

NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION PROCEEDINGS

NATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE



April 14-16, 2019 • Volume 70 #1

NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE PROCEEDINGS

Volume 70 #1

National Technology and Social Science Conference, 2019

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U.S Housing Market: Post 2015 Recovery Realities and Predictions

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Introduction

Reminiscent of the economic downturn from 2007 to 2010, U.S. housing market had indeed weathered a great deal of trepidation and uncertainties. The economic and housing market recoveries set in motion by the Obama administration in the early 2010 decade, had continued beyond 2015. Notwithstanding that real estate functions in a cycle, both seasonally and over several years, the recoveries since 2015 had been witnessing continued and increasing economic growth in terms of increasing gross domestic product (GDP), job growth, wage growth, heightened optimism and confidence, and low unemployment rates. Other indicators of a prolonged healthy economy and positive housing market include, low home inventories, low single family and multi-family vacancies, rising home prices, as well as rising housing permits and starts. The recoveries were also supported by protracted periods of low interest rates, low inflation rates, and other market stabilizing policies of President Obama administration. Such policies include, quantitative easing (QE) by the Federal Reserve Bank's Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC); Home Affordable Refinance Program (HARP) that was the administration's major anti-foreclosure program; and other financial regulatory policies. Quantitative easing instrument is the monetary policy of increasing the size of the Fed's balance sheet, as a result of efforts to combat the financial crisis and support for the subsequent recovery from a very deep recession (Bostic, 2019, p.1).

The above actions and conditions helped the economy and real estate market to maintain an overall positive trend beyond 2015. Beyond 2015, U.S has been also witnessing "high-pressure economy" or "hot-economy," under President Trump. The current hot economy has been helping even the disadvantaged workers to secure jobs, creating very low overall national unemployment rates. A high-pressure economy is a type of economy that pushes the unemployment rate below what is considered a natural or sustainable long-term rate (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (2019). For example, U.S. economy added 3.0 million jobs in 2014; 2.7 million in 2015; 2.6 million in 2018, and 312,000 new jobs just in December, 2018 alone; coupled with 3.6 percent increase in wages, as well as 3.9 percent unemployment rate in 2018. In 2018, the job creations were mainly in healthcare services, manufacturing, and construction (CNN December 2018 Job Report, January 4, 2019). The Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (2019, p. 1) reported that, Hotchkiss and Robert Moore of Georgia State University in their research, indeed found that disadvantaged workers, including African Americans, on the average benefitted most from the high-pressure periods.

The end of 2016 witnessed a major political upset in U.S. election history, when Donald Trump was elected President; and with his deliberate policy changes in 2017, created social and political uncertainties and instabilities in the country and abroad (Devon Thorsby, 2017). Thus, President Trump's policy changes are relatively leading U.S into a new curve of economic cycle, real estate market, and homeownership. For example, Trump's policy changes include: doctrine of U.S. looking inwards; trade wars with China, Canada, and Mexico; federal government shutdown over who should pay for the boarder wall with Mexico; and also the uncertainty that exists among U.S. European allies about Trump's foreign policy directions. The aforementioned changes would likely affect overall U.S. economy, international investors, and real estate business.

Although evidence from poll results in the early 2017 showed about half of Americans did not approve President Trump's Administration, nonetheless, their behaviors indicate that they have confidence in the Administration's handling of the economy (John Green, 2018, p. 6). For example, in early 2017 according to Green, corporate America had confidence in the economic climate and direction in which the country was heading in terms of increasing economic investments that also rippled through the mid-cap and small business segments. The question is whether the positive confidence and sentiment in the administration's handling of the economy will persist in the future, including its obvious positive influence on housing market. The expectations stem from the fact that positive expectations for the economy often translate into positive expectations for the housing industry, and vice versa.

Purpose of Study

The study presents U.S. housing market realities in the post 2015 recoveries, as well as the predictions for future housing market based on the prevailing economic situation and performance. How these realities and predictions are, especially impacted by current Trump Administration's economic, political, and social policies are also analyzed and presented. The question is whether the prevailing economic growth will continue into the future, because past experiences had shown that recession mostly followed continued economic growth during which disadvantaged workers suffered most, due to pains of job and pay losses and inability meeting financial obligations, including mortgage payments and the eventual home foreclosures. Thus, is the present high-pressure economy and its low unemployment rates enough to offset the worst outcomes, especially for the disadvantaged workers from the past economic downturns?

The market impacts of high-pressure economy is one of many monetary policy considerations of FOMC. A major consideration is whether loose monetary policy by the Fed that could prolong a supercharged labor market could spark inflation and inflate financial bubbles (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 2019, p. 2). Low unemployment is desirable, but keeping it low could ultimately harm many people economically, as witnessed in 2007 when the bubble busted. This may even prompt the Fed to embark on the monetary policy of "quantitative tightening" (opposite of quantitative easing) to rundown the size of the Fed's bloated balance sheet that might cause unanticipated and unwarranted tightening of monetary conditions (Raphael Bostic, 2019). Often the Fed meticulously watches the "Phillips Curve" (Figures 1 and 2 below) for appropriate trade-off as a policy choice between rate of unemployment and rate of inflation, which is not always a simple market-clearing process as hypothesized (Sen; Sonali; and Pettinger, no dates).

The nation's economy is in a high-pressure period, especially when unemployment rate has been below the natural unemployment level estimated by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), like it has been below 3.9 percent since late 2018. Part of FOMC conversations has been the debate of whether to extend high-pressure periods. Although there is no universally accepted definition of where natural rate of unemployment is on the Phillips Curve, nonetheless, the natural rate of unemployment is generally defined as the level that is sustainable and does not lead to high inflation

(Atlanta Fed, 2019, p. 2). For this study, several proximate variables were analyzed to support the prevailing housing market realities in the country, especially since 2015; and also to help predict future housing market performance in ever changing national economy. Finally, some policy suggestions and recommendations, as well as possible solutions are proffered for a healthy U.S economy and housing market.

Theoretical Framework for the Study

The term real estate means real or physical property, which includes land, buildings, and air rights above the land and underground rights below the land. Real estate types include: residential, commercial, and industrial aspects, and land that includes vacant land, working farm, and ranches (Amadeo, 2018). According to Amadeo, real estate also refers to producing, buying, and selling real estate as defined above, which affects U.S economy by being a critical driver of economic growth. Moreover, the realtors are professional real estate agents, who assist homeowners, businesses, and investors; and they could be sellers' or buyers' agents.

The health of housing industry is key to the overall state of U.S economy, and with the right policies in place, housing stands poised to serve as an engine of job growth. According to Robert Dietz, National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) economist, who testified in 2014 before the Senate Banking Committee's Subcommittee on Economic Policy during a hearing examining the drivers of job creation, home building and remodeling have generated 274,000 jobs over the past two and half years (NAHB, 2018). Housing expansion provides direct economic benefits that includes providing the momentum behind an economic recovery, because home building and associated businesses employ such a wide range of workers. In effect, employment from new home construction and remodeling has a wide ripple or multiplier effect on the overall economy. Moreover, the construction of new buildings is a component of gross domestic product (GDP), which includes residential, commercial, and industrial buildings. For example, in 2017, it contributed \$1.03 trillion or 7 percent of the U.S economy (Amadeo, 2018, p. 3). The contributions to GDP notwithstanding, the 2008 economic and housing predicaments were precipitated by the housing bubble that busted.

Different government administrations in the country have had different policies on the economy and housing market over time, for example, the regulatory policies of Obama, the immediate past President from 2009 to 2016, and the deregulatory policies of Trump, his successor, from 2017 to the present. Their policy differences have impacted, in one way or another, the economy and housing market from early 2010 through 2015 recoveries and beyond. For example, Obama's Administration used some programs and financial regulatory measures to speed up recovery in the lackluster U.S economy and housing market. Such programs included, among others, the Home Affordable Refinance Program (HARP), which was the Administration's major anti-foreclosure program to help underwater U.S homeowners to refinance their homes. This centerpiece of Obama Administration's economic policy was announced early 2009, which promised to give money to banks to help modify between three and four million mortgages (*The Daily Beast*, 2012). According to the *Daily Beast*, underwater homes are those that are less valuable than the outstanding mortgages. The

foreclosure–prevention program was to provide relief to borrowers who might otherwise be unable to refinance due to house price decline (*Huffington Post*, 2012). Refinancing an existing mortgage is a way for one to get a new mortgage with terms that work better for them, especially to get some relief. In reality, according to *Huffington Post*, by May 2012 more than 1.3 million borrowers had been helped by the foreclosure prevention program. The *Daily Beast* (2012), also noted that HARP was the best cure for the approximately 10.8 million or 22.3 percent of all mortgage borrowers that were underwater (with a combined \$689 billion in negative equity). The main reason for the surge in 2012 was that some rules were eased, for example, the removal of loan-to-value ratios on eligible loans that raised the debt limit at which such homeowners can obtain a new mortgage; some fees were waived or lowered on HARP by major lenders such as Bank of America and Wells Fargo; and lenders were given a break from the required warranties they sign when they originate certain loans. Even the Program's life was extended from December 31, 2012 to December 31, 2013 for borrowers to take advantage of low mortgage interest rates, which were a deliberate part of Fed's actions to stimulate the economy (Elmer, 2012; *Huffington Post*, 2012; *The Daily Beast*, 2012).

The Federal Reserve System is the Central Bank of the United States, and through its Chairman of the Board, the Fed is mandated to promote the goals of maximum employment, stable prices, and moderate long-term interest rates in the U.S economy. The path towards the above objectives are closely monitored. During the Obama Administration, Janet Yen was the Chairman, and was replaced on February 5, 2018, by Jerome Power who was nominated by President Trump in November 2017. The Fed, through its Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), determines near-term monetary policy at its meetings, with such monetary tools as the federal funds rate, the discount rates, and the buying and selling of government securities (*INVESTOPEDIA*, 2018). According to *INVESTOPEDIA* (p. 4):

Federal Funds Rate: Is the interest rate at which member depositing institutions lend each other money held at the Fed overnight. It is the key interest rate for the U.S economy, because it is the base rate that determines the level for all other interest rates. A higher federal funds rate makes it more expensive to borrow money; and FOMC has kept the Federal funds rate close to zero since 2008 financial crises to increase the monetary supply and help achieve the Fed's official mandate. It is noteworthy that the rate is based on job growth and the overall health of the economy.

The Discount Rate: Is the interest rate charged to banks that receive loans from regional Federal Reserve Banks. It is known as the discount window, and there are three types: primary credit, secondary credit, and seasonal credit. The Fed is comprised of 12 Federal Reserve banks located in regions/districts around the United States by number and Reserve Bank city: 1. Boston 2. New York 3. Philadelphia 4. Cleveland 5. Richmond 6. Atlanta 7. Chicago 8. St. Louis 9. Minneapolis 10. Kansas City 11. Dallas and 12. San Francisco.

Quantitative Easing: The FOMC also buys and sells government treasuries to increase or decrease the monetary supply as necessary. In fact, the Fed undertook the largest economic stimulus in history during the 2008 financial crisis by buying massive amounts of U.S treasury's and mortgage-backed securities (MBS). The program called

quantitative easing (QE) added around \$3.5 trillion to the Fed's sheet, although this controversial program ended in 2014 after three large rounds of bond buying.

