same questions that Jews throughout the United States faced as they identified themselves as Americans while seeking to maintain their identity as Jews. How could Jews sing Hatikvah and whistle the Star-Spangled Banner?²

. The plight of European Jews raised another question for American Jews---what refuge existed for Jews displaced by pogroms and war? Was Zionism the answer or further mass migration to America? American Jews faced a dilemma if they encouraged more Jews to immigrate to the United States. Christian Americans viewed them either as the “other,” not really welcome in America, or as a small exotic minority with odd religious practices, especially those who retained their faith in Orthodox Judaism. Christian religious anti-Semites and secular racialists, like Madison Grant, in *Passing of the Great Race*, did not want more Jews in America. Was the only option available supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine, especially after Congress closed the doors with passage of the Emergency Quota Act in 1921 followed by the even more restrictive National Origins Act in 1924? After 1921, the choice vanished as Congress decided to prevent any substantial number of Jews from the U.S.S.R, Poland,

Romania, Hungary, or Germany entering the country. The United States turned its back on the lady in New York harbor and the poem by the Jewess Emma Lazarus. Jews were the tired, poor, huddled masses, yearning to breathe free, but Congress shut the doors to America. Where could European Jews go for refuge?

While Congress showed little interest in European Jews, Albany's Jewish community expressed concern for the problems of their co-religionists in Europe and Palestine. Albany's Jews wanted to help Jews of Europe and Palestine in foreign crises and sought to persuade the United States government to join in protesting discrimination and pogroms aimed at Jews. Historians look at the issue of American Jewish protests, petitions, and demonstrations in the context of major Jewish population centers in New York City or Philadelphia, rather than smaller towns and cities. Looking at Albany provides us with a deeper understanding of the widespread support American Jews showed for two hundred years for the plight of Jews abroad.³

"We are law-abiding citizens and as such have a right to ask our government to use its good offices for the sake of Humanity,"[wrote a Jewish resident of Albany in May 1903,]"to see that our Jewish brothers receive justice and protection even from such a barbarous government as Russia." In asking for help for the Jews of Kishinev this unknown Albany Jew combined three elements of the Jewish experience. The Albanian Jew, an "American Jew," expected acceptance as an American, not the other, asking for help from the United States government, to assist the plight of Jews abroad. This Jewish resident of Albany expressed the right to petition the American government and expected the federal government to respond favorably to this plea to aid Jewish victims of Russian pogroms.⁴

Solidarity of All Israel

Events in Austria in the early 1850s led to the first protests by the Jews of Albany about the treatment of Jews abroad. Austria abrogated rights Jews had prior to the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. Congregation Anshe Emeth invited the Jewish community to attend a mass meeting on 27 November 1853 to protest the denial of rights to the 700,000 Jewish subjects of the Austrian Empire. Speakers included Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise. After Wise and four other speakers detailed the abuses, the Jewish citizens of Albany adopted resolutions praising Jewish banking houses in London for boycotting the Austrians. They had "the thanks of all Israel as well as all friends of democratic and constitutional liberty..." Albany's Jews expressed two key themes of American Jewish history---the solidarity of all Israel and as new citizens of the United States they identified with the democratic and constitutional values of liberty and free speech. As early as 1853, Albany's Jews identified as Americans, not the "other."⁵

Five years later, an incident in Italy caught the attention of Jews throughout Europe and the United States. A nurse kidnapped a Jewish child, Edgar Levy Mortara of Bologna, Italy, and had the child baptized as a Catholic. The Vatican refused to return the child. In the United States, Protestants joined Jews to condemn the actions of the Papacy. Christians as well as Jews joined together in two protest meetings about the Mortara Affair in Albany in 1858. At the first, held on 23 December 1858, Jewish and Christian Albanians signed the invitation for the meeting to voice the outrage of the community. Members of all political parties, Democrats, Republicans, and Know Nothings, attended and spoke "to a very large audience" at the meeting. Speakers included former mayor Eli Perry, Judge Amasa Parker, an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor, a prominent Protestant minister, Dr. Magoon, Rabbi Elkan Cohn of the South Pearl Street Synagogue (Reform Anshe Emeth), and Rabbi Samson Falk of the Herkimer Street Synagogue (Beth El, Orthodox). A local paper, *Morning Times*, described the assemblage consisting of an "immense audience...composed of intelligent citizens of all denominations." Speakers stressed the religious tolerance in America and the freedom of religion for all denominations. While this meeting, called the Religious Liberty Meeting, promoted tolerance, Rabbi Falk viewed the Roman Catholic Church as a threat to American principles of religious liberty and toleration. Resolutions adopted made clear: "That, we citizens of the State of New York believing fully in the doctrines of civil and religious liberty and toleration" protest the abduction of the Mortara child. Rabbi Wise in the *Israelite* expressed his pride in the liberality and justice of the people of Albany after reading the resolutions

adopted in Albany. The citizens of Albany, Jewish and Gentile, petitioned President James Buchanan to intervene.⁶

Nine members of the Jewish community attended a second Mortara meeting on 28 December sponsored by the anti-Catholic American Party (Know Nothings). As historian Bertram Korn concluded: “In no other community did open cooperation between the Jewish community and the Know Nothing Party result from the Mortara movement.” In this meeting Jews and Protestants voiced more open hostility to the Catholic Church. Jewish and Protestant speakers criticized the bigotry of the Catholic Church and its opposition to American republican principles. Resolutions adopted described Roman Catholicism as “dangerous to civil and religious liberty,” and praised the American Order as a protector of religious freedom.⁷

Soon after the meetings in Albany, the New York State Assembly in response to petition from the citizens of Albany about the Mortara Affair created a select committee in January 1859 proposing resolutions condemning the kidnapping and forced baptism of the Jewish child. Resolutions called upon Congress and President Buchanan to express American outrage and demanding “the release of the imprisoned child.” A similar petition from the citizens of Albany went to the Senate judiciary committee for consideration. Samuel Law, an Assemblyman and American Party member from Delaware County, gave an impassioned speech in March 1859 about the Mortara Affair. While Republicans endorsed the speech and resolutions, Democrats successfully blocked passage concerned the resolutions would offend their Catholic constituents. This is a rare example of the state legislature of New York considering the concerns of the Albany Jewish community about the fate of Jews abroad. The Mortara Affair showed the willingness of Albany’s Jews to work with non-Jews to protest the treatment of foreign Jews, and to petition the state and federal government on behalf of oppressed Jews abroad.⁸

Almost immediately after protests about the Mortara Affair, the treatment of Jews by Morocco grabbed the attention of Albany’s Jews. Mayer Stein, president of Anshe Emeth, announced on 24 December 1859 that the city’s Jews should meet to raise funds for Moroccan Jews expelled to Gibraltar. Rabbi Elkan Cohn chaired the meeting at Anshe Emeth, in January 1860, soliciting donations to alleviate “the suffering of our brothers in Morocco”. Monies collected, \$142.55, went to Sir Moses Montefiore, President of the Jewish Board of Delegates in London, who accepted the responsibility to forward aid received from Jewish communities in the United States and Europe. Congregation Anshe Emeth also passed resolutions praising British authorities in Gibraltar for taking in the exiled Moroccan Jews. Resolutions adopted expressed solidarity with our persecuted brethren “and we will contribute our mite to alleviate their condition.” Rabbi Samson Falk at Congregation Beth El brought his membership together on 1 January 1860 for a fundraising meeting as well and sent their donations to Sir Moses Montefiore. Once again, Albany’s Jews responded to the needs of their co-religionists outside of the United States.⁹

To show their identification with world Jewry, Albany’s Jews celebrated the one hundredth birthday of Sir Moses Montefiore in 1884. On 26 October 1884, Congregations Beth El and Anshe Emeth, met at the Adelphi Club, a Jewish club, to celebrate Montefiore’s birthday. Speakers emphasized his philanthropy and commitment to Judaism and Jews. Rabbis, like Rabbi Abraham Illich and important lay people, like Simon Rosendale and Dr. Joseph Lewi, spoke in English and German about Montefiore’s contributions to humanity. Rabbi Max Schlesinger of Anshe Emeth, speaking in German, used the tribute to lobby for endowing a chair in honor of Montefiore at a Jewish college, Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Simon Rosendale concurred and suggested creating a fund of \$100,000 to support a Jewish Studies chair to honor Montefiore.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the Jewish community took notice of anti-Jewish actions in Eastern Europe. In the late 1860s, American Jews became concerned about anti-Semitism in Romania. Albany’s Jews took action. Working with political activist Simon Wolf of Washington, the Gideon Lodge of Bnai Brith in Albany financed the appointment of Bnai Brith President Benjamin Peixotto by President Ulysses S. Grant as the U.S. Consul in Bucharest in 1870 to report on Romanian anti-Semitism. Simon Wolf contacted the Gideon Lodge for help raising funds to support Peixotto’s mission to alleviate the suffering of Romania’s Jews. Simon Rosendale wrote an appeal condemning the behavior of the Romanian government, and asking the brothers of Bnai Brith, as Jews and Americans, to contribute to our consul in Bucharest to

allow Peixotto to continue his work on behalf of Romania's Jews. Repeatedly, from 1867 on, American Jews expressed their anger at the treatment of Jews in Romania, and the Grant administration expressed its sympathy and concern for the plight of Romania's Jews. Despite the best efforts of the Gideon Lodge and Simon Rosendale in Albany, and of Simon Wolf, Benjamin Peixotto, and President Grant, Romania continued its maltreatment of Jews.

Albany's Jews heard firsthand about the problems of Jews in the Russian Empire as thousands of Jews from Russia, Poland, Belarus (White Russia), and Ukraine migrated to Albany and the surrounding communities of Troy, Cohoes, Amsterdam, and Schenectady. Driven out of Russia by the pogroms of 1869, pogroms of 1881-82, May laws of 1882, expulsions of 1891, deteriorating economic conditions, conscription, and pogroms of 1903-05, Jews fled the Russian Empire and the Tsar. Orthodox in religious belief they found both Beth El and Anshe Emeth too liberal. New immigrants also did not feel comfortable in the Orthodox and Polish speaking Beth El Jacob. Instead, newly arrived Jews from the Russian Empire created Sons of Abraham in 1882 and the United Brethren Society, a more Hasidic synagogue, in 1902. Jews settling Albany and the Capital District formed part of the two million Jews, one-third of the Jewish population of the Russian Empire, who left en masse from 1870-1914 to escape Tsarist Russia. Although Jews made up only five percent of the Russian population, they made up fifty percent of the Russian Empire's emigrants.¹¹

According to historian Mark Raider, "Kishinev marked a turning point in American Jewish history," as Jews of all religious beliefs, ethnicities, and "political attitudes reacted with horror to the brutal treatment" of Jews in the Russian Empire. Non-Jews joined in the public meetings and drafting resolutions denouncing the pogroms in Russia. Even former President Grover Cleveland "lashed out bitterly" at Russian anti-Semitism at a meeting at Carnegie Hall on 27 May 1903. Cyrus Adler recorded seventy-seven public meetings in twenty-seven states. Actually, his tally did not include all the public meetings in the Capital District. Protests against Russian barbarism took place in the Capital District communities, of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy. Adler failed to include the editorials in Capital District newspapers, like *Albany Press-Knickerbocker-Express*. Rev. John J. Lawrence of the State Street Presbyterian Church led a public protest on 7 June against Kishinev atrocities calling for ecumenical unity against Russian anti-Semitism.

As indicated earlier, an unknown member of the Jewish community wrote a letter to one of the newspapers to "voice the sentiments of an American of the Jewish faith" waiting for President Theodore Roosevelt to denounce the Russians. The writer hoped Roosevelt and Secretary of State John Hay would condemn Russian anti-Semitism and expressed solidarity with "our much ill-treated and abused Jewish brethren." In addition, William Bookheim, Grand Master of Lodge 1, Independent Order of the Free Sons of Israel, spearheaded a fund-raising campaign that successfully collected donations from Jews and non-Jews in Albany to aid the victims of the pogroms. One Jewish organization sponsored a strawberry and cream festival for twenty-five cents a ticket to collect money for Russian Jewish relief. The Mayor of Albany, Charles Gaus, a Republican, was the most prominent non-Jew to donate to Jewish relief. In Albany, as Mark Raider indicated nationally, Jews, whether Reform or Orthodox, supported the protests. War relief united Jews in a common cause, whether they were Hasidic or Socialist. Most Jewish organizations donated, including the Daughters of Jacob, Young Men's Montefiore Association, and Max Nordeau Lodge (Zionist). Aid from Albany fitted into the long tradition of American Jews helping co-religionists. As Joseph Rapport concluded: "The war relief movement exhibited the degree to which American Jewry was willing and able to contribute to the victims of the conflict."¹²

Two years later, a series of pogroms in Russia beginning with Bialystok on 9 April 1905 and culminating in over 690 anti-Jewish riots by October produced a renewed sense of outrage in the United States. Ninety percent of the Jews who fled Russia after the pogroms of 1903-05 preferred the promised land of Hester Street in the Lower East Side or South Pearl Street in Albany rather than Palestine adding to the Jewish population in Albany and increasing the local anger at the Russian government. The local press, as in 1903, condemned the barbarism of the Russian government's "persecution of the Jews is merely another expression of Russian savagery and ignorance." Over 100,000 Jews paraded in New York City under the banners of black flags in early December, Meanwhile, after a meeting at Temple Emanu-El

in New York City on 7 November 1905, Jewish leaders, Jacob Schiff, Oscar Straus, and Cyrus Sulzberger, organized a relief effort for Jewish victims of the pogroms, the National Committee for the Relief of Sufferers By Russian Massacres. The new committee sought donations from “the entire Jewish population.” Local committees developed in “numerous towns and cities to generate contributions for the National Committee.”