Since the financial crisis of late 2000 decade, the Fed had performed marvelously in maintaining its responsibility of low interest rates, low inflation rates, and low unemployment rates and increased civilian payrolls, all to prop up the fledgling national economy. These low rates had over time positively impacted the growth rate of real gross domestic product (GDP), which is a key indicator of economic activity, as well as a key metric of the pace of economic activity in the country. The indicator is measured by U.S Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), which helps in the economic projections of Federal Reserve Board members and Bank Presidents during their Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) meetings (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 2019). The aim of FOMC is to bring the economy to be able to stand on its own without much support or accommodation from monetary policy, using the federal funds rate, discount rate and quantitative easing. Thus, the Committee is always striving to achieve a neutral monetary stance that is neither providing accommodation nor being restrictive and attempting to actively slow the economy (Bostic, 2019). By this time the economy is almost in a "Goldilocks" mode.

Unemployment rate gauges joblessness and the economy's growth rate. It is also a lagging indicator that measures the effect of economic events, such as a recession. Unemployment rate is a powerful confirmation of what the other indicators are already showing, for example, if other indicators show an expanding economy, and unemployment declining, then for sure, businesses are confident enough to start hiring (Amadeo, 2018). Unemployment rate is also a critical component of the misery index, while the other component is inflation rate. According to Amadeo (2018), when the misery index is higher than 10 percent, it means that people are either suffering from recession, galloping inflation, or both. On the other hand, low unemployment rates and wage increases inevitably trigger-off increases in personal consumption expenditures in such activities as housing, which includes home construction and remodeling, mortgage originations, home ownership rates, low housing inventories, and low foreclosures. Although low unemployment rates and increasing incomes are desirable, but if the increases are not carefully managed, they may result in hot housing markets with high interest rates, high inflation rates, and high housing and rental housing costs; and many households may be priced out of the housing market.

Low inflation rates and low interest rates go together, and they often result in low mortgage interest rates and low number of existing homes that are available for sale in the market. These give homebuilders the sentiment, confidence, and long view of potential demand, signaling that they may now start building more speculative homes. Speculative homes are homes without a current buyer, and they are built because demand is strong. Speculative home construction was a common practice during the pre-2007 housing boom (Greene, 2018). Homebuilding generates a substantial local economic activity, such as jobs and new incomes for the local residents, and also additional revenues for local governments. In any given economy, construction activity has ripple impact that occurs when income earned from the activity is spent and recycled in the local economy. The economic effects also include the ongoing impacts that result from new homes becoming occupied by residents who pay taxes and buy

locally produced goods and services (National Association of Home Builders, 2015, p. 1). According to NAHB, local taxes include: business property taxes; residential property taxes; general sales taxes, especially in construction materials; specific excise taxes; income taxes; license taxes; and other taxes.

The Study Area

The focus of study is U.S, including its economic and housing market performances during the study years. The U.S housing market and economy are analyzed, especially from mid-2010 decade to the present, as it emerged fully from the daunting crisis of late 2000 decade. The realities are presented with predictions for the future, based on the prevailing economic and political conditions.

Methodology of Study

The study is both explanatory and longitudinal in approach. Since the mid-2010 decade, U.S economy had been in the Expansion Phase of business cycle, with the attendant bull market, reflecting investors' and consumers' attitudes and responses to the prevailing favorable economic and political conditions. The gross domestic product (GDP) has been growing as well as the asset class, such as stocks, bond, gold, and housing; and also increasing investor and consumer confidence. The lagging economic indicators that follow economic events of expansion and recovery are analyzed, such as unemployment and wage rates. While watching for predictions, the other variables that are analyzed, which are the leading economic indicators that precede the aforementioned economic events, include durable goods order, market interest rates, inflation rates, mortgage interest rates, home prices, mortgage originations, housing permits and starts, etc. The leading economic indicators are always the first data point in an economic cycle, which predict the next phase of business cycle. The lagging and leading economic indicators undoubtedly predict the health of businesses and housing market, and by implication, the overall U.S economy.

Several proximate variables mentioned above are fleshed out and analyzed to support the prevailing housing market realities, as well as for the said predictions. Such socio-economic variables include, among others, Mortgage Interest Rates, especially Fixed-Rate Mortgage Rates; Mortgage Originations; Business Inflation Rates; Unemployment Rates; Gross Domestic Product (GDP); Home Prices; Homeownership Rates; Housing Contributions to GDP; Home Building and Remodeling Impacts on the Economy; Housing Inventories; Housing Permits and Starts; and Housing Vacancy Rates. The political conditions and economic policies during the study period are also analyzed, as they affect the overall national economy and housing market conditions.

Discussions

U.S Housing Market Realities since Mid-2010 Decade

The economic and housing market recoveries set in motion in the early 2010 by the Obama administration had continued into the Trump administration that started in 2017; and the recoveries were made possible by the administrations' deliberate monetary and fiscal policies. The current U.S economy is witnessing the longest business growth cycle since 2015, which has been supported by long-term low and moderate inflation

rates, mortgage interest rates, and unemployment rates, with attendant increases in employment, wages and house prices. Overall, consumers and real-estate participants have been given the optimism and confidence from the positive job picture, wage growth, and investment and profit growths. Thus, the previous resistance to housing development due to nightmares and problems caused by home foreclosures of previous years has slowed down. The intense pressures to build have been on some states and cities facing outrageous housing shortages, low inventories, and sky-rocketing rental prices, such as Florida, Boston, San Diego, Houston, Miami, Seattle, Bay Area, and the rest of over-heated California (Mutikani, 2018). Home prices had been on the increase since 2000, except during the Recession years from 2007 to 2009; and inflation and unemployment rates had been kept low during the years by the Federal Reserve's monetary policies. The low inflation and unemployment rates had positively impacted the gross domestic product (GDP) growth (Tables 1, 2, 3).

Table 1 indicates that U.S monthly unemployment rates of those sixteen years and over had been low over the years from 2009 through 2018, and even in early 2019 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). The historical low unemployment rates show that businesses have been hiring workers as they have had much confidence in the growing economy. The high expectations and confidence in the economy had also encouraged consumer spending and consumption in general, especially in housing. The low joblessness and the accompanying income growth of individuals have lessened the misery that was caused by previous recession. Although the employment status of many people had improved over time, nonetheless, it differently affected ethnic collectivities (Table 2). The Table shows recent employment status of civilian population by race in the country, as well as the existing disparities in participation rates, employment-population ratios, and unemployment rates, especially among Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. For the years represented, Hispanics have the highest participation rates, followed by Asians and Whites, and then Blacks. Whites mimicked the national averages. Hispanics have also the highest population-employment ratios in February 2019, followed by Asians, Whites, and then Blacks. For the years, unemployment rate was lowest among Asians, averaging about 3.1 percent in February 2018, followed by Whites (3.3 percent), Hispanics (4.3 percent), and then Blacks (7.0 percent) that their unemployment rates doubled those of Asians and Whites. Although all ethnic groups benefited from the expanding economy and low unemployment rates, Blacks were still worse-off. The existing low unemployment and inflation rates had also resulted in increased GDP growth rates (Table 3). Apart from the negative GDP growth rate during the Great Recession years from 2008 through 2009, growth had been positive and increasing, except in 2016 when it slowed down to 1.6 percent, probably precipitated by uncertainties of the presidential race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The gross domestic product growth rate is a key indicator of economic activity, measured by the U.S Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA).

There was a natural rate of unemployment of 5.0 percent in 2015 as depicted in Table 3. The Federal Reserve (Fed) estimates natural rate to be between 4.5 percent and 5.0 percent, which is used by the policymakers (both fiscal and monetary) as the goal for full employment (Amadeo, 2018). According to Amadeo, the Fed policymakers also use 2.0 percent as the target inflation rate, and consider the ideal gross domestic product

(GDP) growth rate to be between 2 percent and 3.0 percent. As instruments of monetary policy, the Fed strives to balance these three goals when setting monetary interest rates, and also encourages the Congress in its fiscal policy to consider them when setting tax rates or spending level (Amadeo, 2018). In 2018, at a very low inflation rate, GDP growth rate rose substantially up to 2.9 percent as many people went back to work. The outcome of the process was a low unemployment rate of 3.9 percent as in 2000, which could be attributed to Trump's tax cuts that stimulated the economy (Table 3). At times, very low national unemployment rate may lead to a tight labor market, which may frustrate businesses, because of the difficulties in filling vacancies and retaining staff. The Tax Cuts and Job Act was signed on December 22, 2017 by President Trump. It cut individual tax rates, doubled standard deduction, and eliminated personal exemptions. More so, top individual tax rate dropped to 37 percent, and corporate tax rate cut from 35 percent down to 21 percent. The Act stipulated that the corporate cuts should be permanent, while the individual changes should expire at the end of 2025 (Amadeo, 2019).

The inflation rates have been kept low by the Fed to prevent the economy from overheating, which if they rise in the long-run may result in many people and families priced out of the housing market, because of the concomitant increases in home prices. Table 4 shows U.S average unit cost change (with their variances), which reflects market price inflation from December 2011 through January 2019. From the Table, some months showed inflation rate above 2.0 percent, while some were below. Nonetheless, from November 2017 to January 2019, inflation rates were consistently above 2.0 percent. If left to continue, may affect commodity prices to rise in upward spiral overheating the economy; and may also create, with low unemployment rates, a high-pressure economy. High-pressure economy is a type of economy that pushes the unemployment rate below what is considered a natural or sustainable long-term rate (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 2019). The nation's economy is currently in a high-pressure period, according to Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, because unemployment rate of 3.9 percent is below the natural level (5.0 percent) estimated by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO). One advantage of high-pressure or hot economy is that, it helps even the disadvantaged workers secure jobs, as witnessed by today's low unemployment rates of low-income and minority groups (see Table 2). According to Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (2019, p. 1), a research by Hotchkiss and Robert Moore of Georgia State University found indeed that disadvantaged workers, including African Americans, on the average benefit most from the high-pressure periods.

One of the monetary policy considerations of the Federal Reserve is whether loose monetary policy (Quantitative Easing) which could prolong a supercharged labor market should be maintained for low unemployment, but could spark inflation and inflate financial bubbles that are likely to harm many people as during the financial crisis of late 2000 decade. Quantitative Easing (QE) was used in 2008 to stimulate the economy to recover from the Recession. The labor market effect is a factor Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) colleagues consider closely. Quantitative Easing is a massive expansion of open market operations of the central bank to stimulate the economy, by making it easier for businesses to borrow money (Amadeo, 2019). On the other hand, the Fed also considers embarking on tightening money supply due to high inflation,

thus, making it more difficult for businesses to borrow money for investment; and may cause massive unemployment, what Bostic (2019) called “Quantitative Frightening”. Using the Phillips Curve as policy instrument, Fed policy makers show the relationship between unemployment rate and rate of wage or price change, i.e. inflation rate. Ideally, a rate of price or wage inflation of 3 percent will require a 5 percent rate of unemployment in the economy (Sen, G C, no date). Therefore, as a matter of macro-economic policy, the Phillips Curve shows a trade-off or the existence of an inverse relation between the rate of unemployment and the rate of increase in nominal wages or growth rate of money wages. Thus, a decrease in unemployment leads to increase in the wage or price, because when wage increases, the firm’s cost of production increases, which leads to increase in price. It could also be explained that during economic boom, demand for labor increases, and due to greater bargaining power and pressure, especially by the labor unions, wage increases (Sonali, no date). Rarely there is a contradiction of growing inflation with growing or higher unemployment in the economy, and when it happens, it is identified as “stagflation” or “slumpflation”, which constitutes a major economic and financial crisis (Sen, no date). Thus, it is likely that in the current booming economy of low unemployment and low inflation rates, the Fed and policy makers are weighing up how much importance they should give to reducing unemployment and inflation. Currently, unemployment is at its lowest rate of 3.9 percent in fifty years; GDP is growing; inflation rate is inching up (Tables 3 and 4); and prices of commodities are going up, including housing.

In the current booming U.S economy of low inflation and interest rates, housing market is thriving, as depicted by increasing home prices, mortgage originations, housing permits and starts, residential construction and its contributions to GDP, decreasing inventories and vacancy rates of owner-occupied housing and rental properties. Table 5 shows historical low average interest rates, made possible by the Fed policy since the Great Recession beginning 2008 and through subsequent recovery years. Since the late 2000 decade, the 30-year Fixed-Rate Mortgage rates fell to low single digits till date, because of the aforementioned Obama Administration’s policies that favored the economy and housing market (Table 6). Tables 5 and 6 show that interest rates had been all that low since 2015, and were predicted to be moderately low into 2020 (Collins, 2018) (Table 7). The predicted low interest rates had spurred increases in housing market activities, such as mortgage originations since 2015; total housing starts and permits, especially single family units; home sales, both new and existing; low inventories and low vacancies, as well as high investment values; and hot rental markets.

Table 7 shows that total housing starts increased from 928 thousand units in 2013 to about 1.3 million units in 2019. The sales for new single-family increased from 430 thousand in 2013 to 693 thousands in 2019, and likewise the sales of existing homes increased during the same periods from 4,475 thousands to 5,119 thousands, depicting a robust economy. Mortgage originations, which signals increasing housing market activities, had been increasing also since 2014, from 311 billion dollars to 457 billion in 2018 (Table 8). Total housing inventories had been increasing but at slow rates since 2011. Low housing inventory has bolstered multi-family occupancy and new building construction over the past years. For example, inventory was 9 percent lower than what

it was in 2015 nationally, and all but four of the 35 largest markets tracked by Zillow had fewer homes for sale than at the same time in 2015 (Close and Max, 2016). According to National Association of Realtors (NAR) economist, Lawrence Yun, as reported by Close and Max, “we’re seeing low inventories in places not usually associated with housing shortages, such as Nashville, Raleigh, and even Kansas City.” Total vacancy had decreased since 2012, while total occupied, owner occupied, and renter occupied have also consistently increased since 2012 till present (Table 9). The vacancy rates for rental units also had decreased since 2010 (Table 10). These are due to improved demands in housing market, which have also recently created investment pressures and current hot housing markets in some cities, states and regions of the country (Tables, 11, 12, 13, and 14). Tight housing market drives up prices of homes over time. Table 11, shows hottest cities for investments in real-estate market in 2018. Most of the hottest cities and regions were in states like California, New York, Michigan. Colorado, Illinois, Connecticut, and Washington. Table 12 shows ranked metro leaders in apartment construction in 2017, and apart from Texas, most metro areas were also from the states with hottest real-estate investment in recent years. Table 13 shows rental city markets with growths more than the national average since 2017. Table 14 shows cities with current hot housing markets. The growth cities in rental properties in the country were headed by Sacramento, Colorado Spring, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and others.

The housing sector has continued to be a major driver of U.S economy, as it contributes enormously to gross domestic product (GDP) in terms of investment, consumption expenditures, and services. Table 15 indicates U.S housing’s contributions to GDP, especially from post 2015 recovery period to the present. The GDP expansion at this period has shown the enormous contribution of at least 15 percent by the residential investments and services. In any given year, the construction of a new single-family home, new multi-family rental unit, and per \$100,000 spent on remodeling contribute a great deal to the U.S economy in terms of employment and income (Table 16). According to National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), for all industries in a given year, a new single-family home construction contributes about 2.97 full time equivalent job; a new multi-family rental unit construction about 1.13 full time equivalent job; and per \$100,000 spent on remodeling contributes about 0.89 full time equivalent job (Table 16). Home building and remodeling also contribute substantially, in a given year, to the government revenue section of the U.S economy. Table 17 shows, according to NAHB, that the total government revenue generated by constructing a new single-family home is about \$110,957; a new multi-family rental unit, \$42,383; and \$100,000 spent on remodeling, \$29,779. The federal government shares of the above in a given year are \$74,354; \$28,375; and \$21,844 respectively, while the state and local government shares are \$36,603; \$14,008; and \$7,935 respectively.

Despite the ongoing celebrated economic and housing market recoveries, the U.S homeownership rates have not been spectacular. Even in 2017, national homeownership rate (63.9 percent) had not reached what it was at the eve of economic crisis in 2006 (68.9 percent), indicating that housing market is still dealing with hangovers from the last boom-and-bust cycle (Table 18). This may be in part due to current high mortgage origination standards by lenders; and also the fact that decline in

homeownership has been more pronounced among young adults with large amount of debts. In fact, the young adults commonly report that their student loan debts are preventing them from buying home (Stone, et al, 2012; Shahdad, 2014). According to Mezza et al (2019), their calculations from Current Population Survey also showed that in 2005, 45 percent of household heads ages 24 to 32 owned their own home, but in 2014 only 36 percent did, a 9 percentage point drop. They expressed that (p. 2), apart from other factors, some believe that the historic levels of student loan debt have been particular impediment to home ownership. Alvaro Mezza et al (p. 3) estimated that roughly 20 percent of the decline in homeownership among young adults can be attributed to their increased student loan debts since 2005. They also indicated that loan payment may reduce an individual's ability to save for a down-payment or qualify for a mortgage. Compounding the issue is that, millennials who are entering their peak nesting years should soon enter the housing market as young adults, especially at a time when construction of single-family homes still hasn't recovered from cutbacks that followed the financial crisis (Close and Max, 2016).

Controlling for other factors, higher student loan debt early in life will likely lead to a lower credit scores later in life, as they borrowed at higher rates and in larger amount to pursue postsecondary education. Thus, they may likely default on the loan debts. The default should undoubtedly have a major adverse effect on their credit scores, thereby impacting their ability to qualify for a mortgage. Tracking student loan and mortgage borrowing for individuals who were between 24 and 32 years old (likely to become homeowners during this period in their lives) in 2005, Mezza, et al, (Forthcoming) found that a \$1,000 increase in student loan debt causes a 1 to 2 percent point drop in homeownership rate for student loan borrowers during their late 20s and early 30s. Their findings also showed that the increase in student debt between 2005 and 2014 reduced the homeownership rate among young adults by 2 percent points (pp. 3-4). Apart from buying a home in the future, student loan debt also affects a range of important financial and life choices for these young adults, such as having children, which is delayed, and also changing jobs as they tend to stay in the rural areas serving to have their debts written-off by the government.(Mezza and Sommer, 2015). As noted in the country before 2007 economic downturn, credit was relatively easier to obtain by borrowers, but after the financial crisis and housing market bubble burst, loan underwriters became more sensitive to debts, including student loan debts, thus, increasing its importance in explaining declining homeownership rates in the country.

The Future Housing Market Predictions

The current economic and political realities in the country will likely influence the future housing market. The policy changes of President Trump's Administration, especially his monetary and fiscal policies are likely to affect the real estate industry and homeownership. The economy and housing market are growing, but not without the yo-yo of the administration's political, social, and economic uncertainties and instabilities in the country and abroad. For example, U.S is currently looking inwards; there are trade wars with China, Canada, and Mexico; and the uncertainties that exist among U.S European allies and the new Trump Administration. Since the inception of the present administration in 2017, there had been increasing job growth, wage growth, prices of consumer goods that include housing; low unemployment; and increasing interest rates

and inflation rate, which made the Fed to raise nominal interest rates three times between 2017 and 2018, and even threatening more increases in 2019.

As the economy continues to improve, deliberate changes in housing market are apparent in the future, since real estate functions in a cycle. Thus, a new curve may be made possible by the above increases in the economy. There are areas to watch out for that will inform the predictions in the housing market in the country, which include among others, mortgage interest rates, price increases, inflation rates, housing starts, new development and construction, optimism and confidence, and Fed actions as corrective tool (Thorsby, 2017; Green, 2017; Morrell, 2018; NAHB, 2018; El-Erian, 2018; Mutikani, 2018; Amadeo, 2018).

U.S economy has been functioning positively post 2015 as indicated earlier, and as expected, inflation rates, wage and prices have been ticking upward, triggering interest rate increase by 25 basis points by the Federal Reserve Bank on December 14, 2016, with the expectations to increase rates three times by the end of 2017, which had happened (Thorsby, 2017). The positive economic growth rates have been creating jobs, thereby lowering unemployment rates, and with tight labor market, wages and prices are going up. According to Phillips Curve, the lower the unemployment rates, the higher the wages and price rates, as well as inflation rates. U.S economy has been adding enormous number of jobs ever since as productivity increases. For example, the job news that came out on March 9, 2019 indicated that the economy added a whopping 2011 thousand jobs, after a disappointing 22 thousand jobs the previous month due to the effect of Government shutdown in late 2018 December to January 2019. The March 2019 job growth cut down national unemployment rate to 3.8 percent from 3.9 percent, while productivity increased by 3.8, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The economy grew at its fastest pace in four years since 2015, reflecting low unemployment and greater optimism and willingness of consumers and businesses to spend and invest. Economists are optimistic that the economic growth will continue in the future with increases in home prices and values, even beyond 2019 (Morrell, 2018). The strong optimism and confidence in the economy will likely trigger off increasing housing demand in the future, with the accompanying increase in home price and low inventory, as well as decreased affordability, unless there are new constructions to ease the demand (Thorsby, 2017). As mentioned above, house price and mortgage interest rate changes always have impact on housing affordability, and if the increases are left to continue in the future, many low income families should be priced out of the housing market (NAHB). The U.S household income distribution indicates that many household are at the low end, where affordability is a major concern (Table 19). Thus, housing market in U.S has at its base a large number of households with relatively modest incomes, such that any small increase in costs can easily price these households out of the market for a new home. Moreover, not many home buyers in U.S purchase their homes by cash, according to American Housing Survey of the U.S Census Bureau; and affordability for most prospective buyers is tied tightly to ability to qualify for a mortgage, which may not be possible for a majority of low income families. According to NAHB estimate, Table 19 shows that about 26 million households cannot afford housing worth above \$100,000, but can only afford homes priced below that amount (NAHB, 2018).

Table 20 shows state households priced out of the housing market due to \$1,000 price increase in 2016. Table 20 also shows that, nationally for every \$1,000 increase in the price of a median-priced new home, about 152,903 households are priced out of the market. The degree of impact varies among regions and depends largely on population and income distribution (NAHB, 2018). For example, the impact was highest in largest states like California (15,328 households); Texas (13,674 households); Pennsylvania (9,374 households); Florida (9,175 households); (Georgia, 7,619 households); (Illinois, 7,366 households), among others. Moreover, many regulations by the government that increase cost for the builder or developer should also increase the final price buyers pay, which can easily price them out of the market. Such add-on charges, according to NAHB estimates, range from zero percent if a fee is imposed directly on buyers, to 40 percent if incurred when applying for site development approval.

Similarly, prospective home buyers are adversely affected when interest rates rise, as might be the case if the current modest increases since 2017 continue into the future. The priced-out model by NAHB (2018) estimated that with a quarter-point increase in the rate on a 30-year fixed rate mortgage, as many as 1.2 million U.S households will be priced out of the market for a median-priced new home (Table 21). The Table shows that if taxes and insurance are controlled over time, further quarter-point increase in mortgage interest rate will cumulatively increase the monthly mortgage payment, minimum income needed, as well as reduce the number of households able to afford housing. If the Fed could not control future increases in mortgage interest rates, inflation rates, and thus housing prices, more households will opt out for renting, further dampening homeownership rates in the country, especially at this period when millennials, the largest buyer group, are entering the housing market. Therefore, the current labor market tightening should not encourage Federal Reserve to hastily and further raise interest rates as proposed (Mutikani, 2018). On the other hand, Fed may attempt its usual normalization in the future by slowly moving away from the prolonged period of experimental and unconventional monetary measures of low interest rates (El-Erian, 2018). The possibility of moving away from the current prolonged low interest rates as informed by the booming and overheating economy, has been also supported by David Kelly, chief global strategist at JP Morgan Funds in New York, when he opined that “the report shows a booming U.S economy with a sufficient whiff of wage inflation to keep the Fed on track to raise rates in December 2018 and at least twice next year” (Mutikani, 2018, p. 2).