Jewish communities, throughout upstate New York, in for example, Poughkeepsie, Rochester, Ogdensburg, and Plattsburgh, donated. Capital District Jews joined the cause. Schenectady and Troy collected contributions. In Albany, a meeting at Beth Emeth, in mid-November raised \$500 on the spot as members of the congregation jumped to their feet to pledge donations of \$5 to \$50 each. Congregations Beth El Jacob and Sons of Abraham quickly “responded most generously” adding \$1,000. Every Jewish society in the South End, the major Jewish neighborhood, donated, like the Gideon Lodge, Sons of Abraham, Sons of Israel, and Clara D. Ladies Society. Before long Albany’s Jews gave another \$1,500. Simon Rosendale chaired the local committee for Russian Jewish relief and Rabbi Max Schlesinger served as treasurer. Rosendale expected a total of \$4,000 would reach Jacob Schiff. However, one nearby community pleaded poverty. From Saratoga Springs, a local Jewish businessperson wrote Schiff, that “there are a few families, but they are all in poor circumstances.” Actually, in 1905 a majority of the Jewish immigrants in Albany from Eastern Europe who joined Sons of Abraham, or the United Brethren Society were poor. However, Albany’s Jews, regardless of their financial ability, as they had done in 1903, helped Jewish victims of Russian anti-Semitism.¹³

The plight of Jews in Eastern Europe once again become a subject of concern during World War I. Hundreds of thousands of Jews uprooted by the war in Eastern Europe and Palestinian Jews suffered food shortages. World War I decimated scores of Jewish communities impoverishing hundreds of thousands of people. From 1914-1917, the Russian government forced 600,000 Jews from their homes, causing them to lose their property and their livelihoods. American Jewry organized relief efforts for Jews displaced by the war and aided Jews in Palestine, creating the Joint Distribution Committee to distribute aid to Jews abroad. As historian Daniel Soyer concluded, American Jewish assistance to Jews overseas became “a defining characteristic of American Jewry.” The role of American Jews in providing aid to their co-religionists in Europe marked a “great turning point in Jewish history”[as American Jewry emerged] “as the most powerful and richest in the Diaspora” according to historian Selig Adler. Members of the Jewish communities in the Capital District joined in this national effort to help co-religionists in Europe and Palestine and show the solidarity of all Israel.¹⁴

Furthermore, Albany’s Jews had a personal stake in aiding European Jews. Historian S. Joshua Kohn noted about the Jewish community of Utica: “there was hardly a person who was not related to some war-stricken family in war-torn Europe and Palestine, for the vast majority of Jews here were the immigrants of...1880-1914 and their children.” This was true of the Jews of Albany and of the major nearby communities of Troy and Schenectady and of smaller Capital District Jewish communities, like Cohoes. Local relief efforts in the Capital District received a boost when President Woodrow Wilson declared 27 January 1916 Jewish Relief Day. Members of the New York Assembly joined in passing a resolution on 17 January 1916 “calling attention to the distress and misery” of the Jewish people in Eastern Europe. Republican Governor Charles Whitman issued his own proclamation calling on the people of New York, Jews, and Christians, to donate to help alleviate “the sufferings with which the Jewish people are confronted.”¹⁵

Members of Beth Emeth led the Albany campaign within the Jewish community, including Rabbi Max Schlesinger, Simon Rosendale, Albert Hessberg, Benjamin Mann, and Leonard Waldman successfully raising \$5,000. All the Jewish congregations, Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox solicited donations. Jewish organizations participated in the campaign, including the Yiddish language and Socialist Local 320 of Workmen’s Circle, socialist labor Zionist Poale Zion, working class Hebrew Tailors’ Association, middle-class Washington Lodge of Masons, Ladies’ Auxiliary of Beth El Jacob, and the Ladies’ Radical Society. Even the circumcising party at the home of Mr. S. Jesel provided an opportunity to collect for Jewish relief.¹⁶

In addition to the appeal made by Albany's Jews, an ecumenical non-partisan committee, following the lead of Governor Whitman, on 23 January 1916, requested the citizens of Albany, Jewish and Christian, to donate. Martin Glynn, Democrat, the first Irish Catholic governor of New York, was the most prominent Christian on the committee. Former governor Glynn identified with Jewish causes coming out of World War I. Also, Albany's Republican Mayor Joseph W. Stevens served on the committee. Citing Wilson and Whitman, the committee appealed "to the benevolence and generosity of their fellow Albanians on behalf of these stricken people." Albany's newspapers endorsed and publicized the campaign. Giving to Jewish relief should prove "an honorable and pleasurable task for their fellow citizens." By the end of January, the committee collected \$10,000. Members of the Jewish community continued to contribute, and by February 1918 it reached \$60,000.¹⁷

"Tragedy of Jews Stirs Albanians' Hearts" read the headline in the *Albany Argus* in October 1919 as a second round of fundraising began for the Jews of Eastern Europe and Palestine. Governor Alfred Smith headed the state Jewish Relief committee as the honorary chair with State Commissioner of Education John Finley serving on the executive board. Roman Catholic Bishop Edmund Gibbons gave \$100 as the first formal donation to the Albany committee, and Episcopalian Bishop Richard Nelson accepted service on the advisory committee. Protestant and Catholic lay persons and clergy served on the Albany committee including Rev. J.V. Moldenhawar of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, former governor Glynn and his wife, and Father William Charles, pastor of St. Vincent de Paul. The plight of European Jews motivated "prominent men and women of all creeds to cooperate." Local newspapers endorsed the campaign. According to the *Albany Argus*: "The great heart of Albany throbs with sympathy for all these Jews and that sympathy is being translated into deeds of helpfulness." Once again, the Jewish leaders on the committee came from the officers and trustees of Beth Emeth, including Samuel Hessberg, chairperson. All the synagogues and Jewish organizations worked together to solicit donations, like Sons of Abraham, United Brethren Society, and Beth El Jacob. The campaigns for Jewish relief united the Jews of Albany regardless of religious belief or political orientation. The campaign raised \$100,000. Historians of other upstate Jewish communities, like S Joshua Korn in Utica and B.G. Rudolph in Syracuse, reached the same conclusions about the unifying effect of the war and war relief.¹⁸

Albany's Jews also joined in nationwide protests against the conditions of Jews in Eastern Europe. Ukrainian nationalists, White Army, Polish troops, and elements of the Red forces turned on Jews in eastern Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, and Russia killing 40,000 Jews in Poland and 100,000 in primarily Ukraine from 1917-1921, Romanian troops killed at least 5,000 Jews in Hungary. Another 150,000 Jews perished from starvation and disease in Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia as roving armies devastated 150 Jewish communities. Former New York governor Martin Glynn referred to the "threatened holocaust of human life"[and] "bigoted lust for Jewish blood" in his article, "The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!" in the *American Hebrew* on 31 October 1919 pleading for help for starving Jews in Eastern Europe. On 21 May 1919, thousands of Jews met in Madison Square Garden to protest the massacres of Jews in Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, Galicia, and Belarus. Jewish war veterans organized parades against the massacres in New York on 21 May and 24 November 1919 and sent a petition to Governor Smith expressing their outrage at the atrocities.

Meanwhile, in Albany, Jews met at Sons of Abraham synagogue on 15 December 1918 to protest the killings of Jews in Poland and Galicia. Former Governor Glynn told the audience that "the Jewish people have no right to request protection from President Wilson, but a right to demand it." Representatives of the Jewish organizations in Albany adopted resolutions sending copies to President Wilson. Rabbi Amien Kantor and congregants of Congregation Beth Jacob, in Cohoes, in northern Albany County, attended a similar protest in Troy on 20 May 1919. Schenectady's Jews staged their own protest meeting in May 1919 and sent a petition to President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing. Jews from Albany, Cohoes, Troy, and Schenectady attended a mass meeting to denounce the atrocities in Eastern Europe in Schenectady on 7 December 1919 at the Palace Theatre.¹⁹

Jewish war relief and protests against the massacres in Eastern Europe united Jews, but Zionism divided Albany's Jews as the leaders of Reform Beth Emeth emerged as the most vocal anti-Zionists. As Michael Meyer, concluded: "A formidable barrier separating Americanized German Jews from a good

many of the East Europeans was the issue of Zionism.” Reform Jews portrayed Judaism as solely a religious denomination, a spiritual belief, and rejected Jews as a nationality implicit in Zionism. The Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), at a conference in 1897, opposed the creation of a Jewish state and continued to attack political Zionism. In Albany, Simon Rosendale led the fight for over thirty years against Zionism, as a powerful leader in Reform Beth Emeth, consisting primarily of German Jews and their Americanized descendants. A former New York State Attorney General, member of the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, an officer of the Jewish Publication Society, and American Jewish Historical Society, Rosendale emerged as the most vocal opponent of Zionism in the Capital District. A powerful personality in Beth Emeth for decades, Rosendale wrote critiques of Zionism as early as 1902 and 1906.²⁰

The confrontation between anti-Zionists in Beth Emeth and the pro-Zionist majority of Albany’s Jews in the Orthodox and Conservative congregations splintered wartime unity in 1919. Congressman Julius Kahn, Republican of California, joined with Professor Morris Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania in a “Memorandum of Conscience” sending a petition from three hundred American Jews rejecting the Balfour Declaration and a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Thirteen Albany Jews, at least twelve members of Beth Emeth, signed the petition, including Simon Rosendale, Charles Stern, deputy attorney general of New York and Beth Emeth trustee, rabbi emeritus Max Schlesinger, former rabbi Samuel Goldenson, and current Rabbi Eli Mayer, who attacked Zionism as vigorously as Rosendale. The confrontation played out locally at a meeting at Chancellor’s Hall on 16 March 1919. A strongly pro-Zionist meeting, it included Baptist and Catholic clergy who endorsed Zionism as would the New York state legislature. Mayer, however, went on the offensive asking: “Which flag will you serve, the Jewish flag or the American flag.” In effect, Rabbi Mayer, like Simon Rosendale, undermined one of the goals of American Jews, to be both Jews and Americans, and not the “other.” Members of the audience shouted down Mayer. Outside of Beth Emeth a majority of Albany and Capital District Jewry favored Zionism.²¹

A series of pro-Zionist meetings in 1920 suggested local support for Zionism, Albany’s Jews established a committee for Palestinian Restoration in May 1920 and began raising funds. By July, the campaign achieved \$25,000. As usual local Zionists commemorated the anniversary of the death of Theodore Herzl, Four thousand Jews from Albany, Schenectady, Troy, Amsterdam, Gloversville, Hudson, Glens Falls, and Cohoes marched through Albany on 3 June 1920 with banners in English and Hebrew carrying the Stars and Stripes and Zionist flag. According to the *Albany Argus* “shops and residences along the route were decorated with the Zionist flag, the six-pointed blue star and stripes on a white background, and the red, white, and blue” as Jews celebrated the end of Ottoman rule in Palestine, Balfour Declaration, and “the restoration of Israel.” The marchers represented all the Jewish societies “and congregations of virtually every city near Albany.” A military band played Hatikvah. This became the largest Jewish parade in the history of Albany. Speakers included Governor Al Smith, Mayor James Watt, and former governor Martin Glynn as Catholics and Protestants endorsed the creation of a Jewish homeland. Former Governor Glynn remained the most consistent and enthusiastic Catholic supporter of Jewish causes during and after World War I. The most prominent Jewish speaker was Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, an equally “committed Reform rabbi and militant Zionist.” The parade suggested the continued split in Albany between the leadership of Beth Emeth opposing Zionism and East European Jews and their descendants who embraced Zionism. Silver’s presence along with the equally militant Zionism of Reform Rabbi Joseph Jasin, formerly of Schenectady, and now rabbi in Gloversville, revealed the divisions within Reform over Zionism. An explicit theme in the parade was Zionism and Americanism were not in conflict as speakers stressed “that Zionism is not incompatible with Americanism” dismissing the arguments of Rabbi Mayer and Simon Rosendale. Further evidence of support for Zionism came in 1927 when the future president of Israel Chaim Weizmann spoke in Albany in January for United Palestine Appeal, and Jews subscribed \$35,000.²²

Arab riots in Palestine in August 1929 leading to the deaths of sixty Jews in Hebron and injury or death of forty-five Jews in Safed brought an immediate reaction from the American Jewish community. Attacks on Jews abroad, once again, united Albany Jews. In Albany, as in other communities in the Capital District, Jews organized public meetings to condemn the attacks, raise funds, and petition President

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of State Henry Stimson, and Governor Franklin Roosevelt to pressure the British to protect Jews in Palestine. Even the Jewish farmers of southern Rensselaer County met at the Jewish Community Center in Nassau in September 1929 to show their support for the Jews in Palestine. Jewish organizations in Albany held a mass meeting on 29 August 1929 to denounce the Arab riots. Governor Franklin Roosevelt sent an emissary, Frank Sharp, Deputy Secretary of State, to attend. Samuel Caplan, one of the organizers of the meeting and a leading Zionist, thanked Governor Roosevelt for his "broad humanity" for supporting Jewish protests "against the Jewish massacres in Palestine." Groups attending the meeting, included Zionist Organization of Albany, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, Hadassah, and the National Workers' Alliance.