The booming economy and its inflationary pressures had actually compelled the Fed to raise the costs of borrowing (interest rate), despite the caution above. The impetus to raise interest rate was informed by the fact that, toward the end of 2018, the robust U.S economy showed: unemployment rate holding steadily at a 49-year low of 3.8 percent; wages recorded their largest annual gain in nine and half years of 3.1 percent; labor rate participation rate rose to 62.9 percent in October from 62.7 percent in September; house prices nationally rose about \$5,500 to \$253,100, in September and averaged \$218,000 (Mutikani, 2018). Furthermore, in California and rest of the West, prices rose \$1,600 to \$374,900; homes in Washington and Colorado were the most expensive on average at above \$333,000; and average rental prices leveled off at \$1,442. The most expensive cities to buy a home in 2018 included, San Jose, San Francisco, Los

Angeles, and San Diego, all in California (Mutikani, 2018; El-Erian, 2018). The Fed raising of interest rates to support a thriving economy may crimp some home buyers, especially the first-time buyers like the millennials, according to Steve Rick, chief economist for CUNA Mutual Group, which builds financial products for credit unions nationwide (Thorsby, 2017). Nonetheless, the Federal Reserve Chairman, Jerome Powell, and others believe that a housing slowdown at this time would not dramatically impact the U.S economy like it did almost a decade ago, because the economy is structurally different today (Morrell, 2018). According to Powell, a combination of regulatory reform and shifting investment priorities have made it that American institutions, and in turn, American consumers and businesses are not as dependent on the housing market as before. Powell continued to say in his remarks to Congress that the economy is much bigger than it was before, and housing is much smaller, and that “if there is a downturn, we are better prepared for it.” (Morrell, 2018). The question is, what is ahead for 2019 and beyond, especially now that Trump’s tax cut has taken place; his loss of the Lower House in 2018 during the mid-term election, which may slow down his agenda; free-trade adjustments with Mexico and Canada; and the continued trade wars with China and European Union (EU) allies? The above situations are likely to create economic uncertainties in the future for the stock market, housing market, and overall economy.

Housing market predictions for the coming years should depend mostly on the performance of key U.S economic data, such as GDP, wages, jobs, prices, etc. Therefore, how the economy reacts in 2019 and 2020 will likely set the tone in housing markets in the coming years. It has been noted that the strong economic growth witnessed in 2018 ushered in 2019 with strong and optimistic housing market, fueled by reduced housing inventories and rising home prices (Collins, 2018; Mutikani, 2018). It is predicted that housing market beyond 2019 is still likely be a seller’s market, because of the persistent buyer demand across the country, as low supply inventory continues to push high price growth in a strong economy. According to Zillow Research (courtesy of Zillow.com) , home (including single-family homes, condos) prices are rising above expectations, and are likely to stay high for some time as seller’s market (Collins, 2018, p. 12). The current growing American confidence, happiness, comfort, freedom, and the rekindled “American dream” are also likely to continue fueling housing markets in the future.

There are some factors supporting positive U.S housing outlook beyond 2018. According to Collins (2018, p. 32), the positive factors to bolster U.S housing market include: 1. Moderately rising mortgage rates; 2. President Trump’s new tax plan; 3. Millennial buyers coming into the main home buying years; 4. Labor shortages pushing up costs of production and incomes; and 5. The economy will keep going, which has been the longest positive business cycle in history. Some reasons are also propounded why American people are still currently eager to buy real estate, which include, among others (Collins, 2018, p. 30): 1. Home prices are appreciating and it’s a safe investment over the long run; 2. Millennials that are currently a significant buying block need a home to raise their families; 3. Rents are high giving the property owners excellent return on investment (ROI); 4. Flips of older properties continue to create amazing returns; 5. Real property is currently less risky; and 6. The economy is steady or

improving. Nevertheless, the robust economy may also slowdown in the coming years due to looming economic crisis and uncertainties precipitated by the persistent increases in nominal interest rates and mortgage rates; government shut-downs; trade wars over tariffs; and the uncertainties of re-electing President Trump in 2020. Trump defeat, with his many options to boost the economy, could send both U.S stock markets and housing markets, thus the overall U.S economy, crashing.

Policy Recommendations

The performance of U.S housing market post 2015 recovery has been positive and its outlook in the coming years is also positive, because the economy has been on its strongest roll over, bolstered by protracted period of low mortgage interest rates, low inflation rates, and low taxes made possible by Trump Administration's \$1.5 trillion tax cut package. The labor market is growing and tightening; wages and incomes are also growing; and the prevailing economic expansion is more inclusive, because more jobs and higher wages are attracting people back into the labor force (El-Erian, 2018). The strong job growth, strong wage growth, and strong confidence and optimism in the economy should help to sustain housing demand and strong housing market. Therefore, it is recommended that:

1. Homeowners with adjustable rate mortgages should act fast to take advantage of current low interest rates by refinancing their mortgages to secure a fix rate, and avoid increasing interest rates and high payments in the future.
2. To avoid pricing out of many household from housing market, interest rates, inflation rates, unemployment rates, and price increases should be kept low by the Fed in its monetary and fiscal normalization policies.
3. The difference between builder-costs and the final price of a new home that affects housing affordability are government-imposed fees, regulation costs to builders and developers, and other add-ons. In order to keep home prices low and maintain constant demand, the fees, add-ons, and regulations should be at the barest minima or totally eliminated.
4. In order not to slow down the current economic growth, Fed will be thoughtful and cautious in raising the nominal interest rates as proposed in the near future. Back in 2016, at the critical period of economic and housing market recoveries, the debate over whether to extend high-pressure periods was part of conversation among members of FOMC and Fed Chair, Janet Yellen (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, 2019). The debate was to avoid hasty decision that might lead to the phenomenon of growing inflation with growing unemployment identified as "stagflation" or slumpflation", which is a serious contradiction of the Phillips-curve analysis (Sen, No date).
5. High average student loan debts had been attributed to low homeownership rates, which must be addressed as they prevent, especially young adults and millennials from owning their own homes. It has been explained that student loan payment actually reduces an individual's ability to save for a down-payment or qualify for a mortgage.

Loan debts forgiveness and reduced interest charges on the remaining loan amounts should be considered by the federal government.

6. Home building and remodeling should be highly encouraged, as they generate substantial local economic activity, such as new income and jobs for local residents; and also additional revenues for local governments. The ripple effects and ongoing benefits occur when income earned from construction activity is spent and recycled in the local community.

7. The fight between Executive Branch (President Trump) and Legislative Branch (House of Representative) of the Federal Government should be minimized in the future, which previously shut down the government, thereby hurting the economy and housing market. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the five week shutdown in late 2018 and early 2019 harmed the economy by about \$3 billion in lost gross domestic product (Jaylor, 2019). The CBO indicated that about 800,000 federal workers were furloughed with lost wages, and according to Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), only 22 thousand jobs were added in the economy in February 2019, the worst in the past six years. Jaylor also noted that, during this time sales of existing homes slowed, including housing permits and starts.

Conclusions

The health of housing is key to the overall state of U.S economy, because with the right policies in place it serves as an engine of job growth. Different government administrations in the country have had different policies and their profound effects on the economy and housing market. For example, the effects of regulatory policies of Obama (the immediate past President) from 2009 to 2016, and those of deregulatory policies of Trump, his successor, from 2017 to the present. Their policy differences have impacted, in one way or another, the economy and housing market from early 2010 through 2015 recoveries and beyond. The Federal Reserve System is the Central Bank of the United States, through which its Board Chairman is mandated to promote the goals of maximum employment, stable prices, and moderate long-term interest rates in the economy. The path towards the above objectives are always closely monitored by the Fed.

The study is both explanatory and longitudinal in approach. Several proximate variables were analyzed to support the prevailing housing market realities, and also for the predictions. Such socio-economic variables include, among others, Mortgage Interest Rates, especially Fixed-Rate Mortgage Rates; Mortgage Originations; Business Inflation Rates; Unemployment Rates; Gross Domestic Product (GDP); Home Prices; Homeownership Rates; Housing Contributions to GDP; Home Building and Remodeling Impacts on the Economy; Housing Inventories; Housing Permits and Starts; and Housing Vacancy Rates. The political conditions and economic policies during the study period were also discussed, as they affect the overall national economy and housing market conditions.

U.S Market Realities since Mid-2010 Decade showed that, the economic and housing market recoveries were set in motion in the early 2010 by President Obama, which were continued by President Trump from 2017 to the present. The recoveries were made

possible by their deliberate monetary and fiscal policies. The economy has shown longest growth cycle since 2015, supported by long-term low and moderate inflation rates; mortgage interest rates; unemployment rates; and high levels of employment, wages and house prices. The economy also got a boost in growth in 2018, which was credited to President Trump's 2017 tax bill that cut corporate and individual income taxes by \$1.9 trillion over a decade (Jaylor, 2019). The housing market performance during this period has been good but not staller, as indicated by the national homeownership rates. The long-standing low inflation, interest rates, and unemployment rates, made possible by Fed's monetary and fiscal policies, spurred and fueled growth in the housing market and industry. Most of the time, the Fed, with reference to Phillips curve, uses both quantitative easing (QE) and quantitative tightening (QT) to normalize growth in the economy. Moderate increases in inflation rates and mortgage interest rates in recent years might have created unnecessary increases in home prices that caused many low and moderate income households to be priced out of the housing market. Low foreclosure rates and low inventories have also created upward pressures on the price of new and existing homes and apartment. Real estate, home construction, and remodeling were found to be major components of the gross domestic product (GDP), and thus, U.S economy.

The future housing market predictions were informed by the economic and political realities in the country since 2017. The policy changes of President Trump's Administration are likely to currently and also in the future have effects on the economy, real estate industry, and homeownership. The economy and housing market are expected to be growing in the future, but not without the yo-yo of the political, social, and economic uncertainties and instabilities in the country and abroad by the Trump's administration. For example, U.S is currently looking inwards; there are trade wars with China, Canada, and Mexico; and the uncertainties that exist among U.S European allies about the new directions of Trump Administration. Since the inception of the present administration in 2017, there had been increasing job growth, wage growth, as well as increases in prices of consumer goods that include housing. There had been also low unemployment rates, increasing interest rates, and inflation rates, which made the Fed to raise nominal interest rates three times between 2017 and 2018, and even threatening more increases in 2019 and beyond. The booming economy and its inflationary pressures actually compelled the Fed to raise the costs of borrowing (interest rates). The Fed raising of interest rates to support a positively functioning economy might have crimped some home buyers, especially the first-time buyers like the millennials and young adults, who are entering into the housing market with heavy student debts.

Some factors were noted that should likely support positive housing outlook beyond 2018, such as the moderately rising mortgage rates and inflation rates, which are likely not overheat the economy; 2. President Trump's new tax cut, which has not faded; 3. Millennials and young adult buyers coming into the main home buying years; 3. Labor shortages and the related low unemployment rates, which are pushing up household and individual incomes necessary for home purchases. Some reasons are also propounded why the American people are still currently eager to buy real estate, such as: 1. Home prices are appreciating and it's a safe investment over the long run; 2.

Millennials that are currently a significant buying block need a home to raise their families; 3. Rents are high giving the property owners excellent return on investment (ROI); 4. Flips of older properties continue to create amazing returns; 5. Real property is currently less risky; and 6. The economy is steady or improving.