Albany's Jews organized a second meeting to denounce the atrocities and call for financial support for the Jews in Palestine. Speakers included Sharp, Caplan, Rabbi Shepard Baum of Sons of Abraham., and George Reilly, Albany's corporation counsel, representing Democratic Mayor John Boyd Thatcher. Events in Palestine united all Jewish groups and congregations including Beth Emeth. Nelson Fromm, President of Beth Emeth, called on members of the congregation to donate to the Palestine Emergency Fund. Samuel Caplan made an appeal "to the generous humanity of the people of Albany" to join Jews in expressing outrage at events in Palestine and *Albany Times-Union* endorsed the Palestine aid campaign.²³

Hitler's rise to power in Germany posed two problems for the Albany Jewish community. A portion of the large German American population in the Capital District joined the pro-Nazi German-American Bund. When Bund members planned to celebrate Anschluss in March 1938 at Germania Hall in Troy members of the Jewish War Veterans from Albany and Troy prevented the meeting. Jewish War Veterans protested Bund meetings in Albany and engaged in a donnybrook with Bund members in Delmar. Word of Kristallnacht led to protests across the United States including attacks on German anti-Semitism from Catholics and Protestants. Albany's Jews organized a mass meeting at Conservative Sons of Israel and another at Beth Emeth as all Jewish congregations collaborated to denounce German anti-Semitism. Rabbi Bernard Bamberger of Beth Emeth lectured on anti-Semitism in the United States and Germany ten days after Kristallnacht. Catholic and Protestant ministers attacked German anti-Semitism in Sunday church sermons throughout the Capital District. The Episcopal Diocese in Albany, for example, sent a telegram to Secretary of State Cordell Hull asking him to "vigorously protest the persecution of the Jewish people." Rev. Kenneth Welles of the Westminster Presbyterian Church argued German anti-Semitism was a threat to democracy "and to all religions alike." Jewish meetings called for a liberalization of American immigration laws and a boycott of German goods, later endorsed by the Central Avenue Civic and Merchants Association. Even area college students led by Union College in Schenectady urged fighting Nazism "with fire." Two hundred members of the small Jewish community in Cohoes staged their own protest against Nazi policies at Beth Jacob synagogue. The memory of Kristallnacht did not fade as Albany's Jews continue to commemorate Kristallnacht every November.²⁴

With the start of the war there was little Albany's Jews could aid Jews in Europe. Rabbi Bernard Bamberger of Beth Emeth spoke for the seven Jewish congregations in a radio address on 2 December 1942 when Jews across the country met to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. Albany's Jewish community observed a day of "fasting and prayer...for those who are dying and are still dying for the sanctification of God's name." The rabbis and members of the congregations met at Sons of Abraham synagogue for memorial services. Rabbi Bamberger broadcast his appeal to remember the victims of Nazi barbarism at the request of the Albany Jewish Community Council. On 28 April 1943, Albany's rabbis participated in the ecumenical and community wide Stop Hitler Now rally at the New York State Assembly chambers. Episcopalian Bishop G. Ashton Oldham presided and Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the Synagogue Council of America, the chief speaker, emphasized the plight of European Jews and the failure of the Bermuda Conference to provide for safe havens for Jewish refugees. Throughout the war speakers at Jewish events stressed Palestine as the refuge for survivors of the Holocaust.²⁵

Since World War II, Albany's Jews demonstrated solidarity with the plight of Jews in Europe and solidarity with Israel. Senior Hadassah members, meeting at Beth Emeth, in April 1945, collected children's clothing to send to Palestine. Jewish Welfare Fund began a fundraising effort for Jewish

refugees in April 1945. After the war, Jewish Welfare Fund distributed monies raised to help resettle Holocaust survivors in Albany from 1945-55. In 1949 alone Jewish Family Services brought fifty-nine families to Albany and its airlift baby program transported children of displaced persons unable to travel by ship with their families. This became part of a New Americans program including lessons in English staffed by members of the National Council of Women. The Jewish Community Center collected and shipped food and clothing to Jewish displaced persons in Europe.

Starting in the 1960s Soviet Jews moved to Albany. Ludmilla Ozeryansky and her family who arrived in late 1975 were one of the first families resettled in Albany area. In the 1970s, Albany's Jews protested against the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and demanded Jews have the freedom to emigrate. As an example, two hundred Jews gathered at the Jewish Community Center on Simcha Torah to "express our solidarity with Soviet Jews." Jewish Family Services resettled one hundred Soviet Jews between 1979-1988, and another 1,300 since 1988, most in the 1990s.²⁶

During and after World War II, Albany's Jewish organizations and congregations viewed Palestine as a refuge for European Jews because American immigration policy continued to limited refugee entrance into the United States, especially from 1933-1949. In addition to explicit Zionist groups, like Hadassah and Pioneer Women, some residents helped Jews in Palestine by unconventional means. Jews in Albany, Cohoes, Troy, Schenectady, Amsterdam, and Gloversville collected arms, including a machine gun from a Catholic priest, or purchased them at sporting goods stores. Local Jews purchased searchlights from the Scotia Navy Depot and other electrical equipment from General Electric. Jewelers donated gold since the Czechs preferred gold in exchange for arms purchased by Palestinian Jews. Medical and military supplies went to Montreal and New York for shipment to Palestine. Two Aliyah training camps in Cohoes and Poestenkill allowed American Jews experience life on a kibbutz. One of the women who attended one of the camps later married the son of future Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir.²⁷

In May 1948, Orthodox Zionist Mizrachi organized a mass meeting to celebrate the independence of the Jewish state. Synagogues, like Conservative Sons of Israel, held special services of "recognition of the proclamation of a Jewish state," and the press celebrated the courage of the Jews in Palestine. Every year Albany's Jews mark the date with activities. During the 1967 war, Albany's Jews rallied for Israel. Three thousand Jews attended a mass meeting at Conservative Temple Israel. Speakers, including rabbis of all six congregations, two Orthodox, two Conservative, two Reform, supported an emergency fund for Israel and denounced Egypt's Nasser as the "tinhorn Hitler on the Nile." Audience members applauded enthusiastically for Moses Weinstein, majority leader of the New York State Constitutional Convention, reading a resolution in support of Israel. A similar outpouring of support for Israel took place during the Yom Kippur War. Rabbis at each congregation, from Reform to Orthodox, interrupted services to announce events. Jews throughout the Capital District supported an emergency fundraising drive for Israel. As Mrs. Judy Lyons of Albany, one of the fundraising volunteers, told a reporter: "The boys in Israel are our frontline...[and] American Jewry the backup reinforcements." Solidarity with Israel did not end with the Yom Kippur War. On Tish B'av 2002, Congregations Temple Israel, Ohav Shalom (Conservative) and Beth Abraham Jacob (Orthodox) organized vigils for the Israeli victims of Arab violence in July 2002. Similarly, in 2021 the Jewish Community Center and the Jewish Federation expressed support for Israel during attacks by Hamas by organizing a "Stand With Israel" rally on 19 May 2021.

The identification of the Jews of Albany with the plight of Jews abroad from 1853 to 2021 reflects the pattern of American Jewish history but adds to our understanding by providing an example of support in a small Jewish community in upstate New York. Repeatedly, political leaders, Democrats and Republicans, confirmed what Albany Jews wanted to hear. Political leaders accepted them as Americans, not the other. As one newspaper acknowledged in 1905, "citizens of the Jewish race are foremost in the activities of the community." Mayors and governors did not view Albany's Jews having split loyalties for caring about Jews in Austria, or Russia or Nazi Germany.²⁸

¹ Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880*. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 193; Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880-1920* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1992), 52; For Lasker, *Troy Times*, 25 October 1909.

² For general history of Jewish opinion and possible American intervention, Gary Dean Best, *To Free A People: American Jewish Leaders and the Jewish Problem in Eastern Europe, 1890-1914* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Cyrus Adler, ed., *The Voice of America on Kishineff* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1904); Bertram Korn, *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case, 1858-1859* (Cincinnati: The American Jewish Archives, 1957); Cyrus Adler and Aaron Margalith, *With Firmness in the Right :American Diplomatic Efforts Affecting Jews, 1840-1945* (Philadelphia: American Jewish Committee, 1946); Cyrus Adler and Aaron Margalith, *American Intercession on Behalf of Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1840-1938* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1943).

³ For studies of upstate New York Jewish communities, B. G. Rudolph, *From Minyan to Community: A History of the Jews of Syracuse* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1970); Selig Adler, *From Ararat to Suburbia* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1960); S. Joshua Korn, *The Jewish Community of Utica* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1959); Stuart Rosenberg, *Jewish Community of Rochester* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); Harvey Strum, "Schenectady's Jews, Zionism, and the Persecuted European Jews," Diane Janowski, ed., *New York History Review: 2019 Annual Issue*, (Elmira, N.Y.: New York History Review Press, 2019) 13-28; Eva Goldin, *The Jewish Community of Poughkeepsie* (Poughkeepsie: Marr Printing Service, 1982). Harvey Strum, "Creating a Community: Jews of Schenectady," *National Social Science Journal*, 39:1 (2012): 74-85; Harvey Strum, "Jewish Farmers: Planting Seeds," *New York Archives*, 21:1 (Summer 2021): cover and 14-18. This is about the Jewish farmers of southern Rensselaer County. Also, Robert Ruxin, "The Jewish Farmer and the Small-Town Jewish Community: Schoharie County, New York," *American Jewish Archives*, 29:1 (April 1977): 3-21; Lance Sussman, *Beyond the Catskills; Jewish Life in Binghamton, New York, 1870-1970*, (Binghamton: SUNY Binghamton, 1989); Herbert Engel, *Shtetl in the Adirondacks: The Story of Gloversville and Its Jews* (Fleischmanns, N.Y.: Purple Mountain Press, 1991). For two general studies of small-town Jewish life: Lee Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Ewa Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-town Jews in Industrial America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁴ For Albany, Rabbi Naphtali Rubinger, *Albany Jewry of the Nineteenth Century* (Yeshiva University: D.H.L., 1970. Published by University Microfilms, 1971), Louis Silver, "Jews of Albany, N.Y.:1655-1914," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, 9(1954):212-256. For the unknown "American Jew" to editor, "Massacre of Jews," *Albany Press-Knickerbocker-Express*, 21 May 1903 about Kishinev.

⁵ *Albany Argus*, 2 December 1853. Also, see Rubinger, *Albany Jewry*, 322-23.

⁶ *Albany Morning Times*, 24, December 1858; *Albany Morning Express*, 24 December 1858; *Albany Evening Journal*, 24 December 1858; *Israelite*, 5: 26,(31 December 1858): 205; *Occident*, 18;12, (March 1859):568-71. Also, see Rubinger, *Albany Jewry*, 325-26; Korn, *Mortara Case*, 58-60. There was a third synagogue in Albany in 1858, Beth El Jacob, Polish speaking Orthodox. In 1885, German speaking Beth El merged with Anshe Emeth, to become Reform Beth Emeth, currently the major Reform congregation in the Capital District.

⁷ Korn, *Mortara Case*, 61; *Occident*, 18:12 (March 1859): 570-71; *Albany Morning Express*, 28 December 1858; *Albany Morning Times*, 30 December 1858; *Albany Evening Journal*, 28 December 1858.

⁸ Korn, *Mortara Case*; 80-83; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York at the 82nd Session* (Albany 1859), 126 (citation). Also, see 115, 125, 141, 452, 592, *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York at the 82nd Session* (Albany 1859), 42, 45; Samuel Law, *Mortara Abduction...Delivered in the Assembly of the State of New York, March 1859* (Albany 1859).

⁹ *Occident*, 17:43 (19 January 1860), 257; Rubinger, *Albany Jewry*, 327-29. Unfortunately, collections of the papers of Sir Moses Montefiore in London and Israel do not have copies of correspondence from Albany (based on emails with archivists).

¹⁰ *Albany Argus*, 25. 27, 1884. Other communities, like Troy, held similar celebrations. Adelphi Club, a literary club, turned into an alternative for Jews who could not attend the University Club or Fort Orange Club that barred Jews.

¹¹ For the role of the Gideon Lodge, see the Minutes of the Albany Gideon Lodge, 1870-73, Box 2, folder one, B'nai B'rith, Gideon Lodge #140, Albany Papers, MS 377, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. Rubinger, *Albany Jewry*, 329-31 emphasizes the role of the Albany lodge, while, Allan Tarshish, "Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1859-1878," *American Jewish Historical Society*, 49:1 (1959): 16-32, stresses the role of the Board of Delegates. Orthodox Beth El Jacob merged with Sons of Abraham in the 1950s to become the current major Orthodox congregation in Albany, Beth Abraham-Jacob. United Brethren merged with Sons of Abraham, but part of the congregation felt uncomfortable and formed a small separate Orthodox congregation, with a Hasidic rabbi, Shomray Torah. Albany has two Reform, two Conservative, and two Orthodox synagogues.

¹² Mark Raider, *The Emergence of American Zionism*, (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 18; For Grover Cleveland, Joseph Rapport, *Hands Across the Sea: Jewish Immigrants and World War I* (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books, 2005), 4 and 82. Adler, Kishineff, xvii; *Albany Press-Knickerbocker-Express*, 8 June 1903 for the best account of the speech of Rev Lawrence. Editorial as 6 and 9 June; Jewish relief fund, *Albany Times-Union*, 2 June 1903; "An American Jew" to the editor, *Albany Press Knickerbocker-Express*, 21 May 1903; William Bookheim to Brethren, 17 May 1903, *Albany Sunday Press*, 17 May 1903 and *Albany Argus*, 17 May 1903. Also, *Albany Argus*, 17, 21, 28 May, 3, 5, 6, 1903. Gaus became Comptroller of New York State in 1908 and resigned as mayor only to die in office in 1909.

¹³ *Albany Argus*, 12 November 1905; For the national effort, Best, *To Free a People*, 114-40. The citation is from page 117 on local donations.; *Albany Argus*, 11 November 1905; B. J. Goldsmith (Saratoga Springs) to Jacob Schiff, 9 November 1905, Box 2, folder six, National Committee for Relief of Jewish Sufferers by Russian Massacres, American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History, New York City. The files contain letters from Rochester, Seneca Falls, Poughkeepsie, Plattsburgh, and Ogdensburg. For Albany, Troy, and Schenectady, need to look at local newspapers---see for example, for Schenectady, *Schenectady Gazette*, 20 November 1905 and *New York Times*, 26 November 1905. For additional information on fundraising in Albany, *Albany Times-Union*, 11 and 12 November 1905.

¹⁴ Rapport, *Hands Across the Sea*, 80-84; Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1963), 199-258; Oscar Handlin, *A Continuing Task: The American Joint Distribution Committee, 1914-1964* (New York: Random House, 1964), 19-33. Daniel Soyer, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 162. Adler, *From Ararat to Suburbia*, 282; Also, of use, is Christopher Serba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants During the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Marsha Rozenblit and Jonathan Karp, eds., *World War I And The Jews: Conflict and Transformation in Europe, the Middle East, and America* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017); Harvey Strum, "To Aid Their Unfortunate Coreligionists: Impact of World War and the Jewish Community of Albany," *Hudson River Valley Review*, 32:2 (Spring 2016): 53-75. The title is a partial misnomer since it is 40% Albany, 40% Schenectady, and 20% Troy.