Policy recommendations include, among others, that: 1. Homeowners with adjustable rate mortgages should act fast to take advantage of current low interest rates, by refinancing their mortgages to secure a fix rate, and to avoid increasing interest rates and high payments in the future; 2. To avoid pricing out of many households from housing market, interest rates, inflation rates, unemployment rates and price increases should be kept low by the Fed in its monetary and fiscal normalization policies; 3. In order not to slow down the current economic growth, Fed will be thoughtful and cautious in raising the nominal interest rates as proposed in the future; and 4. High average student loan debts have been attributed to low homeownership rates, which must be addressed because they negatively affect young adults and millennials from owning their own homes.

It is concluded that, U.S economy has been functioning positively in post 2015. The positive economic growth rates have been creating jobs, thereby lowering unemployment rates. With tight labor market, wages and prices were going up. The economy had been adding enormous number of jobs ever since as productivity increased. The strong economic growth in 2018 undoubtedly ushered in 2019 with strong and optimistic housing market, made possible by the existing reduced housing inventories, rising home prices, and new constructions. It has been predicted that housing market is likely to remain a seller's market with persistent buyer demand across the country. The low supply inventories will continue to push prices high in the prevailing strong growth economy. Housing market predictions for the coming years should depend largely on the performance of key U.S economic indicators, such as GDP, wages, jobs, prices, interest rates, inflation rates, unemployment rates; and also on national political realities. In other words, especially how the economy performs in 2019 and 2020 will largely set the tone in housing markets in the coming years.

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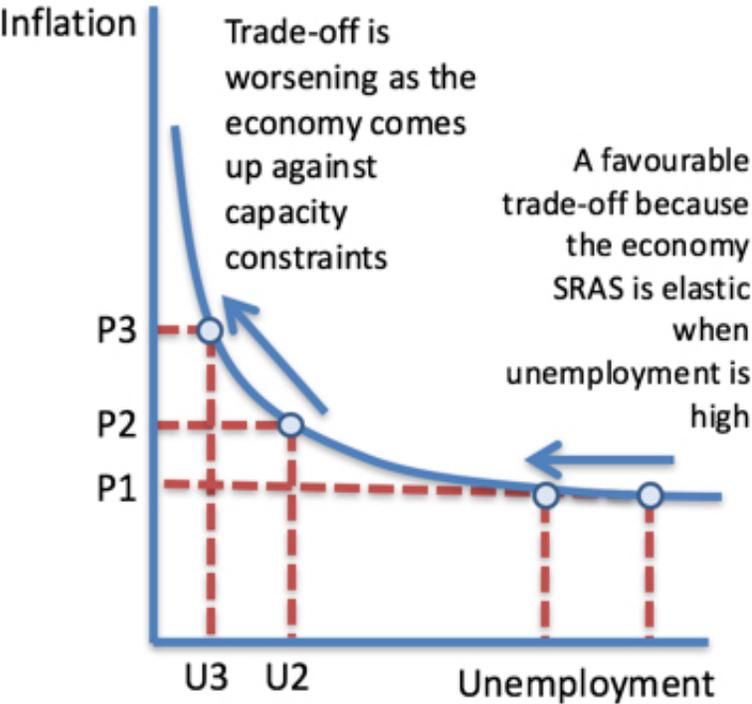
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Figure 1: Phillips Curve



Phillips Curve

Summary

- The tradeoff between inflation and unemployment described by the Phillips curve holds only in the short run.
- The long-run Phillips curve is vertical at the natural rate of unemployment.

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Figure 2: Phillips Curve Explained

Phillips Curve

- Short run trade-off between inflation and unemployment.
- In the Long Run there **is no** trade off. The long run Phillips curve is Vertical!
- Stagflation (an increase in Unemployment and inflation) or an Aggregate Supply Shock will shift the SRPC to the right.
- Decreases in Inflation and Unemployment will shift the SRPC to the left. (and increase in AS would cause this)

Table 1: U.S Seasonal Unemployment Rate by Month, 16 Years and Over, 2009-2019

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
2009	7.8	8.3	8.7	9.0	9.4	9.5	9.5	9.6	9.8	10.0	9.9	9.9
2010	9.8	9.8	9.9	9.9	9.6	9.4	9.4	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.8	9.3
2011	9.1	9.0	9.0	9.1	9.0	9.1	9.0	9.0	9.0	8.8	8.6	8.5
2012	8.3	8.3	8.2	8.2	8.2	8.2	8.2	8.1	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.9
2013	8.0	7.7	7.5	7.6	7.5	7.5	7.3	7.2	7.2	7.2	6.9	6.7
2014	6.6	6.7	6.7	6.2	6.3	6.1	6.2	6.1	5.9	5.7	5.8	5.6
2015	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.6	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.0	5.0	5.1	5.0
2016	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.9	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.9	4.7	4.7
2017	4.7	4.7	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.1
2018	4.1	4.1	4.0	3.9	3.8	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.9
2019	4.0	3.8										

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019). “Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey.” Labor Force Statistic Data. Seasonal Unemployment Rates. Data extracted on March 25, 2019. <https://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNS14000000>.

Table 2: **U.S. Employment Status of the Civilian Population by Race, 2018-2019**

Employment Status	Not Seasonally Adjusted			Seasonally Adjusted					
	Feb 2018	Jan 2019	Feb 2019	Feb 2018	Oct 2018	Nov 2018	Dec 2018	Jan 2019	Feb 2019
U.S TOTAL									
Participation Rate	62.9	62.8	63.0	63.0	62.9	62.9	63.1	63.2	63.2
Employment-Population Ratio	60.1	60.0	60.4	60.4	60.6	60.6	60.6	60.7	60.7
Unemployment Rate	4.4	4.4	4.1	4.1	3.8	3.7	3.9	4.0	3.8
WHITE									
Participation Rate	62.9	62.6	62.9	63.0	62.9	63.0	63.1	63.1	63.0
Employment-Population Ratio	60.4	60.2	60.7	60.7	60.8	60.8	60.9	60.8	60.9
Unemployment Rate	4.0	4.0	3.5	3.7	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.3
BLACK									
Participation Rate	62.4	62.5	62.1	62.9	62.5	62.1	62.1	62.8	62.5
Employment-Population Ratio	58.1	57.9	57.6	58.6	58.7	58.4	58.0	58.5	58.2
Unemployment Rate	7.0	7.4	7.3	6.8	6.2	6.0	6.6	6.8	7.0
ASIAN									
Participation Rate	62.9	64.0	64.7	62.8	64.1	64.2	63.6	64.2	64.6
Employment-Population Ratio	61.0	62.0	62.6	61.0	62.1	62.4	61.5	62.2	62.6
Unemployment Rate	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.1	2.7	3.3	3.1	3.1
HISPANIC									
Participation Rate	66.0	67.0	66.4	66.2	66.2	66.8	67.0	67.3	66.6
Employment-Population Ratio	62.5	63.2	63.2	63.0	63.3	63.8	64.1	64.1	63.7
Unemployment Rate	5.3	5.6	4.8	4.9	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.9	4.3

Bureau of Labor Statistics (2019). "The Employment Situation, February 2019." USDL-19-0360

Table 3: U.S Unemployment Rate (December) by Year Compared to Inflation and GDP, 2000-2018

Year	Unemployment Rate (December) (%)	GDP Growth (%)	Inflation December Year-over-Year (%)	What Happened
2000	3.9	4.1	3.4	NASDAQ hit record high
2001	5.7	1.0	1.6	Bush tax cuts. 9/11 attacks
2002	6.0	1.7	2.4	War on Terror
2003	5.7	2.9	1.9	JGTRRA
2004	5.4	3.8	3.3	Expansion
2005	4.9	3.5	3.4	Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention Act. Katrina
2006	4.4	2.9	2.5	Expansion
2007	5.0	1.9	4.1	EU became # 1 economy
2008	7.3	-0.1	0.1	Min. wage = \$6.55/hour. Financial crisis
2009	9.9	-2.5	2.7	ARRA. Minimum wage \$7.25. Jobless benefits extended
2010	9.3	2.6	1.5	Obama tax cuts
2011	8.5	1.6	3.0	26 months of job losses by July. Debt ceiling crisis. Iraq War ended
2012	7.9	2.2	1.7	QE. 10-year rate at 200-year low. Fiscal cliff
2013	6.7	1.8	1.5	Stock up 30%. Long term = 50% of unemployed
2014	5.6	2.5	0.8	Unemployment at 2007 levels
2015	5.0	2.9	0.7	Natural Rate
2016	4.7	1.6	2.1	Presidential race
2017	4.1	2.2	2.1	Dollar weakened
2018	3.9	2.9	1.9	Trump tax cuts

Source: The Balance (2019). "Unemployment Rate by Year since 1929 Compared to Inflation and GDP." Part of Understanding GDP. <https://www.thebalance.com/unemployment-rate-by-year-3305506>

Table 4: U.S Business Inflation Expectations: Monthly Results Summary (2011-2019)

Survey Month	Average Unit Cost Change	Variance
December 2011	1.9	2.8
January 2012	1.8	2.6
December 2012	1.9	2.5
January 2013	1.8	2.4
December 2013	1.9	2.3
January 2014	1.9	2.3
December 2014	1.9	2.4
January 2015	1.7	2.3
December 2015	1.9	2.3
January 2016	1.8	2.1
December 2016	2.1	2.2
January 2017	2.0	2.1
December 2017	2.1	1.9
January 2018	2.0	1.9
December 2018	2.3	1.8
January 2019	2.0	2.1

Source: Atlanta Fed Business Inflation Expectations (BIB) Survey. Inflation Project. Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. Retrieved Online on 01/16/2019 from:

<https://www.frbatlanta.org/research/inflationproject/bie.aspx?d>

Table 5: Historical Interest Rates for 30-Year Fixed-Rate Mortgages: Annual Averages and Trends, 1990-2019

Year	Lowest Rate (%)	Highest Rate (%)	Average Rate (%)
1990	9.56	10.67	10.13
1991	8.35	9.75	9.25
1992	7.84	9.03	8.39
1993	6.74	8.07	7.31
1994	6.97	9.25	8.38
1995	7.11	9.22	7.93
1996	6.94	8.42	7.81
1997	6.99	8.18	7.60
1998	6.49	7.22	6.94
1999	6.74	8.15	7.44
2000	7.13	8.64	8.05
2001	6.45	7.24	6.97
2002	5.93	7.18	6.54
2003	5.21	6.44	5.83
2004	5.38	6.34	5.84
2005	5.53	6.37	5.87
2006	6.10	6.80	6.41
2007	5.96	6.74	6.34
2008	5.10	6.63	6.03
2009	4.71	5.59	5.04
2010	4.17	5.21	4.69
2011	3.91	5.05	4.45
2012	3.31	4.08	3.66
2013	3.34	4.58	3.98
2014	3.80	4.53	4.17
2015	3.59	4.09	3.85
2016	3.41	4.32	3.65
2017	3.78	4.30	3.99
2018	3.95	4.94	4.54

Source: *ValuePenguin*. "Historical Mortgage Rates: Averages and Trends from the 1970s to 2019". Retrieved Online on 01/25/2019, at:

<https://www.valuepenguin.com/mortgages/historical-mortgage-rates#nogo>

Table 6: Historical Interest Rates for 30 Year Fixed-Rate Mortgage Rates: Decade Lowest and Highest Averages and their Years, Rates Trend Attributes and Conditions, 1970s to 2010s

Decade	Lowest Rate (%)	Highest Rate (%)	Rates Attributes and Conditions
1970s	7.23 (1972)	12.90 (1979)	Rose during “The Great Inflation”
1980s	9.03 (1987)	18.63 (1981)	Fell after historical peak in 1981
1990s	6.49 (1998)	10.67 (1990)	Held relatively flat amidst stable economy
2000s	4.71 (2009)	8.64 (2000)	Fell to low single digits after 2006-2008 crisis
2010s	3.31 (2012)	5.21 (2010)	Holding at historical lows