¹⁵ Korn, *The Jewish Community of Utica*, 125; Of the older community histories, Korn's is the best on war relief. Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Rochester*, 212-13, briefly discusses it. Adler in *From Ararat to Suburbia*, 283-85, is short but nuanced analysis of Buffalo. B.G. Rudolph's, *From Minyan to Community*, in Syracuse, barely mentions it, 221. For Woodrow Wilson, for example, *Albany Argus*, 24 January 1916; Resolutions of the Assembly, 17 January 1916, *New York Legislative Record*, and Index: *A Complete Record ,From 5 January-20 May 1916* (Albany: Legislative Index Company, 1916), 521-23; Proclamation," For the Relief of the Jewish People in the Belligerent Countries in Europe, 21 January 1916," *Public Papers of Charles Seymour Whitman, Governor, 1916* (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company,

1919), 5. There is no additional information at the New York State Library about the Assembly resolution or the Whitman proclamation. As a point of information, the parents of the author of this article were young children in Galicia, and their families were among the East European Jews displaced by the war.

¹⁶ The Beth Emeth members tended to officers or trustees; Congregation Beth Emeth Yearbook, 1914-1922 (Albany: Beth Emeth, 1922), 73-76; Albany Times Union, 23-28. 1916; Albany Knickerbocker Press, 23-28, 1916; Albany Evening Journal, 22-28, 1916. Albany Argus, 23-31, 1916.

¹⁷ “Appeal to Albanians,” Albany Citizens Committee for Jewish Relief, 23 January 1916, Albany Argus, 23 January 1916; Albany Knickerbocker Press, 26 January 1916 for editorial urging donations. Also, see Albany Times-Union, 26 January 1916 editorial. Unfortunately, the Martin Glynn Papers in Special Collections and Manuscripts, New York State Library, Albany, N.Y. do not contain details of his role.

¹⁸ Albany Argus, 19, 5, and 23 October 1919; Unifying impact of the war and war relief for the Jews of Europe and Palestine, B. G. Rudolph, *From a Minyan to a Community*, 222; S, Joshua Kohn, *The Jewish Community of Utica*, 125; Stuart Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Rochester*, 213; Albany Evening Journal, 17-22 October 1919; Albany Times Union 16-23. 1919; A women’s subcommittee included prominent Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant women. Also, see Martin Glynn’s advocacy of Jewish war relief, Albany Times Union, 21 October 1919.

¹⁹ Martin Glynn, “The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop,” *American Hebrew*, 31 October 1919. Used a copy in Beth Emeth Archives. Unfortunately, Dominick C. Lizzi, *Governor Martin Glynn, Forgotten Hero* (Valatie, New York: Valatie Press, 2007) does not mention Glynn’s support of Jewish relief, but does mention Glynn’s later denunciation of the anti-Semitism of Henry Ford. His papers at the NYSL contain no correspondence on these issues. For the petition, see *Petition by Jewish Soldiers Protesting Treatment of Jews in Europe*, folder 260-105, Box 86, Governor Alfred Smith Papers, New York Archives (NYA), Albany, New York; Governor Smith attended a protest meeting in New York City on 21 May 1919, Albany Argus, 22 May 1919; For Albany protests, Albany Evening Journal, 16 December 1918; Albany Argus, 12 and 16 December 1918; For Cohoes Jews going to Troy meeting, *Cohoes Republican*, 20 May 1919; For Schenectady, *Schenectady Jewish Community to Robert Lansing*, 16 May 1919, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress (LC), Washington, D.C.; For the joint meeting of Capital District Jews, *Broadside in Yiddish and English*, “Big Mass Meeting to Protest against the Massacres and Pogroms of Jews in Ukraina and Eastern Europe, ” Box 1, Rosenthal Collection, Rensselaer County Historical Society, Troy, New York.

²⁰ Michael Myer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in the United States* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 293. For Rosendale attacks on Zionism, for example, Simon Rosendale to the editor of the *American Hebrew*, 31 December 1906, Beth Emeth Archives.

²¹ Albany Evening Journal, 17 March; 1919; See Simon Rosendale to the editor of the *New York Times*, 18 December 1918. Simon Rosendale to Congressman Rollen Sanford, 4 September 1918 in Albany Argus, 29 December 1918; *New York Times*, 5 March 1919. Zionists at the March meeting denounced Rosendale’s anti-Zionism. Rabbi Eli Mayer during his first sermon at Beth Emeth condemned Zionism, Albany Argus, 23 November 1918.

²² *New Jewish Chronicle*, 19 March 1919 (a local Jewish newspaper), Albany Knickerbocker Press, 17 March 1919; Albany Argus, 17 March 1919; *New York Times*, 5 March 1919; Howard Sachar, *A History of Jews in America* (New York: Random House, 1992), 259; Melvin Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1975), 230. For the 1920 meeting, Albany Argus, 4 June 1920 “Zionist Meeting Sounds Keynote of Americanism,” Also 2 and 3 June 1920. Albany Times Union, 4 June 1920; Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, 328 Silver; Albany Times Union, 15-18 1927; Albany Knickerbocker Press, 17 January 1927.

²³ Nassau Town-News, 20 September 1929; Samuel Caplan to Frank Sharp, 30 August 1929, Frank Sharp to Samuel Rosenman, Counsel to the Governor, 5 September 1929, Samuel Rosenman to Frank Sharp, 24 September 1929, expresses Roosevelt’s gratitude to Sharp for attending the Albany meeting, Reel 122, 13682-82A, Central Subject and Correspondence Files, Governor Franklin Roosevelt, 1929-33, New York State Archives, Albany, New York; Nelson Fromm, President to The Members of Congregation

Beth Emeth, 28 August 1929, Beth Emeth Archives; Albany Knickerbocker Press, 27-30, 1929; Albany Evening News, 27-31 August 1929; Albany Times Union, 27-31 August 1929; Samuel Caplan to the Editor, 28 August 1929 in Albany Knickerbocker Press, 30 August 1929; Albany Times-Union, 6 September 1929.

²⁴ Albany Knickerbocker News, 14-17 November 1938; Also, Albany Times-Union, 14-17, 1938. For Rabbi Bamberger, Troy Record, 21 November 1938

²⁵ Albany Times-Union, 3 December 1942; Albany Knickerbocker News, 3 December 1942; For Stop Hitler Now rally, Miss Schultz to Mr. Trager, 16 April 1943, Jacob Pat to J. Weinstock, 22 April 1943, and Stop Hitler Now Mass Demonstration broadsheet, in 1943 file, Jewish Labor Committee, Special Collections, New York University; Albany Times-Union, 25-28, 1943; Albany Knickerbocker News, 17, 28-29 April 1943.

²⁶ Albany Knickerbocker News, 13 and 14 April 1945, 12 May 1948; Albany Jewish Community Bulletin, July 1949, May 1950; Albany Times-Union, 11 October 1971, 24 1973; Albany Knickerbocker News, 9 February 1976 on Soviet Jews. Also, Albany Times-Union, 5-6 December 2004.

²⁷ Smuggled aid to Palestinian Jews based on comments made at discussion of local Zionist activities at a meeting of the Jewish Historical Society of Northeastern New York in April 1998. The author had conversations with two of individuals from the tape in 2003 and 2005 to confirm the collection and purchase of weapons. Copies of the tapes are in a storeroom of the Jewish Federation. Since these actions appear to violate American neutrality laws I am not citing the names of the individuals.

²⁸ Albany Knickerbocker News, 15, 20 May 1948; Albany Times-Union, 5-8, 1967. Albany Times-Union, 7-12 October 1973; Albany Times-Union, 17 July 2002; Albany Times Union, 14 November 1905.

Social and Emotional Intelligence of Police Officers

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Background

The purpose of this research is to investigate the social/emotional intelligence, social sensitivity, perspective taking, social awareness, self-regulation, general self-efficacy, and social skills of police officers and how it affects their day-to-day interactions with the public. This research is exploratory in nature and data was collected as part of a 4-hour law enforcement continuing education unit (CEU) training session related to Post Certification at Missouri Southern State University. The survey instrument used a modified Tromsø Social Intelligence Scale, Self-monitoring Scale, Emotional Intelligence Scale, and Generalized Self-Efficacy Scale. (Sanchez- Gomez & Bresó, 2019; Zautra et al., 2015). The survey was administered prior to the start of the training session, which focused primarily on social and emotional intelligence and all participants signed informed consent forms.

Social intelligence was originally defined by Thorndike (1920) as “the ability to understand and manage men and women and boys and girls, to act wisely in human relations,” however the currently accepted definition is the capacity to know oneself and to know others. Goleman (2006) posits that social intelligence is made up of a range of social awareness including empathy, empathic accuracy, attunement, and social cognition. Empathy is recognized as the ability to feel what someone else is feeling from the person’s perspective. Empathic accuracy is the ability to infer the thoughts and feelings of another person. Attunement is one’s ability to react to another person’s emotional needs and moods with appropriate language and behaviors. Lastly, social cognition is the thought processes directing interactions with other people.

Emotional intelligence (EI) is situated within the sphere of social intelligence (see Diagram 1). Historically, intelligence was measured by cognitive ability through a variety of instruments and battery of tests. Recent theories suggest a variety of different intelligences are present and observable. Emotional Intelligence is one of those intelligence types. It is described as the ability to know, discriminate, label, and monitor emotions from within oneself and in other persons and to use the information to manage and guide cognition and behavior (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2008). EI can be further dissected into three specific attributes that help to identify the overall EI of an individual: attention, clarity, and repair (Salovey & et. al., 1995).

Part of EI is described as attention. This is the ability to identify one’s feelings and other’s feelings with accuracy (Teskereci, Öncel & Özer, 2020; Aradilla-Herrero, Tomas-Sabado & Gomez-Benito, 2014). The concept of EI attention is demonstrated in human behavior. Examples of this would be a person assessing the threat of strangers based on the stranger’s perceived feelings, or adapting communication with a

fellow employee due to that employee’s emotional state. When an individual has emotional attention, the individual has improved interaction with other’s and healthier integration into the community.

Clarity is another part of EI and is described as the ability to accurately differentiate between various emotions (Teskereci, Öncel&Özer, 2020; Aradilla-Herrero, Tomas-Sabado & Gomez-Benito, 2014). Individuals displaying this attribute do not just have improved relationships, but are more connected to their own emotional dimension. Accurate differentiation is frequently bound to a cultural perspective (Liu & Boyatzis, 2021; Emmerling& Boyatzis, 2012). Diverse cultures express and interpret facial and body language associated with emotions in different ways and arrive at different conclusions. In a person’s home culture clarity can improve both communication and interpersonal relationship with others.

Sometimes an individual must alter the emotions being felt, in EI this is described as repair (Teskereci, Öncel&Özer, 2020; Aradilla-Herrero, Tomas-Sabado & Gomez-Benito, 2014). From just a common-sense perspective, the importance and facility of repair is apparent. Individuals who can alter personal emotions are better able to contribute in relationships of all kinds. Research suggest this ability to repair personal emotions has the potential to deescalate behaviors and situations leading to more positive outcomes for the individual (Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2008).

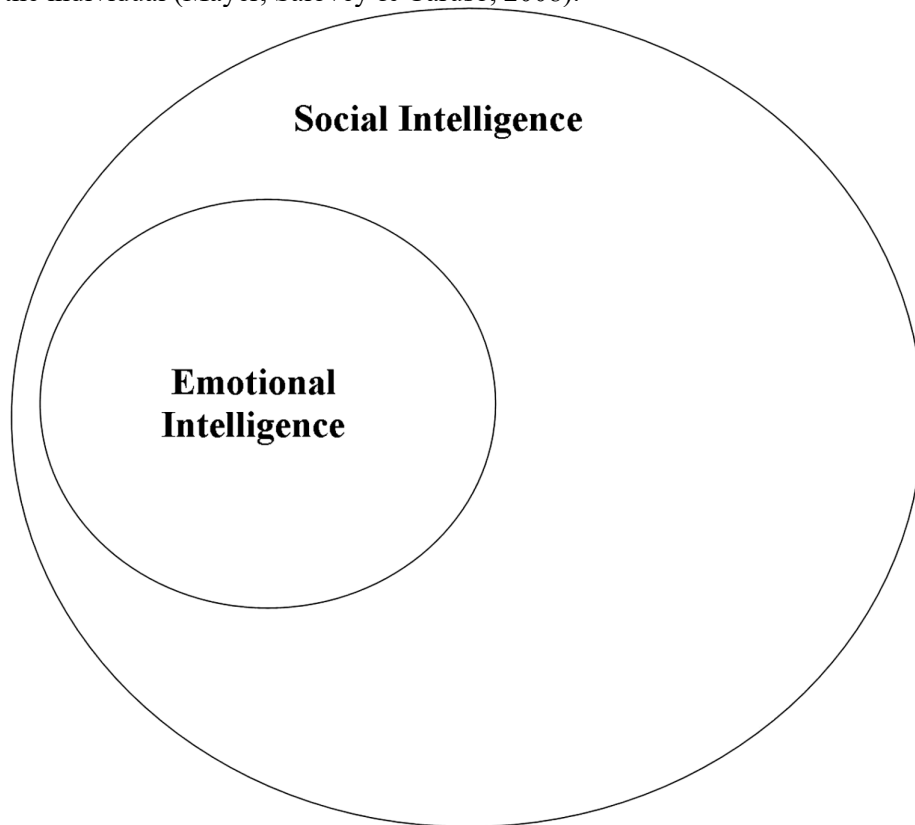


Diagram 1

Emotional and Social Intelligence Scales and Officer Correlates

Descriptive Statistics

Each survey contained a series of scales to measure emotional and social intelligence, along with a set of demographic variables. The sample size was 73 respondents of varying rank within police agencies, with a total of 64 respondents answering all questions. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the various emotional and social intelligence scales.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, All Scales

	EQ	EQ AT	EQ CL	EQ RE	SM	PT	SI	SA	SR	GSES	SSK
Mean	57.55	17.07	21.92	18.55	16.43	17.34	17.6	15.99	19.38	30.4	15.15
SD	8.57	3.97	4.15	4.05	2.81	4.23	2.92	3.4	3.58	4.64	3.57
SE	1	0.46	0.49	0.47	0.33	0.49	0.34	0.40	0.42	0.55	0.42
Skew	-0.09	-0.31	-0.26	0.14	-0.23	-0.30	-0.15	-0.30	0.17	-0.03	-0.49
Actual Range	32-78	5-26	10-32	8-29	9-22	5-26	10-25	6-23	13-28	20-40	3-22
Theoretical Range	0-96	0-32	0-32	0-32	0-24	0-28	0-28	0-28	0-28	0-40	0-28
Cronbach's α	0.79	0.7	0.68	0.78	0.74	0.81	0.79	0.69	0.79	0.91	0.81
N	73	73	73	73	73	73	72	72	72	72	72
Dim.w/ Eigenvalues >2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

The first scale, Emotional Intelligence (EQ), was measured using the Trait Meta-Mood Scale, which is a 24-item self-report instrument using 5-point Likert scales. The scale contains three additional subscales to assess essential components of emotional intelligence. These include Attention (EQ AT), Clarity (EQ, CL), and Repair (EQ RE) (Zautra et al., 2015). The EQ scale, and its subscales, measure the extent to which a person attends to his/her feelings, the degree to which the person clearly perceives his/her emotional states, and the person's capacity to use cognitive strategies to repair negative mood.

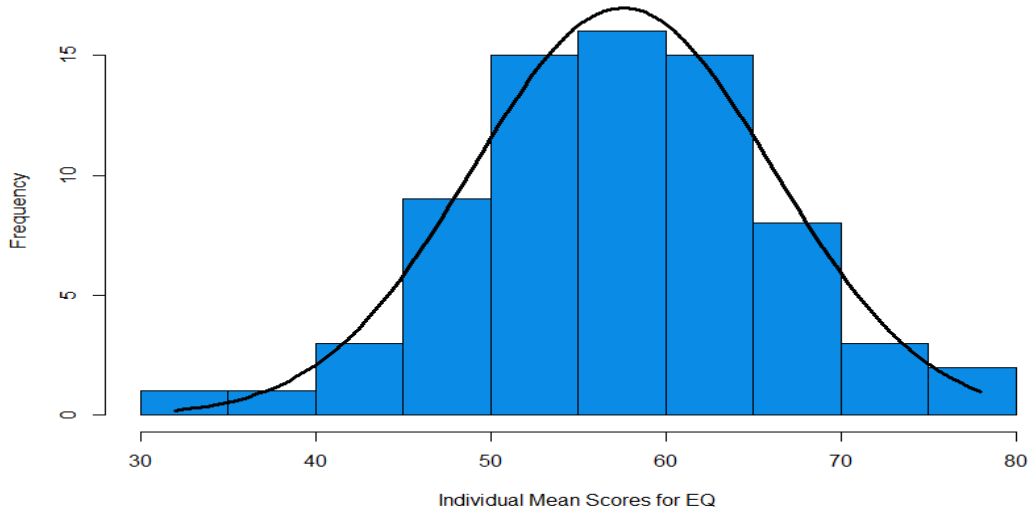
The other scales in the survey measured the concept of social intelligence, which constitute measures of sensitivity to others. These include the Snyder Self-Monitoring (SM) and self-regulation (SR) scales; the perspective-taking (PT) sub-scale from the Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI); the Tromsø Social Intelligence (SI), Social Awareness (SA), and Social Skills (SSK) scales; and the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSES) (Zautra et al., 2015).

The SSM scale measures sensitivity to the expressive behavior of others. The SI scale assesses the ability to understand and predict others' actions and feelings. The SA scale measures the degree of awareness, and lack of surprise to social situations. The PT scale measures the tendency to adopt the psychological point of view of others spontaneously while being empathetic to their position. The PT also assesses "other-oriented" feelings of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others (Davis, 1980). The GSES scales assess expectations for success resolving difficulties. The SR scale measures the ability to modify one's behavior when socially appropriate. The SSK scale evaluates the ability to enter new social situations and adapt to them (Zautra et al., 2015).

In terms of the aggregate EQ scale, the distribution was normally distributed, with a mean of 57.55 and a range between 32 and 78.¹ The scale is slightly skewed to the left, with more of the distribution on the right-hand side. Figure 1 shows a histogram for EQ with a normal distribution overlaid. The standard deviation was quite large at 8.57, indicating that the scores are spreads out over a broad range of values, with some respondents having very low EQ and others having very high EQ. The EQ scale was internally consistent with a moderate to large Cronbach's alpha (0.79). An exploratory factor analysis confirmed that there were three dimensions to the scale with Eigenvalues over 2; this is consistent with the attention

(EQ AT), clarity (EQ CL), and repair (EQ RE) subscale construction. The subscales performed similarly to the aggregated measure, with high standard deviations.

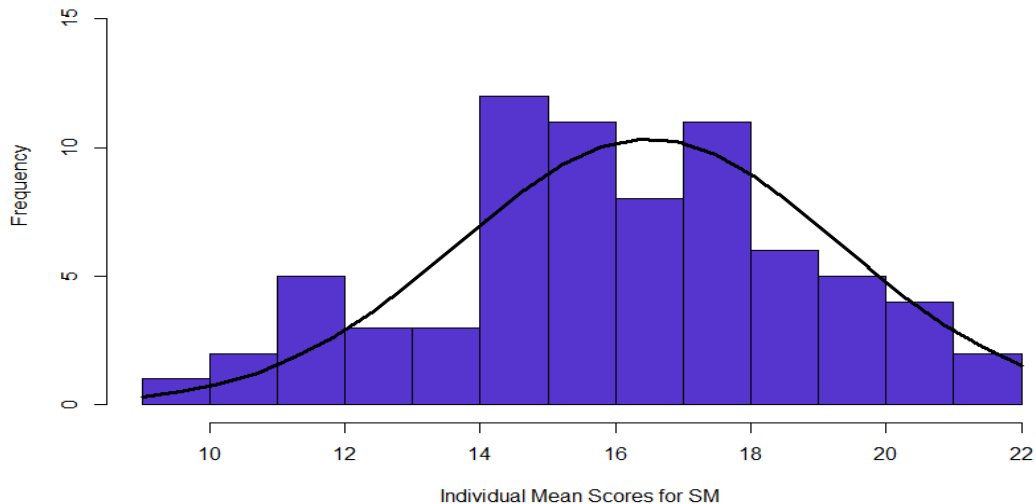
Figure 1: Histogram for EQ
Individual Mean Scores for Emotional Intelligence



The SM scale was also normally distributed ($SW = 0.98$, $p = 0.22$) and had a mean of 16.43 with a range between 9 and 22. Figure 2 shows the histogram for SM. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a negative skew. The standard deviation is better, but it still indicates a widely spread distribution with low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.78) and only measured a single dimension.

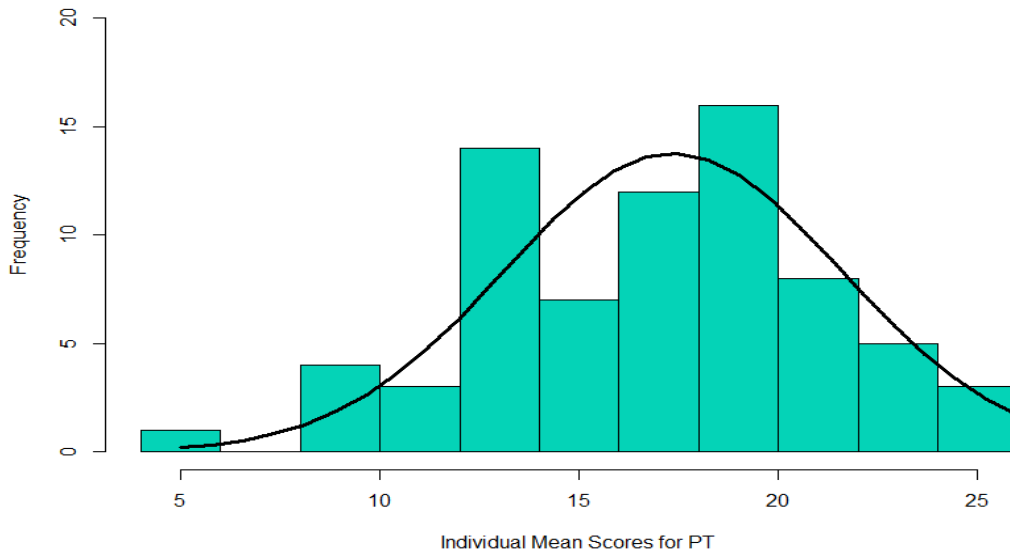
The PT scale was also normally distributed ($SW = 0.98$, $p = 0.37$) and had a mean of 17.34 with a range between 5 and 26. Figure 3 shows the histogram for SM. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a negative skew. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.81) and only measured a single dimension.

Figure 2: Histogram for SM
Individual Mean Scores for Self-Monitoring



The PT scale was also normally distributed ($SW = 0.98$, $p = 0.37$) and had a mean of 17.34 with a range between 5 and 26. Figure 3 shows the histogram for SM. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a negative skew. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.81) and only measured a single dimension.

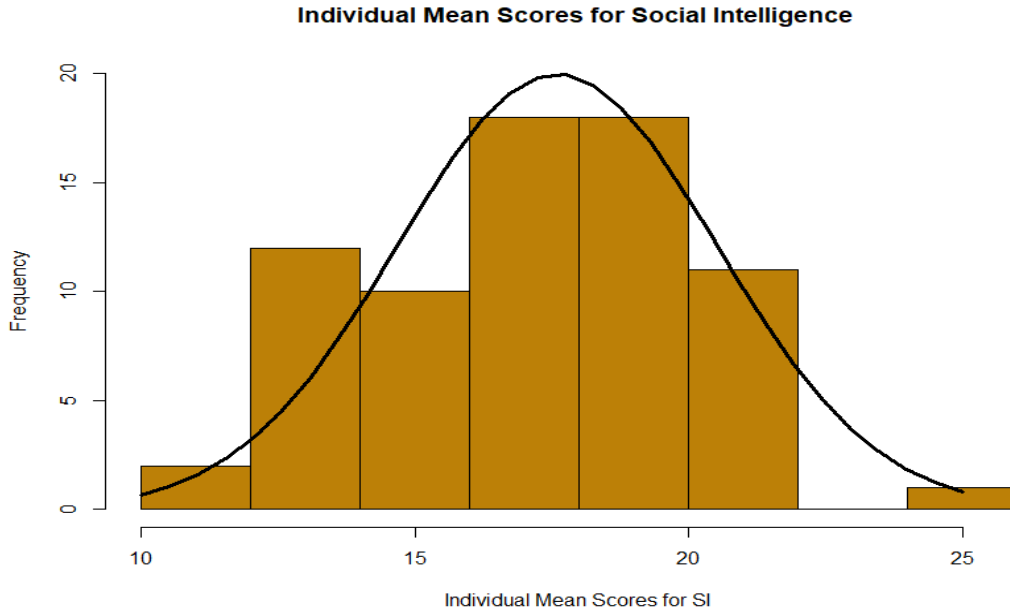
Figure 3: Histogram for PT
Individual Mean Scores for Perspective Taking



The SI scale was also normally distributed ($SW = 0.98$, $p = 0.19$) and had a mean of 17.6 with a range between 10 and 25. Figure 4 shows the histogram for SI. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a negative skew. The standard deviation is better than the other scales but still high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.74) and only measured a single dimension.

The SA scale was also normally distributed ($SW = 0.97$, $p = 0.28$) and had a mean of 15.99 with a range between 6 and 23. Figure 5 shows the histogram for SA. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a negative skew. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent but less so than the other rankings (Cronbach's alpha = 0.69) and only measured a single dimension. The uniform pattern from examining the scales seems to indicate that, while distributions, they are considerably spread out among respondents.

Figure 4: Histogram for SI



The SR scale is normally distributed based on an SW test at the 95% level ($SW = 0.97$, $p = 0.10$), but as is indicated from the SW test and Figure 6, it is very close to being non-parametric (it fails the normality test at the 90% level). The measure had a mean of 19.38, with a range between 12 and 28. Figure 6 shows the histogram for SR. Most scores were on the left-hand side with a positive skew. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.79) and only measured a single dimension. In comparison, respondents in this study scored lower on this scale than the others in the sample. Recall, SR measures the ability of individuals to modify one's behavior when appropriate during social interactions.