Source: *ValuePenguin*. “Historical Mortgage Rates: Averages and Trends from the 1970s to 2019”. Retrieved Online on 01/25/2019, at:

<https://www.valuepenguin.com/mortgages/historical-mortgage-rates#nogo>

Table 7: **U.S. Housing and Interest Rate Forecast to 2019**

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Housing Activity (000)							
Total Housing Starts	928	1,001	1,107	1,177	1,204	1,246	1,299
Single Family	620	647	712	784	842	900	962
Multifamily	308	355	395	393	362	346	337
New Single Family Sales	430	440	503	561	610	647	693
Existing Single Family Home Sales	4,475	4,338	4,627	4,828	4,978	5,029	5,119
Interest Rates (%)							
Federal Funds Rate	0.13	0.13	0.38	0.63	1.13	1.88	3.38
90-day T-Bill Rate	0.06	0.03	0.05	0.32	0.96	1.71	2.22
Treasury Yields: (%)							
One-Year Maturity	0.13	0.12	0.32	0.61	1.20	2.41	2.70
Ten-Year Maturity	2.35	2.54	2.14	1.84	2.38	2.82	3.22
Freddie Mac Commitment Rates (%)							
Fixed-Rate Mortgages	3.98	4.17	3.85	3.65	4.10	4.54	4.96
ARMs	2.88	3.17	2.94	2.87	3.18	3.62	4.04
Prime Rate	3.25	3.25	3.26	3.51	4.15	4.98	5.48

Source: Gord Collins (2018). U.S. Home Price Forecast for Real Estate Markets: Housing Market Predictions, 2019-2020. <https://gordcollins.com/real-estate/us-housing-market-looking-strong-2016-to-2020/>

Table 8: **U.S Mortgage Originations, 2007-2018**

Year and Month	U.S Mortgage Originations (Billion Dollars)
December 31, 2007	481.00
December 31, 2008	369.00
December 31, 2009	520.00
December 31, 2010	480.23
December 31, 2011	473.90
December 31, 2012	596.81
December 31, 2013	326.04
December 31, 2014	311.00
December 31, 2015	417.11
December 31, 2016	522.75
December 31, 2017	450.72
September 30, 2018*	457.00

*No December 31, 2018 yet.

Source: Mortgage Bankers Association. "U.S Mortgage Originations Report. House Sales." Retrieved Online on 01/16/2019.

Table 9: Total Housing Inventory Estimates for U.S., 2000-2017

Year	All Housing Units ('000)	Vacant ('000)	Total Occupied ('000)	Owner Occupied ('000)	Renter Occupied ('000)
2000	119,628	13,908	105,720	71,250	34,470
2001	121,480	14,470	107,010	72,593	34,417
2002	123,318	14,779	108,539	73,713	34,826
2003	120,834	15,274	105,560	72,054	33,506
2004	122,187	15,599	106,588	73,575	33,013
2005	123,925	15,694	108,231	74,553	33,678
2006	126,012	6,437	109,575	75,380	34,195
2007	127,958	17,652	110,306	75,159	35,147
2008	130,113	18,704	111,409	75,566	35,843
2009	130,159	18,815	111,344	75,014	36,330
2010	130,599	18,739	111,860	74,791	37,069
2011	132,292	18,758	113,534	75,091	38,443
2012	132,772	18,266	114,513	74,929	39,583
2013	132,799	18,127	114,673	74,668	40,004
2014	133,270	17,809	115,461	74,427	41,034
2015	134,700	17,355	117,345	74,706	42,639
2016	135,577	17,302	118,275	75,016	43,259
2017	136,570	17,298	119,272	76,170	43,102

Source: *Current Population Survey*. "Housing Vacancy Survey", February 27, 2018.

Table 10: U.S. Vacancy Rates for Rental Units, 2000-2017

Year	1 Unit	2 or More Units	5 or More Units
2000	7.0	8.7	9.2
2001	7.9	8.9	9.6
2002	8.1	9.7	10.5
2003	8.4	10.7	11.4
2004	9.3	10.9	11.5
2005	9.9	10.0	10.4
2006	10.0	9.8	9.9
2007	9.6	10.0	10.3
2008	9.7	10.4	11.2
2009	9.8	11.3	12.3
2010	9.2	11.1	11.7
2011	8.9	10.0	10.3
2012	8.1	9.3	9.6
2013	7.9	8.8	9.1
2014	7.3	7.9	8.3
2015	7.1	7.2	7.4
2016	6.2	7.5	7.8
2017	6.1	8.2	8.6

Source: *Current Population Survey*. "Housing Vacancy Survey", February 27, 2018.

Table 11: **Hottest Cities for Investment Value in U.S., 2018**

Name	Ratio: 3-Year Change in Employment to Total Permits	3-Year Change: Total Non-Farm Employment	3-Year Average Annual Employment Growth (%)	3-Year Change: Total Permit
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara	5.1	118,467	4.3	23,333
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont	7.8	234,017	3.8	30,086
Trenton-Ewing	6.2	11,333	1.5	1,800
Rockford	12.7	4,842	1.1	381
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos	4.9	101,008	2.6	20,805
New York-N. New Jersey-Long Island	3.5	400,117	1.6	114,720
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Miami Beach	3.9	191,283	2.8	48,441
New York-Wayne-White Plains	2.5	286,975	1.8	114,720
Grand Rapids	7.8	46,275	3.2	5,938
Ann Arbor	6.4	10,267	1.7	1,604
Springfield	7.8	12,575	1.3	1,611
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis	4.9	29,542	1.2	6,068
Fond du Lac	3.3	2,492	1.8	747
Boulder	3.0	13,008	2.6	4,291
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet	4.4	161,708	1.6	36,663
New Haven-Milford	4.2	10,908	1.3	2,624
Canton-Massillon	5.7	9,442	1.9	1,658
Columbus	3.2	71,642	2.5	22,218
Toledo	4.4	12,117	1.4	2,765
Denver-Aurora	2.9	129,325	3.4	45,002
Salt Lake City	3.9	56,900	3.1	14,750
Louisville	3.7	42,808	2.4	11,699
Kankakee-Bradley	5.5	1,708	1.3	311
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue	2.5	145,233	2.8	59,36

Source: Gord Collins (2018). "Hottest Cities for Investment Value." U.S. Home Price Forecast for Real Estate Markets: Housing Market Predictions, 2019-2020. <https://gordcollins.com/real-estate/us-housing-market-looking-strong-2016-to-2020/>

Table 12: **Metro Supply Leaders in Apartment Construction in U.S., 2017**

Rank	Metro	Annual Supply
1	Dallas	25,104
2	New York	22,666
3	Houston	20,759
4	Washington, DC	15,359
5	Atlanta	13,531
6	Seattle	11,003
7	Los Angeles	11,003
8	Chicago	10,545
9	Austin	10,478
10	Nashville	9,893

Source: Source: Gord Collins (2018). “Metro Supply Leaders in Apartment Construction, 2017.” U.S. Home Price Forecast for Real Estate Markets: Housing Market Predictions, 2019-2020. <https://gordcollins.com/real-estate/us-housing-market-looking-strong-2016-to-2020/>

Table 13: **Rental City Markets with Top Growth**

Metros	2018 Rent Forecast (% Change)	YoY Change 2017 Indexed Rents (November 2017)
National	2.5	2.4
Sacramento	7.2	8.0
Colorado Spring	6.5	5.5
Phoenix	5.0	3.5
Inland Empire	4.9	4.4
Salt Lake City	4.9	4.1
Las Vegas	4.8	5.8
Seattle	4.8	3.1
Los Angeles	4.7	3.7
Orlando	4.5	5.1
Dallas	4.4	2.6
Columbus	4.3	3.4
San Fernando Valley	4.2	4.71

Source: Gord Collins (2018). “Rental City Markets with Top Growth.” U.S. Home Price Forecast for Real Estate Market Predictions, 2019-2020. <https://gordcollins.com/real-estate/us-housing-market-looking-strong-2016-to-2020/>

Table 14: U.S. Hottest Housing Markets, January 2018

City	Rank (December, 2017)	Rank Change	Current Home Price (\$)
San Francisco, CA	2	1	1,249,000
San Jose, CA	1	-1	875,000
Vallejo, CA	3	0	390,000
Colorado Springs, CO	4	0	270,000
Midland, TX	18	13	265,000
San Diego, CA	6	0	590,000
Santa Rosa, CA	7	1	310,000
Sacramento, CA	8	2	310,000
Denver, CO	11	2	400,000
Stockton, CA	5	-5	289,000
Modesto, CA	10	-1	295,000
Dallas, TX	14	2	360,000
Fresno, CA	12	-1	205,000
Los Angeles, CA	16	2	759,000
Columbus, OH	9	-6	140,000
Chico, CA	29	13	349,000
Oxnard, CA	21	4	505,000
Santa Cruz, CA	27	9	909,000
Detroit, MI	19	0	349,000

Source: Gord Collins (2018). "20 Hottest Housing Markets, January 2018 Realtor.com)." U.S. Home Price Forecast for Real Estate Markets: Housing Market Predictions, 2019-2020. <https://gordcollins.com/real-estate/us-housing-market-looking-strong-2016-to-2020/>

Table 15: **U.S. Housing’s Contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Constant Dollars (2009, Millions)**

Activities	2000	2005	2010	2016	2017	2018Q1
Gross Domestic Investment	13,130,987	14,912,509	15, 598,754	17,659, 188	18,050,694	18,323,963
Gross Private Domestic Investment	2,346,731	2,670,565	2,216,478	3,050,495	3,196,626	3,321,028
Residential Fixed Investment	647,208	885,391	383,023	591,294	-	615,306
Personal Consumption Expenditures	8,643,352	10,075,884	10,642,980	12,248,227	12,558,696	12,722,839
Housing Services	1,626,231	1,835,341	1,966,848	2,116,566	-	2,145,978
Residential Fixed Investment + Housing Services	2,273,439	2,720,732	2,349,870	2,707,860	-	2,761,284
Percentage of GDP						
Residential Fixed Investment	4.9	5.9	2.5	3.3	-	3.4
Housing Services	12.4	12.3	12.6	12.0	-	11.7
Residential Fixed Investment + Housing Services	17.3	18.2	15.1	15.3	-	15.1

Amadeo Kimberly (2018). “How Does Real Estate Affect the U.S. Economy? Why Buying a Home Helps Build the Nation.” Updated July 31, 2018, pp. 1-8.