Figure 5: Histogram SA
Individual Mean Scores for Social Awareness

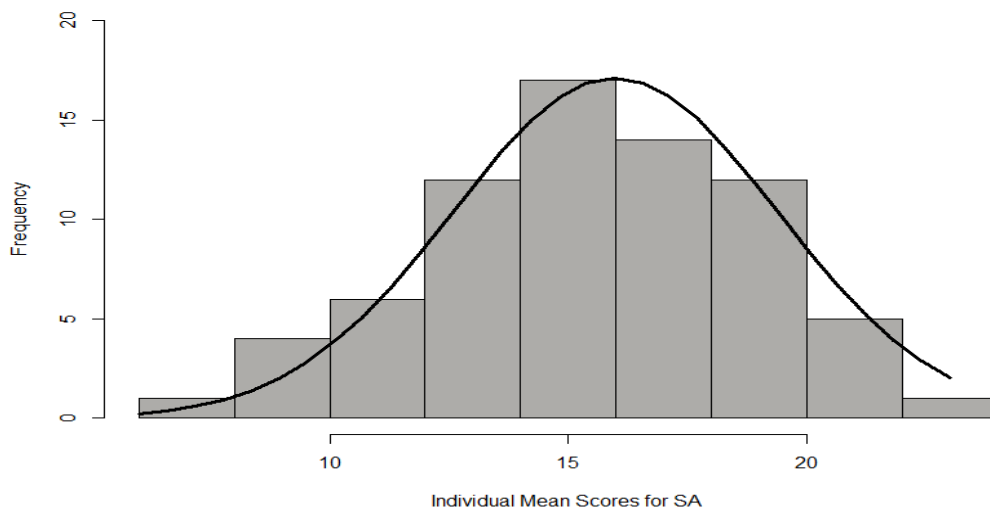
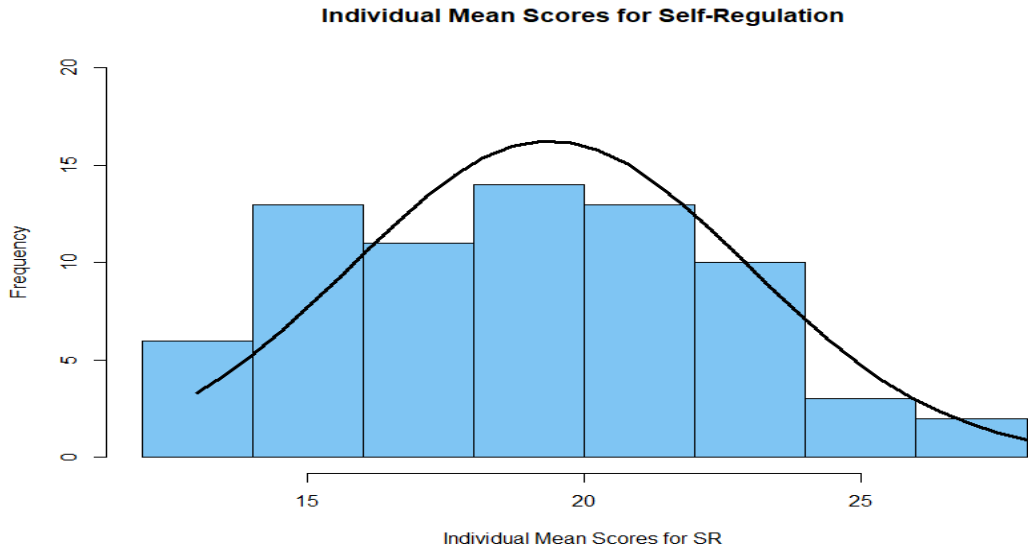


Figure 6: Histogram SR



The GSES scale was not normally distributed ($SW = 0.96$, $p = 0.02$) and had a mean of 30.4 with a range between 20 and 40. Figure 7 shows the histogram for SM. The measure had a negative skew, but the range was severely truncated. The theoretical range was between 0 and 40, but the range of the data was between 20 and 40. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was highly internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.91) and only measured a single dimension. It is important to note that the mean was very high for these respondents, indicating that respondents had very optimistic self-beliefs regarding their ability to cope with a variety of challenging demands in life. This sample had very high self-efficacy.

Figure 7: Histogram GSES
Individual Mean Scores for General Self-Efficacy

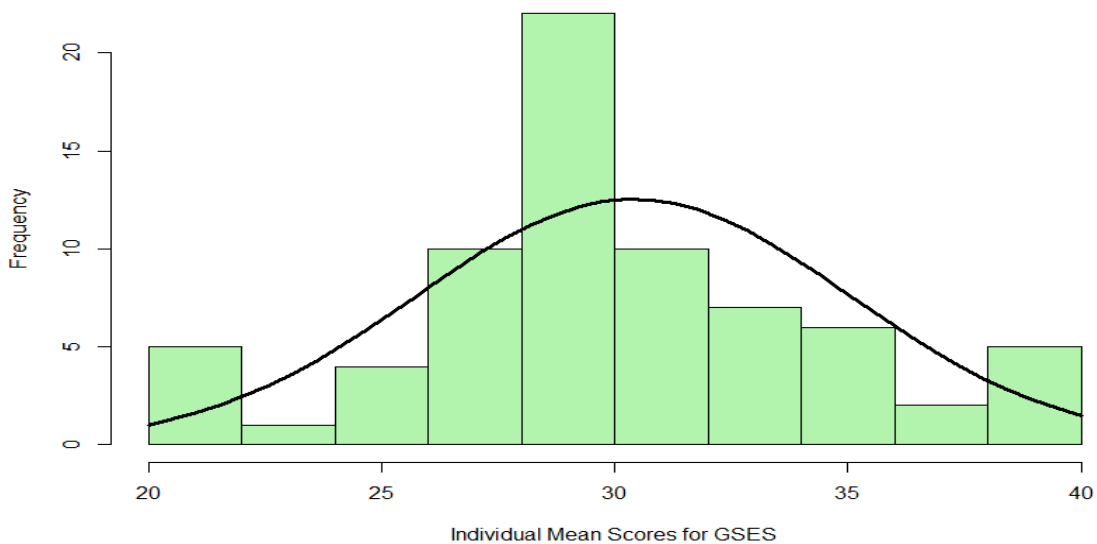
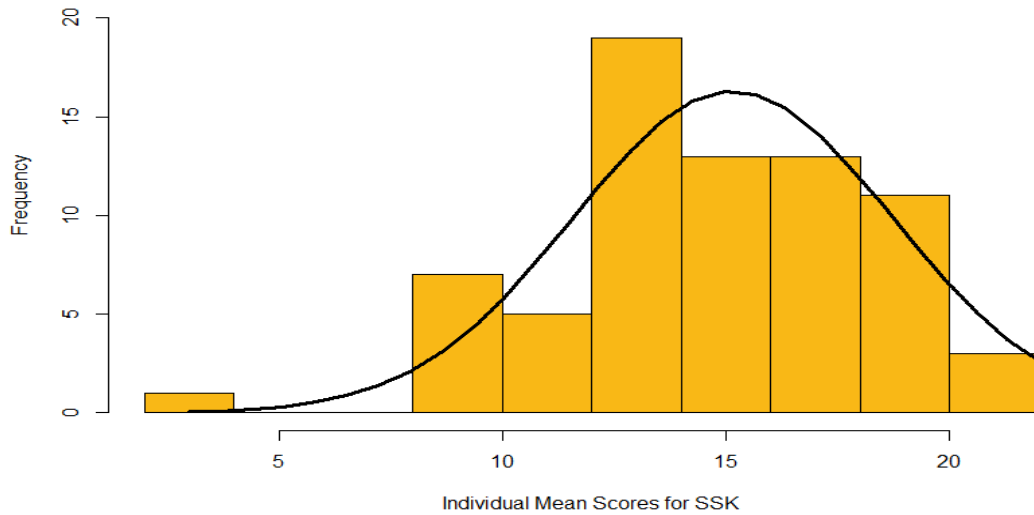


Figure 8: Histogram SSK

Individual Mean Scores for Social Skills



The SSK scale was not normally distributed ($SW = 0.97$, $p = 0.54$) and had a mean of 15.15 with a range between 3 and 22. Figure 8 shows the histogram for SSK. Most scores were on the right-hand side with a large negative skew. The standard deviation is high, indicating a widely spread distribution with extremely low and high values. The scale was internally consistent (Cronbach's alpha = 0.81) and only measured a single dimension. The distribution of this scale, as well as a high mean, indicates that these respondents considered themselves to have a high degree of adaptation to new social situations. However, with a sizable standard error, it is essential to remember that there were both high and low scores.

Associations Between Variables

Figure 9: Correlation Matrix for all Variables²

Correlation Matrix, All

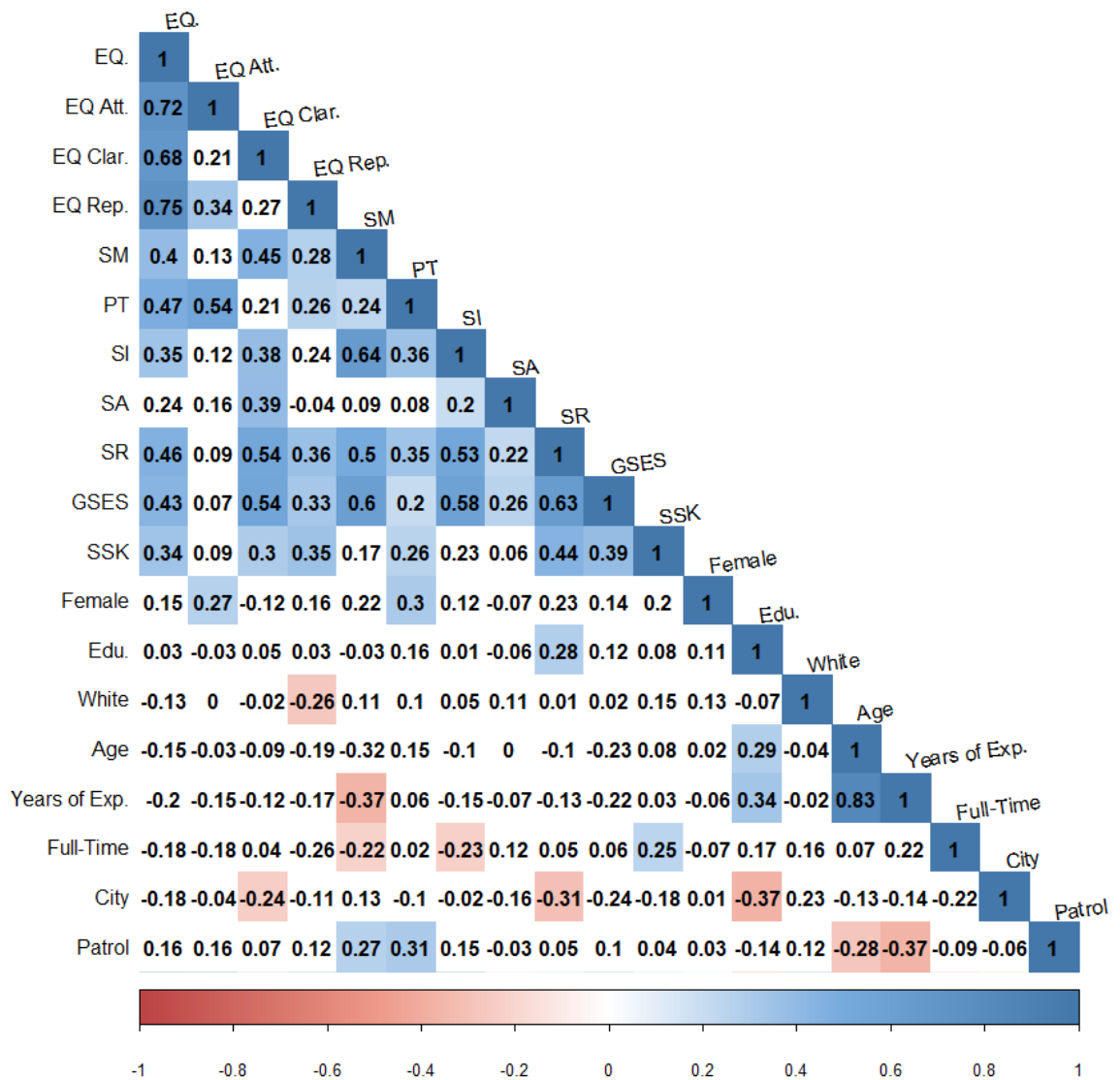


Figure 9 presents all of the correlation coefficients for the variables in the survey. The sample size for the scales was 72 respondents. The sample size for the associations with the demographic variables was 64. Several demographic variables were collected in the survey including, gender, education, race, age, years of experience, full-time vs. part-time officers, level of government for the department, and position within the police force. The first thing to note is that the emotional and social intelligence scales are positively correlated with each other. With some exceptions (such as Social Awareness and the Attention EQ subscale), the scales associated well with each other.

A few of the demographic variables have interesting relationships with emotional and social intelligence scales. Before discussing these correlations, it is essential to remember that: (1) There were very few females (N=7), minorities (N=10), and part-time officers (N=14). (2) Correlations never imply causation, and because these are zero-order measures of association, we cannot control for any confounding variables. With those caveats, we can draw a few general inferences from the data.

First, white officers had moderately lower scores on the EQ Repair scale, indicating that whites scored lower on the ability to regulate moods and repair negative emotional experiences compared to other racial categories in the sample. Years of experience and being a full-time officer were both negatively correlated with social sensitivity. According to Bearden et al. (1989),

The original development of the Snyder (1974) scale attempted to address five domains of self-monitoring: (1) concern for the social appropriateness of one's self-presentation; (2) attention to social comparison information as cues to appropriate self-expression (3) the ability to control and modify one's self-presentation and expressive behavior; (4) the use of this ability in particular situations; and (5) the extent to which the respondent's expressive behavior and self-presentation are consistent or variable across situations" (Bearden et al., 1989).

The self-monitoring (SM) and self-regulation (SR) scales from the original instrument were used here. According to the data, years of experience and being a full-time officer were negatively associated with the self-monitoring measure – which is to say definitions 1 and 2 above. Being a full-time officer was also negatively associated with the social intelligence scale that assesses the ability to understand and predict others' actions and feelings, but was positively correlated with the social skill measure, or the ability to adapt to new social situations. Patrol officers, however, had higher levels of self-monitoring, and higher levels on the perspective-taking measure, indicating a higher degree of social problem-solving ability. City officers were had lower emotional intelligence on the clarity subscale, indicating a decreased ability to understand one's emotional state. City officers were also less likely to score high on self-regulation. In this sample, Females were more likely to have higher scores on the attention scale of emotional intelligence and the perspective-taking scale. On average, this means that females scored better in their ability to attend to their feelings and solve social problems, respectively.

Other than the above correlations, it was also the case that those with higher education were better at self-regulation. Education was also positively correlated with age and years of experience. Age was also unsurprisingly positively associated with years of experience. Officers that indicated that they worked for a city had lower levels of education than those who worked for other levels of government (such as the county, state, or federal levels). Patrol officers had fewer years of experience and were more likely to be younger.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Although it is important to note that these findings are not generalizable due to sample size and characteristics, the importance of social/emotional intelligence, social sensitivity, perspective taking, social awareness, self-regulation, general self-efficacy, and social skills of police officers and how it affects their day-to-day interactions with the public cannot be overstated. These facets of intelligence are essential to safe, effective, and profession law enforcement. Social/emotional intelligence, and related skills, are fundamental to interview and interrogation, situational awareness, threat assessment, de-escalation, officer safety, and ultimately professional and appropriate interaction with the public. Further, and continued, education for law enforcement officers in these areas is recommended.