<https://www.thebalance.com/how-does-real-estate-affect-the-u-s-economy-3306018>

Table 16: Income/Employment Impacts of Residential Construction on the U.S. Economy

Activities	Full Time Equivalent Job	Wages and Salaries (\$)	Profits Before Taxes (\$)	Profits Before Taxes (\$)	Wages and Profits Combined (\$)
			Proprietors	Corporations	
<i>Per New Single-family Home:</i>					
All Industries	2.97	\$162,080	\$61,273	\$57,081	\$280,433
Construction	1.76	95,875	38,661	16,965	151,501
Manufacturing	0.37	19,063	1,679	15,681	36,422
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Transportation & Warehousing	0.38	16,721	2,659	7,772	27,151
Finance and Insurance	0.06	5,202	127	3,759	9,088
Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	0.02	1,289	7,009	1,738	10,036
Professional, Management, Administrative Services	0.21	14,192	3,964	2,646	20,802
Other	0.18	9,738	7,175	8,520	25,433
<i>Per New Multifamily Rental Unit</i>					
All Industries	1.13	\$60,877	\$24,393	\$22,445	\$107,715
Construction	0.68	36,874	17,949	7,876	62,699
Manufacturing	0.14	7,747	507	6,153	14,407
Wholesale & Retail . . .	0.17	7,328	1,179	3,336	11,843
Finance and Insurance	0.01	1,199	33	907	2,139
Real Estate and Rental . .	0.01	391	1,333	678	2,402
Professional, Management. . . .	0.06	4,204	1,019	646	5,869
Other	0.06	3,133	2,373	2,850	8,357
<i>Per \$100,000 Spent on Remodeling</i>					
All Industries	0.89	\$48,212	\$17,975	\$17,215	\$83,402
Construction	0.55	29,975	12,833	5,631	48,439
Manufacturing	0.10	5,550	434	4,872	10,855
Wholesale and Retail. . .	0.12	5,371	829	2,432	8,632
Finance and Insurance	0.01	990	24	577	1,591
Real Estate and Rental. . .	0.01	308	759	602	1,668
Professional, Management. . . .	0.05	3,241	742	492	4,475
Other	0.05	2,779	2,354	2,610	7,743

Source: NAHB estimates, as described in the text and appendix. "Impact of Home Building and Remodeling on the U.S. Economy."

<https://www.nahb.org/en/research/housing-economics/housings-economic-impact/impact-of-home-building-and-remodeling-on-the-u-s--economy.aspx> -

Table 17: Impact of Home Building and Remodeling on Government Revenue of the U.S. Economy

Activities and Level of Government	Per New Single-family Home (\$)	Per New Multi-family Rental Unit (\$)	Per \$100,000 Spent on Remodeling (\$)
Total government revenue generate	\$110,957	\$42,383	\$29,779
Federal	\$74,354	\$28,375	\$21,844
Income taxes	37,301	14,215	10,828
Government social insurance	35,333	13,526	10,512
Excise taxes and customs duties	1,720	634	503
State and Local	\$36,603	\$14,008	\$7,935
Income taxes	10,299	3,925	2,990
Permit, hook-up, impact, etc. fees	13,672	5,427	1,250
Sales taxes	6,922	2,552	2,025
Other business taxes & license fees	5,710	2,105	1,670

Source: NAHB estimates, as described in the text and appendix. "Impact of Home Building and Remodeling on the U.S. Economy."

<https://www.nahb.org/en/research/housing-economics/housings-economic-impact/impact-of-home-building-and-remodeling-on-the-u-s--economy.aspx>

Table 18: U.S. Homeownership Rates, Annual Percent, Not Seasonally Adjusted, 2000-2017

Annual Observation Dates	U.S. Homeownership Rates
2000-01-01	67.4
2001-01-01	67.8
2002-01-01	67.9
2003-01-01	68.3
2004-01-01	69.0
2005-01-01	68.9
2006-01-01	68.8
2007-01-01	68.1
2008-01-01	67.8
2009-01-01	67.4
2010-01-01	66.9
2011-01-01	66.1
2012-01-01	65.4
2013-01-01	65.1
2014-01-01	64.5
2015-01-01	63.7
2016-01-01	63.4
2017-01-01	63.9

Source: Federal Reserve Economic Data. Economic Research Division. Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. <https://fred.stlouisfed.org>.

Table 19: **U.S. Household Income Distribution for 2016**

Income Range	Households	Cumulative Number of Households
\$0 to \$9,624	8,170,126	8,170,126
\$9,625 to \$14,436	5,908,525	14,078,651
\$14,437 to \$19,249	5,951,360	20,030,011
\$19,250 to \$24,061	6,235,725	26,265,736
\$24,062 to \$28,874	5,692,819	31,958,555
\$28,875 to \$33,686	6,003,527	37,962,082
\$33,687 to \$38,499	5,442,443	43,404,524
\$38,500 to \$43,311	5,452,103	48,856,628
\$43,312 to \$48,124	4,874,681	53,731,308
\$48,125 to \$57,749	9,250,439	62,981,747
\$57,750 to \$72,186	11,988,355	74,970,102
\$72,187 to \$96,249	14,588,438	89,558,540
\$96,250 to \$120,311	10,088,957	99,647,497
\$120,312 to \$144,373	6,071,750	105,719,247
\$144,374 to \$192,498	6,537,899	112,257,146
\$192,499 to more	6,907,604	119,164,751

Source: National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) (2018). “U.S. Household Income Distribution for 2016.” Households Priced-Out by Higher House Prices and Interest Rates.

<https://www.nahb.org/en/research/housing-economics/housing-economic-impacts/households-priced-out-by-higher-house-prices-and-interest-rates.aspx>

Table 20: State Households Priced Out of the Housing Market Due to a \$1,000 Price Increase in U.S., 2016

State	Median New Home Price (\$)	Income Needed to Qualify	All Households	Households Priced Out
United States	296,400	74,752	119,164,751	152,903
Alabama	255,231	60,071	1,851,578	2,893
Alaska	316,835	78,818	250,712	370
Arizona	325,626	75,649	2,497,756	2,898
Arkansas	258,949	62,949	1,158,196	1,855
California	346,460	79,143	13,035,552	15,328
Colorado	365,326	82,906	2,110,484	2,732
Connecticut	489,156	137,882	1,331,697	1,067
Delaware	149,728	33,632	355,470	852
Florida	306,273	78,304	7,600,814	9,175
Georgia	229,253	56,472	3,726,616	7,619
Hawaii	461,085	96,817	441,155	548
Idaho	275,105	64,054	603,313	1,022
Illinois	294,715	85,938	4,816,727	7,366
Indiana	259,724	64,640	2,527,608	4,643
Iowa	241,185	64,959	1,253,054	2,615
Kansas	261,526	71,924	1,113,889	1,971
Kentucky	229,647	57,045	1,720,252	3,475
Louisiana	272,154	66,234	1,757,848	2,691
Maine	288,667	74,133	540,650	761
Maryland	238,869	58,010	2,190,502	3,920
Massachusetts	410,912	102,259	2,570,610	2,781
Michigan	273,533	74,064	3,882,640	5,167
Minnesota	280,311	71,181	2,165,482	4,166
Mississippi	220,254	56,176	1,112,986	2,124
Missouri	236,021	60,063	2,393,710	4,454
Montana	261,637	62,817	418,682	761
Nebraska	209,572	59,641	747,569	1,671
Nevada	213,400	49,107	1,063,024	2,002
New Hampshire	327,423	93,096	515,483	690
New Jersey	410,636	119,582	3,181,097	3,834
New Mexico	257,646	61,245	762,679	1,132
New York	544,197	145,152	7,185,316	4,513
North Carolina	245,012	59,342	3,897,615	6,332
North Dakota	205,686	51,217	321,731	586
Ohio	277,521	74,839	4,620,178	6,352
Oklahoma	274,530	71,757	1,472,169	2,776
Oregon	296,313	71,202	1,571,103	2,847
Pennsylvania	251,688	66,827	4,966,122	9,374

Rhode Island	317,380	85,603	405,325	597
South Carolina	267,205	63,062	1,889,143	3,311
South Dakota	217,044	57,003	344,473	738
Tennessee	266,774	64,501	2,551,024	4,296
Texas	276,106	79,266	9,567,869	13,674
Utah	309,618	70,295	943,763	1,796
Vermont	340,083	92,764	252,523	331
Virginia	236,311	55,319	3,130,143	5,702
Washington	320,728	77,068	2,778,440	3,858
West Virginia	205,842	48,404	733,698	1,635
Wisconsin	272,102	75,448	2,331,452	3,820
Wyoming	362,519	84,129	225,337	311

Source: National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) (2018). “Households Priced Out of the Market by a \$1,000 Price Increase, 2016.” Households Priced-Out by Higher House Prices and Interest Rates.

<https://www.nahb.org/en/research/housing-economics/housing-economic-impacts/households-priced-out-by-higher-house-prices-and-interest-rates.aspx>

Table 21: U.S. Households Priced Out the Housing Market by an Increase in Interest Rates, 2016

Mortgage Rate (Percent)	Median New House Price (\$)	Monthly Mortgage Payment (\$)	Taxes and Insurance (\$)	Minimum Income Needed (\$)	Households That Can Afford House	Change in Households	Cumulative Change
2.00	296,400	1,047	405	62,241	51,516,396		
2.25	296,400	1,082	405	63,736	50,349,317	-1,167,079	-1,167,079
2.50	296,400	1,117	405	65,258	49,160,528	-1,188,789	-2,355,868
2.75	296,400	1,154	405	66,808	47,950,303	-1,210,225	-3,566,093
3.00	296,400	1,190	405	68,384	46,718,938	-1,231,365	-4,797,468
3.25	296,400	1,228	405	69,988	45,466,747	-1,252,191	-6,049,649
3.50	296,400	1,266	405	71,617	44,194,059	-1,272,688	-7,322,337
3.75	296,400	1,305	405	73,273	42,901,221	-1,292,838	-8,615,175
4.00	296,400	1,344	405	74,953	41,629,982	-1,271,239	-9,886,414
4.25	296,400	1,384	405	76,659	40,664,755	-965,227	-10,851,641
4.50	296,400	1,424	405	78,389	39,685,740	-979,015	-11,830,656
4.75	296,400	1,465	405	80,143	38,693,222	-992,518	-12,823,174
5.00	296,400	1,506	405	81,920	37,687,496	-1,005,726	-13,828,900
5.25	296,400	1,548	405	83,720	36,668,864	-1,018,632	-14,847,532
5.50	296,400	1,591	405	85,542	35,637,631	-1,031,233	-15,878,765
5.75	296,400	1,634	405	87,386	34,594,107	-1,043,524	-16,922,289
6.00	296,400	1,677	405	89,252	33,538,606	-1,055,501	-17,977,790
6.25	296,400	1,721	405	91,137	32,471,444	-1,067,162	-19,044,952
6.50	296,400	1,766	405	93,043	31,392,940	-1,078,504	-20,123,456
6.75	296,400	1,811	405	94,968	30,303,414	-1,089,526	-21,212,982
7.00	296,400	1,856	405	96,913	29,203,184	-1,100,230	-22,313,212
7.25	296,400	1,902	405	98,875	28,092,571	-1,110,613	-23,423,825
7.50	296,400	1,948	405	100,855	27,183,598	-908,973	-24,332,798
7.75	296,400	1,995	405	102,853	26,413,357	-770,241	-25,103,039
8.00	296,400	2,042	405	104,867	25,636,687	-776,670	-25,879,709
8.25	296,400	2,089	405	106,898	24,853,801	-782,886	-26,662,595
8.50	296,400	2,137	405	108,944	24,064,910	-788,891	-27,451,486
8.75	296,400	2,185	405	111,004	23,270,220	-794,690	-28,246,176
9.00	296,400	2,233	405	113,080	22,469,937	-800,283	-29,046,459
9.25	296,400	2,282	405	115,169	21,664,261	-805,676	-29,852,135
9.50	296,400	2,331	405	117,272	20,853,390	-810,871	-30,663,006
9.75	296,400	2,381	405	119,388	20,037,519	-815,871	-31,478,877
10.00	296,400	2,430	405	121,517	19,216,837	-820,682	-32,299,559

Source: National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) (2018). "Households Priced Out of the Market by a \$1,000 Price Increase, 2016." Households Priced-Out by Higher House Prices and Interest Rates. <https://www.nahb.org/en/research/housing-economics/housing-economic-impacts/households-priced-out-by-higher-house-prices-and-interest-rates-asp>

Israeli State Response to the BDS Movement: A Comparative Analysis of Sources of Influence

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Introduction

Throughout the last several decades, Israel and Palestinian territories have been in a state of persistent conflict (Bard, 2017; Beauchamp, 2015). Many different groups inhabit the region, and these groups have lived in varying states of violence and peace. Solutions to the conflict have been offered, however there seems to be no prevailing answers to the complex questions that stand in the way of an agreement yielding peace (Elgindy, 2018). Both Israeli and Palestinian leadership in the region have been unwilling and/or unable to compromise, leading to further uncertainty. In part, this dilemma has been aggravated through interactions between the Israeli state and the BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) movement.