Notes

1. A Shapiro-Wilk (SW) normality test indicated that the distribution was normal (SW = 0.99, $p = 0.87$). For the SW test, significant p-values (< 0.05) indicate that the distribution is not normal. Here the p-value was less than 0.05 implying that the distribution of the data is not significantly different from normal distribution. In other words, we can assume the normality. This interpretation will be consistent when discussing all scales with the p-value reported.
2. Blank (white) cells indicate that a correlation is not statistically significant at the 95% level ($p < 0.05$). Each score is a Pearson r , which ranges between -1 and 1, indicating a negative or positive relationship, respectively. Correlations closer to one in either direction are stronger. The darker the blue cell tint the higher the positive correlation. The darker the red cell tint the higher the negative correlation.

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Perspectives from California Cannabis Industry Insiders

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Introduction

There is a gap in the research on the determinants of entrepreneurial success in the licensed cannabis industry. “As of April 1, 2022, 18 states, DC, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands allow for the recreational use of marijuana” (Congressional Research Service, 2022, p. 13). Currently, there is a gap in the literature regarding how this changing business environment has affected cannabis business owners. This paper takes a systematic look at the unique pressures entrepreneurs face within the industry today. The interviews presented in this study are a snapshot in time and report the perceptions of California cannabis business owners as they adapt to a rapidly changing business environment. The individuals interviewed shared vital information useful for those inside and outside the "inner circle" of the cannabis industry. Observations from these interviews revealed the extent of black market activities, strategies for entrepreneurial success, and observations around how the market has changed with legalization. The findings contained within this paper should be of keen interest to aspiring entrepreneurs and policymakers within this space.

Research Objectives

Our objective is to find the characteristics and strategies of cannabis entrepreneurs that lead to success. Identifying best practices will increase access to consumers, help current businesses grow and will supply more jobs in local communities.¹ There are six questions that these interviews answered.

- What role does *a vibrant illegal market* play in the licensed cannabis market?
- What are the unique *pressures confronting licensed operators* of cannabis businesses?
- Do cannabis entrepreneurs use the same *measures of success* and have the same goals that are typically found in the literature?
- What are the best *business strategies for achieving success*?
- How is *equity and opportunity within the industry* perceived?
- What is the cannabis *business outlook*?

¹These interviews were extracted from a are part of a larger ongoing study that seeks to provide licensing agencies, local governments, business development organizations, the cannabis industry, and consumers with the tools to evaluate, enhance, and promote legal, safe, and fair innovation in the industry.[#] Our goals include: (a) providing state and local licensing agencies clear guidance on which cannabis businesses are likely to be successful, (b) producing a clear history of how newly licensed cannabis businesses and jobs are related to formerly unlicensed businesses, and (c) providing local and state agencies a better understanding of how firms relocated after licensing.

Responses to the above questions are discussed below.

Methodology

One of the thorny issues of any research endeavor is having to translate abstract concepts into measurable variables. No single survey instrument can tell the whole story.² The qualitative interviews were conducted in the first half of the year 2022. The objective was to gain rich insights from the research participants that could not have been obtained in any other manner (Fowler, 2002). Carmines and Zeller (1979, p.23) name three elements of construct validity: 1) specifying the theoretical relationship between measured concepts, 2) examining the empirical relationship between the measures of concepts, 3) interpreting the empirical evidence. The interviews were a valuable exploratory activity that found important variables, as well as salient themes and patterns from participant's meaning structures or perceptions of their reality.

This portion of the research project applied an ethnographic, qualitative approach, to evaluating the subject matter. Ethnography is a participant observation approach in order to understand a particular group's activities and relationships from that group's perspective. Although ethnography is not a universally agreed-upon approach, the method "aims to generate practical and theoretical truths formulated as interpretive theories" (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 23). Our sampling approach in selecting the participants can best be described as judgmental sampling. Interviewees were selected based on their reputations for entrepreneurial success and we were able to obtain a variety of business backgrounds within cannabis, such as cultivators, manufacturers, and retailers. While this best practice approach is not without its limitations, the sampling method optimizes the availability of limited resources yet can yield significant in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question (Teddlie and Yu, 2007).

We conducted semi structured individual interviews online via Zoom. The research aims were disclosed to participants, and everyone provided informed consent. We consider this cohort to be a hybrid "focus group" model. Interviews were conducted separately one-on-one. By conducting each interview individually, we controlled for potential cross contamination and demand characteristics that can present in a group setting. There were ten knowledgeable individuals interviewed. The participants were instructed to turn-off their camera, remove their name, and avoid references to any personally identifiable information to ensure anonymity. Interviews were conducted using a script that the experimenters read from to maintain consistency between participants.

Survey Participants Backgrounds

All participants identified as being the primary executive of their company either CEO, President, or Owner with ninety percent indicating they had "a lot" or "total" voice in the company. Most participants identified as serving in a business development and sales, fiscal management and compliance, or operational management and staffing role within their company. Seventy percent of the respondents were between the ages of 30 and 49. Forty percent of survey participants had 5-10 years of business experience and fifty percent had 10+ years of experience in the industry, which suggests that most came with prior experience in the unregulated market.³ Sixty percent of the respondents were male and forty percent were female based on response to the question about

²Our approach to evaluating success factors within the industry utilizes three primary research techniques: 1) conducting geographic information systems analysis to evaluate locational movements of cannabis businesses; 2) distributing online surveys to a representative sample of cannabis business entrepreneurs and conducting quantitative analysis of that data; 3) conducting interviews to obtain qualitative data about current industry trends and perceptions. This latter technique will be the emphasis of this paper.

³ California began issuing adult-use cannabis business licenses in 2018, four years before our interviews.

“sex.” An equivalent ratio identified as being man and woman based on the “gender” question. One hundred percent of respondents were White and did not identify as being Hispanic. Eighty percent had some type of college degree, such as an associates, bachelors, or master’s degree.

Participants had diverse backgrounds in the industry. Some were involved in cultivation activities and others were involved in activities further down the value chain, such as manufacturing, distribution, or retail. Sixty percent of the respondents were the sole owners of their cannabis operation. Thirty percent had a second partner and ten percent had three owners. Fifty percent of these businesses employed between 20 – 250 full-time employees, the remaining businesses employed ten or fewer full-time employees. Sales revenues were similarly distributed with fifty percent of businesses generating between \$1,000,000-\$10,000,000 in gross annual revenue. Twenty percent of businesses earned between \$20,000,000 - \$50,000,000 in gross annual revenue and twenty percent earned less than \$150,000 annually. Forty percent of businesses had more than one physical location or franchise. Sixty percent of participants considered their pricing strategy to be mid-range. Meanwhile, thirty percent considered their products to be affordable and only ten percent felt they operated at premium pricing.

Survey Findings

A Vibrant Illegal Market

Proposition 64, effectively decriminalized recreational marijuana within the State of California, and among other objectives sought to: “take nonmedical marijuana adult-use cannabis production and sales out of the hands of the illegal market and strictly controlling the cultivation, processing, manufacture, distribution, testing, and sale of nonmedical marijuana adult-use cannabis through a system of state licensing, regulation, and enforcement.” (Sec. 10(b)(c)). Despite this policy aim, research participants expressed strong doubts that the illegal market had been eliminated. All participants suggested that the illegal market was not only active but continuing to operate illegally was enabling many businesses to survive. They reported bypassing the tax and regulatory system, illegal sales are more profitable than regulated sales. They also allow businesses to export into lucrative out-of-state markets. Several of the participants estimated that about 70-80% of all canna-businesses in California actively take part or in or are in some way connected to the illegal market. One individual mentioned that if the business was not propped up with sufficient funding it was “the only way you could survive.” Meanwhile, another said, “it’s way more restrictive, costly, and risky to be in the licensed market than to be in the traditional market,” especially in Humboldt, Mendocino, Trinity, Monterey, and Santa Cruz counties.

The illegal market was described in diverse ways: for instance, some referred to the illegal marketplace as being the “traditional,” “unlicensed,” “unregulated,” “illicit,” “shadow,” or “black” market. Regardless of the terminology used, the illegal market described any business practice that deliberately bypassed the regulatory process or oversight. One person described the practice of employing undocumented labor from foreign countries, “the biggest cheat in cultivation activities... they’re all getting paid in cash.” Another respondent noted that some businesses are not properly withholding or reporting payroll obligations to the state. The “black market is so much simpler” according to one interviewee.

The most common technique used to engage in illegal market activities appears to be the diversion of product away from the “track and trace” system. This could be conducted by either growing the product in an unlicensed area or facility, or unknowingly selling their product to a licensed distributor who has no intent of engaging in lawful activities or keeping the license long-term. Once the distributor has the product, they can divert the raw materials to unregulated or out of state markets claiming a substantial portion of the product was damaged or spoiled. If law

enforcement detects the unlawful practice, the business simply closes and moves to a new area under new ownership and a new business name. Several participants described these businesses as being “burner” or “dead-end” distributors. One research participant felt the practice was more common in Southern California, particularly Los Angeles.

When asked what was enabling these illegal practices to continue, participants expressed many common themes. First, the primary impetus was excessive taxation and regulations. Many felt businesses could not survive in the current regulated market. If taxes and regulations were reduced to levels akin to other states, like Oregon, several people felt there would be less incentive to participate in the illegal market. One participant also noted that the penalties for citations or violations were not high enough, especially for bigger businesses. Typically classified as a “misdemeanor,” or resulting in a nominal fine, many operators simply do not care if they are found to be violating the law and just keep doing the illicit practice, considering the fines as part of the cost of doing business. In their mind, the worst-case scenario is that they will be forced to close. If so, they will apply under a new name and set up shop elsewhere.

Several individuals felt the regulations were so loose that they allowed people to do what they want. One participant noted, “there’s no real track and trace program in the state from a cultivation standpoint.” The product only really starts to be tracked at the point of packaging/manufacturing to retail. Some individuals speculated that state regulators were aware of these unlawful practices and may be looking the other way to ensure the cannabis market did not implode on itself due to falling commodity prices. Without an ability for businesses to divert product outside of the state, they felt the industry may no longer be financially sustainable. Despite the proliferation of illegal activity within the market, none of our research participants suggested that their businesses were actively engaged in these practices. Furthermore, they felt the benefits of the regulated market in terms of proving credibility and legal business relationships were worthy of the industry to still pursue. They felt anyone who has taken the effort to get licensed, ultimately intended to sell in the licensed market and ideally avoid these illegal practices.

Pressures Confronting Licensed Operators

Research participants felt that the illegal market was not only thriving, but something legal operators had to be involved with to remain competitive. As such, examining the forces working against legal operators would be worthwhile. Repeatedly, the research team heard complaints about the tax, fee, and regulatory environment of trying to run a cannabusiness within the State of California. Many felt that cultivators were more impacted by tax policy, while manufacturers, distributors, and retailers are more hurt by onerous regulations.

In some cases, operators were unhappy with federal taxation policies. Internal Revenue Code Section 280E does not allow businesses to deduct normal business expenses related to the sale of controlled substances (aka Cannabis). While the Courts have interpreted the measure to not explicitly exclude Cost of Goods Sold (COGS) or inventory costs, other common costs associated with running a business, such as general overhead, accounting, legal, and other essential services, are not allowed to be deducted. Moreover, unlike any other industries, the cannabis sector is excluded from these financial services due to a federal prohibition. This federal tax issue affects the selection of business structure. One participant said that businesses intentionally get set up so an LLC is just representing the cultivation end of the business, and another company focuses on the administrative work so the expenses can be written off.

Banks and credit unions alike are hesitant to serve the industry as they fear sanctions, such as losing access to Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) or National Credit Union Administration (NCUA) insurance. As such, cannabis operators are significantly limited in

borrowing and saving money through traditional banks. One participant lost five bank accounts in just the past two years. 100% of the respondents to the online survey answered “cash” was the most usual form of payment used. The inability to export products across state lines was cited as a point of frustration as well.

In terms of state taxes and regulations, most of the participants expressed concerns about the tax rates being set too high and regulations being too burdensome at each step in the process. According to one respondent, “if you move an inch, you have to report it.” Meanwhile, some respondents did not understand why the State is not placing a limit on total acreage of growing sites. They felt small farms cannot compete with large operators. Outside of state taxes and regulations, some participants expressed general distrust in state government. In fact, one participant expressed concerns that by their mere participation in this study that might be “feeding the fire that moves policy in a direction that does not benefit us.” Based on their involvement on advisory committees, they felt there had been a lot of promises about support for small business, but no follow through. While the participants felt they were heard at the county level, Humboldt County in this case, on the state level this was not the case. They felt associations and lobbyists had more influence over cannabis tax and regulatory policy than small business leaders.

State enforcement activities were cited as an area of concern for some respondents. According to one person, the enforcement agents come out and look around, but only focus on a very narrow spectrum of compliance issues. Furthermore, agents may know extraordinarily little about cultivation. According to one person, they met agents who did not know “whether they were looking at male or female plants... they didn’t have a clue.” Several interviewees felt that license holders were simply being asked to keep up with a lot of busy work. Additionally, the process for weighing the plant was arbitrary and typically based on averages and estimates. One can game the calculations. Instead of tagging a given plant, one just throws a tag in the bed. According to one participant, “it is impossible to use it for tracing purposes. There are corners you can cut.”

At the local level, the county in which an operator locates can have a significant impact on the degree of success as large regulatory differences exist. For instance, one respondent stated “in Lake County, you can grow ten acres. In Mendocino, you can only grow a quarter acre.” Interviewees mentioned the burden of the permitting process not only the direct licensing costs, but all the indirect costs that go into maintaining roads and following environmental regulations. According to one respondent, “the permitting process is constantly a part of the battle, it never ends,” regardless of whether one holds a permit. To ensure compliance, business owners must engage consultants, such as environmental scientists, the engineers, accountants, and attorneys, further adding to the cost of compliance.

In addition to regulatory forces, the industry has been hard hit by a downturn in market prices. One individual estimated that the flower price in Humboldt County, for example, had dropped about 60-70% leading many cultivators to go bankrupt. Many respondents expressed frustration that taxes were not adjusted with changing market prices. Several individuals believed there was a glut of overproduction, as high “as 9 million pounds” globally. When there is overproduction, co-ops cannot survive because the market cap does not allow them to work together due to challenges in achieving scale. Let us assume “each farmer has one acre, and there are eight farms. It takes more than that to be able to buy the real estate, etc. And now you are only dependent on those eight farms, because they have limited how many people can be a part of the co-op.” One individual proposed that the state set up a minimum price in a manner like the food tax subsidies traditional agricultural farmers within the Midwest.

Measures of Success

Each interviewee was asked to specify their most important measures of success within their business. Several respondents saw profit, profit margins, revenues, positive cash flow, and other traditional financial success measures as being most important. One respondent boiled the concept down to simply having the “ability to pay the bills” or having the ability to remain a going-concern or survive, as being a measure of success. Others expressed this idea on more non-financial terms as the ability to sell a product, “if you’re producing and the price is down but you’re still able to move your product that people purchase, that is a level of success.”

Some participants focused on internal measures of success, such as achieving quality or realizing efficiency improvements. This can involve working on new efficiencies to make things faster, product standardization, and research and development into the right strains allowing the company to differentiate from their competition. “Having differentiated strains and products” is important. “Yield or production per square foot has to be off the charts” according to another interviewee. The ability to bring in talent and the right people is key. Several respondents noted challenges with finding adequate talent to effectively market their products, as well as individuals with specialized knowledge like accountants, chemists, and chief executive officers.

While external financial metrics and internal operational measures may not be dissimilar from other industries, some respondents mentioned more altruistic measures of success that one may describe as more of a corporate social responsibility nature. For instance, some respondents noted their obligation to create jobs, meet payroll obligations, or compensate their existing employees with a livable wage or good salary as being extremely important. According to one participant, “a lot of our staff show up every day because they believe in this business, and it helps provide services to the community.” One participant mentioned her obligations to be offering resources and services to our community of farmers. Maintaining safe operations was also cited by one participant as being important.

Business Strategies for Achieving Success

It was felt by a couple of the participants that vertical integration can help profitability. One respondent noted “the only ones who are making money in this industry have a vertical stack of licensing, from cultivating all the way to retail.” Another stated that “if you can stack all those licenses, you have a lot more profit margin.” One either needs to achieve exceptionally large scale or focus on a boutique strategy to collect those margins all the way through the supply chain. Several respondents thought that profit margins were higher the further down the value chain an individual found themselves. For instance, profits were higher for retailers than cultivators/farmers. When prices crashed, some people felt that everyone in the value chain kept their margins, except for cultivators. Many felt large cultivators had a distinct advantage over smaller cultivators. Becoming a microbusiness was an aspirational goal for one participant.

Knowledge of botany, chemistry, and plant sciences was considered an important differentiator among many. One person felt being a cultivator was more important than being a businessperson. For a cultivator, knowing such things as how to mitigate damages arising from pests, fungus, or disease, applying the right levels of water or fertilizer and being able to run advanced weather stations and other hydro technologies are critical skills. And sometimes one just gets lucky by having a lack of natural pests and disease, which allows the grower to achieve maximum yield for their process. “Everyone’s process is a bit different” according to one observer.

Meanwhile, others felt that having basic business skills (or having employees/consultants with these skills) was vital to the success of the business. For example, financial skills were considered important, i.e., being able to project cash flows, read spreadsheets and project ahead,

as well as learning the economics behind the products. Human resource management was valued. Being able to train the right people for the right job. According to one person, “being knowledgeable in the industry is relevant, otherwise it feels like I’m holding employees’ hands the whole time.”

Marketing strategy and support was considered an essential element to success among many of the respondents. Achieving success through traditional and emerging digital/social media pathways (e.g., Instagram, Twitter, Facebook) was considered vital. Business intelligence data was cited as being important too. “You have to know what’s selling, what people want in terms of the strains and more,” said one individual. Branded products were perceived to be more valuable or profitable than selling oil or flower in bulk. Customer engagement and effective supplier relationships were perceived to be correlated with financial success. Gaining a branded place in the market as far as having consumer packaged goods indicates is a level of success, as opposed to just being a wholesaler. Although the process can be expensive, branding is essential according to focus group participants.

Some participants felt that geographical location may play a role in the success or failure of a given business. For example, the cost of services is higher in the Emerald Triangle (Humboldt, Mendocino, Trinity counties) in relation to other parts of the state. Fuel and other transportation costs (e.g., wear and tear on vehicles), permits and fees, local taxes, environmental compliance costs, labor costs, and insurance can only vary according to the location where a business performs most of the business. Furthermore, the style of cultivation can vary from region to region: indoor vs. outdoor techniques, small versus large scale, strains, and soils, etc.

Equity and Opportunity within the Industry

To assess the extent of equity within the industry, the research team asked a series of questions of males and females concerning opportunities. Many key informants interviewed characterized the industry as being heavily dominated by men, especially within the upper ranks of the industry. Female business owners cited challenges associated with accessing capital and more significant obstacles in achieving “buy-in” within their business networks. One participant estimated that only about three percent of female-owned canna businesses are funded by private capital. Many participants corroborated the idea that there is bias within the industry. In terms of there being advantages or disadvantages to being a man or woman in the industry, some participants felt there was no more bias than in any other industry. Most believed that on average men are paid more than women and when it comes to higher level executive positions men usually get the job. Further, some female participants felt males had a stronger voice in the rules and policy making process at the state and local level. One participant estimated that only five percent of the governmental cannabis meetings were attended by females. “We don’t ever get called on; we don’t get heard.”

One female respondent noted that “it can be very hard to separate business and personal life, so it ends up affecting your family, especially if you live on the farm.” She highlighted that if the business is struggling, then the family is struggling. This individual felt the mental stability of the community is really struggling, regardless of one’s sex. From family to friends to customers to the other farmers, tensions are high and there has been a noticeable increase in suicides. Some small business entrepreneurs are surviving by engaging in ancillary activities, such as cannabis consulting work. According to one participant, “if it were not for consulting, I probably would have lost my farm.” In addition, the potential risks may be higher for women, including the inherent danger associated with being surrounded by significant levels of valuable inventory and

cash. And threats have been known to have been made against salespeople and others trying to conduct work within the industry.

Despite being underrepresented, one male respondent noted women offer many benefits including compassion, open-mindedness, willingness to collaborate with other people in a way that is not ego-driven in nature. Another participant felt that women were more effective at marketing activities. Furthermore, some participants suggested that representation within the industry is becoming more balanced, with a current mix now of seventy percent male versus thirty percent female ownership within the industry.

Business Outlook

Fifty percent of participants felt general business conditions would be about the same one year from now. Thirty percent expected better conditions and twenty percent anticipated worse conditions. More selective descriptive statistics associated within the online survey results are reflected in Appendix A. We intentionally do not go into great depth synthesizing these results because they may not be representative of the entire industry in California given the sample size.

Limitations

We did not deploy random sampling in selecting these participants and only ten individuals took part in the survey. With that being said, the results of online “pre-test” survey activity have been included in the appendices as we believe these preliminary responses may offer some perspective on the business strategies and outlook of this cohort that may have influenced the way they answered interview questions.

Conclusion

Legal canna-business is a new industry facing significant growing pains. This paper seeks to provide an overview of these challenges as identified by the canna-business owners themselves. It suggests ways to evaluate, enhance and promote ongoing legal, safe, and fair innovation in the industry, making it an invaluable reference to aspiring entrepreneurs and policymakers interested in this industry.

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Appendix A – Online Survey Results (n = 10)

In comparison to others, how successful do you think your business is?

Scale	1 (Unsuccessful)	2 (Slightly successful)	3 (Moderately successful)	4 (The same as others)	5 (Successful)	6 (Very successful)	7 (Extremely successful)
Results	20%	20%	40%	0%	0%	20%	0%

In the last 12 months indicate whether your company trends in the following areas:

	Decreased	Increased	Remained About the Same
Employees	40%	40%	20%
Contract Workers	33%	11%	56%
Wages/salary per Employee	30%	50%	20%
Sales Growth	60%	40%	0%
Profits	80%	10%	10%
Capital Investment in Equipment	30%	30%	40%
Number of Facilities/Locations	10%	10%	80%
Size of Facilities/Locations	10%	20%	70%
Working Capital or New Investment	60%	10%	30%

Please indicate your risk tolerance across multiple areas

	Aggressive	Moderate	Low
General approach to risk	60%	30%	10%
Marketing tactics	10%	50%	40%
Research & development	80%	20%	0%
Technology adoption	40%	60%	0%
Customer sales	60%	20%	20%
Product diversification	20%	70%	10%
Compliance activities	10%	10%	80%
Outsourcing	10%	30%	60%
Lobbying	80%	20%	0%

Why do you think your customers buy from you?

	1 (Not important at all)	2 (Somewhat important)	3 (Moderately Important)	4 (Important)	5 (Very Important)
Advertising	40%	20%	10%	10%	20%
Brand reputation	0%	10%	10%	30%	50%
Family or friendship ties	40%	20%	20%	10%	10%
Location	30%	30%	10%	20%	10%
Product loyalty	0%	20%	30%	30%	20%
Pricing	10%	0%	10%	30%	50%
Quality of products or services	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Variety of products or services	0%	20%	40%	10%	30%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

How difficult have the following been for your company?

	1 (Not an important issue)	2 (Somewhat of an issue)	3 (A moderate issue)	4 (An important issue)	5 (A very important issue)
Access to finance	0%	0%	20%	10%	70%
Availability of skilled staff or experienced	10%	0%	50%	10%	30%
Competition from legal businesses	10%	10%	10%	20%	50%
Competition from illegal businesses	10%	0%	20%	10%	60%
Environmental compliance	50%	10%	10%	20%	10%
Finding customers	10%	0%	20%	30%	40%
Finding suppliers	50%	0%	20%	10%	20%
Government red tape	10%	0%	20%	20%	50%
Labor costs	10%	20%	20%	0%	50%
Material costs	0%	30%	20%	10%	40%
OSHA/Labor law compliance	60%	0%	30%	0%	10%
Paying employees and suppliers	20%	20%	10%	10%	40%
Tax compliance rules	20%	0%	10%	10%	60%
Theft/robbery concerns	10%	40%	20%	30%	0%
Timely customer payments	0%	20%	30%	10%	40%
Track and trace requirements	20%	20%	30%	10%	20%
Zoning issues	60%	20%	10%	10%	0%
Other	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%

Please rank the following business strategies in the order of importance to your company's success:

	1 (Not important at all)	2 (Somewhat important)	3 (Moderately Important)	4 (Important)	5 (Very Important)
Consultant (e.g., CPA, attorney, etc.)	40%	0%	10%	30%	20%
Lab or Testing Services	30%	20%	0%	30%	20%
Management Service Providers	50%	20%	20%	10%	0%
Trade Associations	30%	30%	20%	10%	10%
Networking with Other Business Owners	0%	0%	60%	20%	20%
Written Business Plans	10%	30%	20%	30%	10%
Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Has this business ever received or considered funding from the following sources? Check all that apply.

	Yes, currently or previously used	No, would like but inaccessible	No, did not attempt
Business residual income	75%	13%	13%
Business credit lines	40%	50%	10%
Fixed loans from other businesses	22%	22%	56%
Fixed loans	0%	63%	38%
Owner's contributions	90%	10%	0%
Personal gifts (family, friends, etc.)	30%	20%	50%
Personal loans (family, friends, etc.)	89%	0%	11%
Personal credit cards	78%	11%	11%
Private equity capital	40%	20%	40%
Other (please specify)	40%	0%	60%

Which inventory management system is your business utilizing?

Leafly	50%
QuickBooks	50%

Which Point of Sale software is your business utilizing?

Custom (In-House)	50%
METRC	25%
QuickBooks POS	25%

What type of advertising or marketing software does your business utilize? Select all that apply.

Instagram	35%
Facebook	22%
MailChimp	22%
Google Analytics	9%
Constant Contact	4%
Twitter	4%
Other	4%

What is the primary accounting/payroll software your business utilizes?

Quickbooks	50%
Excel	21%
Aatrix	21%
Xero	7%
AccountingSuite	0%

Which of the following business intelligence tools are utilizing by your company?

Headset Insights	40%
Meadow	20%
Link4	20%
AGS	20%

How would someone today get started in this business?

R1: Work for someone or fund their own business. No cannabis bank loans out there.

R2: It is exceedingly difficult. You would need permits and a property that qualifies do those permits. You would distribution channels as well for they are hard to come by, especially for small farmers like myself.

R3: Having a skill that is needed- whether it is cultivation, business, marketing, sales - or for entry level jobs being dependable and trustworthy.

R4: I do not know there is a clear path to a career in the cannabis industry currently, unless you are enthusiastic about working with cannabis, I would not currently recommend it.

R5: The easiest way to get into the industry is investment. The best way to get a job is through referral. This industry still has unique challenges it still must overcome. The federal policies toward cannabis businesses and the IRS 280e tax code enforcement make it impossible to run a legitimate operation. This engenders corruption and discourages a culture of integrity within the industry. Most owners and investors only care about \$. Cannabis a rough industry to get into. This is a fundamental problem with many ag based jobs. Cannabis has the advantage of consumer interest to attract potential talent, however the pit falls in the industry are many.

R6: there is still a lot of opportunity in the industry. There are many jobs available statewide. Depending on one's skill sets and interests, there is a diversity of options. It is wise to work for a credible company to gain experience and to see if it is a career that one would like to pursue.

R7: By working for others in the industry. Even if you must start at the bottom. Absorb as much as you can from a licensed legal operator or multiple operators.

R8: In Mendocino, it would almost have to be buying an existing operation. The County program is in disarray and getting an annual license is difficult at best.

R9: Experience in different business, not necessarily cannabis

R10: Buy a piece of land. Having a lot of capital. Or working their way up from within a company.