I propose a framework for understanding Israeli state and BDS appeals for support. I argue that the Israeli state seeks international support from state actors, while the BDS movement seeks support from non-state actors, such as the international grassroots community and international organizations. The Israeli response to the BDS movement has been an international appeal for state support and legitimacy, specifically from Western powers, such as the United States and Europe. The state of Israel and the BDS movement each have their own significant sphere of influence on the international stage. By acting in distinctive spheres of influence-- Israel as a state influencer and the BDS movement as a non-state influencer-- the BDS movement and the Israeli state have created a combative dialogue that exacerbates the conflict. In this paper, I provide evidence for this framework, which distinguishes between distinctive spheres of influence sought after by the BDS and the Israeli state, by giving a brief background of the main actors in the Israel-Palestine region, and then launch into discussions of international grassroots actors, international organizational actors, Israeli domestic power, and international state power. I do not seek to provide an opinion on the Israel-Palestine conflict, only to provide a way of analyzing two sources of influence in the region. Through these analyses, the actions and the reactions of Israel and the BDS movement are more transparent.

Background

The present-day borders of Israel and Palestine have been inhabited by many groups throughout the last century, from the Ottomans to the British, Arabs, and Jews (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014). Historical ownership of the land is controversial because of the diversity of cultures, religions, and peoples in the region, which has exacerbated the land dispute conflicts. Although there are other variables in this complex issue, the beginnings of this conflict stem back to competing claims over the territory (Beinin & Hajjar, 2014).

The Palestinian Authority represents the governmental structure of Palestine. The Palestinian Authority has a relationship with the Israeli state and does not explicitly support the BDS movement. The other main political power source in Palestine, apart from the BDS movement or Israel, is Hamas, the militant islamist group based in the Gaza Strip serving as the leadership in that particular region (Caridi, 2010). The Palestinian Authority is generally viewed internationally as the legitimate governing body of Palestine, however there is some disagreement (Jewish Virtual Library). Confusion about the "true" leadership contributes to regional instability because there is no central government for the entirety of the Israel-Palestine region.

The legitimacy of the Israeli state as the sovereign leader of Israel is internationally recognized, however the regional power of Israel has continually been in question as the BDS movement has gained traction, and the international community has begun to lean their support towards Palestinians, specifically due to the contested authority in the West Bank region (US Campaign for Palestinian Rights, 2018; Tharoor, 2014; Nichols, 2018). During the 1947 United Nations partition plan, the West Bank was decreed to be Palestinian territory (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Currently, while Israel has security control of the West Bank region, many in the international community believe their presence is an illegal occupation (Frisch, 2016). Israel, on the other hand, claims that the West Bank region was won in the 1967 War, and therefore is in their control as dictated by international law (Rubin, 2009; Bard). Both arguments have international legal standing, which also contributes to the instability and territorial conflicts in the region. Israel has asserted itself, both in the international community and domestically, as the dominant authority in the Israel-Palestine territories. Despite this, power and territorial boundaries are widely contested by Israel, Palestine, and the international community.

Another significant source of influence in this region is the BDS movement. Founded in 2005, this movement has been influential for the past 14 years. Although the BDS movement is based off of the South African anti-apartheid movement of the same name, this movement has been met with less support than its predecessor (BDS Movement). The Palestinian BDS movement has been the target of anti-Semitism accusations from Israel as well as other nations around the world (Jewish Virtual Library). Although many erroneously claim that the BDS movement is working towards the eradication of Israel, the movement actually has three specific goals that can be completed without the end of the Israeli State. The BDS explicitly calls on Israel and the international community to:

1. End the occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantle the Wall
2. Recognize the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respect, protect and promote the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194. (BDS Movement)

The BDS does not explicitly call for the end of the Israeli state in their missions, but many believe that the goals implicitly undermine the idea of a Jewish state (Thrall, 2018). The goals of the BDS movement are in place to attempt to give a semblance of power back to the Palestinians that have been pushed from their ancestral homes by UN Resolutions that neither Palestinians or Israelis fully support (Chartouni, 2017). UN Resolution 181 in 1947 partitioned the former British colony into Israel and Palestine reinvigorating the territorial conflict between the groups (United Nations). Although the Israeli leadership accepted the partition, it was less territory that they had hoped, while the Palestinian leadership outright rejected the partition (Chartouni, 2017). The contemporary conflict between Israel and Palestine is reflected in the BDS movement. By representing Palestinians, rather than a Palestinian state, the BDS movement creates a new discussion space that has spread internationally and taken root in many different international organizations, domestic organizations, corporations, universities, and even small-scale communities. In representing Israeli-Jewish interests, the Israeli state maintains its international state legitimacy (Daniel J Elazar, 1990).

The BDS Movement

The BDS movement is, by nature, internationally motivated. There have been distinct moves by both Israel and the BDS movement that reflect the various actors in this conflict, both internally and externally. Generally, Israel appeals to the state actors on the international stage, and draws its legitimacy from their state-peers. On the other side, the BDS movement generally appeals to individual and organizational actors, such as students, universities, scientists and artists, private corporations, unions, and other people-based support. Through this lens, there is a harsh divide between the types of approval that the BDS or Israel receive; while the BDS maintains support for individuals, reflecting steady but growing support, Israel looks to states to continue their support with financial and military support. In understanding this issue, the international community, both in terms of individuals and states, is incredibly important in deciding the outcome of this conflict. Although states tend to have the monopoly on the power, democratic nations, like those Western nations in which Israel finds their support, will be forced to engage with their citizens who are generally more supportive of the BDS movement (BDS Movement). The international implications of widespread BDS movement support are enormous as the Israeli state may have to yield some of their power monopoly to Palestinians.

International Grassroots Community

The BDS movement has primarily derived its support directly from people. Through cultural, academic, and organizational support, the BDS movement has gained popularity and societal appeal both domestically and abroad since its founding in 2005 (Zanotti, Weiss, Ruane, & Elsea, 2017). By engagement with the international grassroots community, the BDS movement has grown to become one of the most influential movements in the world, based on its expansive network of supporters. From its foundations, the BDS movement is diffuse and hard to effectively combat; because the BDS relies heavily on the grassroots community, it is difficult for detractors, primarily the Israeli state and its supporters, to successfully marginalize the approval that the BDS garners (Zanotti, Weiss, Ruane, & Elsea, 2017). This structure of the BDS, and the support that the movement seeks, creates a power dynamic of widespread, small-scale success that compound to create larger consequences for Israel.

The BDS movement specifically works towards grassroots boycott measures. In this endeavour, the BDS has been incredibly successful. Through academic boycotts, cultural boycotts, and domestic institution support (e.g. US Campaign for Palestinian Rights, Democratic Socialists of America, Black Lives Matter movement, etc.), the BDS movement has expanded internationally (Thrall, 2018). These types of targeting have been harmful to the Israeli image as international attention has been drawn to the calls of the BDS (Thrall, 2018). As acclaimed celebrities, scientists, and artists have refused to travel to Israel, in support of the BDS movement's goals, or in response to perception of human rights violations, the BDS has found success through the international grassroots community (BDS Movement). Notable examples of cultural boycott participants are Snoop Dogg, Elvis Costello, U2, Lorde, and many others from around the world (BDS Movement). This cultural aspect of the BDS movement has been influential in garnering grassroots support, and individuals see contemporary public figures boycotting the Israeli state.

Another source of support for the BDS is the international human rights community in response to the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Israeli settlement expansion in the West Bank is controversial. The international community has widely disapproved of the expansion of settlements due to questions about legality, citing the Geneva Conventions (ICRC, 2014). Artists, scientists, and celebrities have even specified settlement expansion as their reasoning for supporting the BDS movement.

In the Palestinian territories, many individuals support the BDS movement, and participate in economic boycotts and protesting. In 2015, the World Bank attributes the 24% decrease in exports from Israel to Palestine to the BDS movement's successes. The SodaStream Factory moved from the West Bank territory, and the BDS movement saw another major step towards their goal of an Israel-free West Bank. Domestically, through grassroots organizing, the BDS movement has impacted the Israeli economy through boycotts and divestment, even without the explicit support of the Palestinian Authority or Hamas.

Academic boycotts, apart from individual member of academia, have also been a significant contributor to the cause of the BDS movement. Universities and colleges all over the world have been divesting in Israel as the BDS movement gains traction. In the United States alone, over 50 universities have moved towards divestment, at the request of the students, faculty/staff, or administration. The academic boycott and divestment has not only had some effect on the Israeli economy, but it has also negatively affected the free flow of information from many different nations to Israel. This academic boycott means that Israel is open to alienation in the scientific community because of the BDS efforts of academic boycotting. By targeting academic institutions as supporters, the BDS movement has engaged in novel tactics for combating the alleged abuses of Israel.

Transnational Organizational Support

International institutions provide another main source of support for the BDS movement. By seeking support from international institutions, the BDS movement is acting outside of the state power that Israel relies upon. These transnational institutions are the oversight organizations that have the infrastructure to hold Israel accountable for violations of international norms and laws, whether it aligns with the goals of the BDS movement or not. These institutions most notably include the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU). Through the support of international institutions, the BDS movement has been able to gain legitimacy tied to institutional recognition. This legitimacy has been incredibly important in the growth of the BDS internationally. By appealing to international organizations, the BDS movement has worked within the framework of international law and economic repercussions for Israel-- on the larger, international scale.

In January 2018, the UN Human Rights Council "rebuked" the Israeli human rights abuses of Palestinians, and issued a report numbering the businesses that are contributing to the human rights violations (UNHRC). Through the appeal to the international grassroots community, the BDS movement has made a significant negative impact on the legitimacy and moves towards a strong impact on the economic status of Israel (Thrall, 2018). Organizations, such as the UN, also play a large role in the success of the BDS movement. Although they have state members, the recognition

of Israeli human rights abuses by large international organizations represents non-state power manifesting in BDS support. By recognizing the human rights violations in an official capacity, the United Nations is working to subdue the security power of Israel over Palestinians, even if slightly. Additionally, the state members have begun to recognize Palestine in its own right, within the confines of the UN-- more than 135 states recognized Palestine, and in 2019 Palestine will be able to act more similarly to a state member of the United Nations (Tharoor, 2014; Nichols, 2018). Another important institutional success was the European Union's (EU) acknowledgement that the "colonisation and annexation of Palestinian territory" cannot be officially recognized, and the European Investment Bank stoppage of "virtually all" loans to major Israeli corporations (BDS Movement). The BDS movement's success is cultivated through individuals, corporations, and non-state entities, such as the UN and EU. The legitimacy of their claims is generated through the support of the international community, rather than states alone.

Israel

International State Power

Israel, on the other hand, has relied heavily on support and legitimacy from state actors. In response to the consequences imposed by the BDS movement, Israel has made a number of strides towards state support. Israel is working internationally, focusing on its state peers, to have the BDS movement classified as anti-Semitic (IHRA, 2016). In 2016, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance categorized hostility towards the Israeli state as Anti-Semitic, and although including traditional anti-Zionism encapsulated in a new definition of anti-Semitism is contemporary, it poses a problem for potential solutions that may limit the power of the Israeli state through international law (IHRA, 2016). Through the new definition of anti-Semitism, accepted by the IHRA and many other pro-Israel organizations, Israel has been steadily discrediting the BDS movement on an international scale through their state partners and selected organizations (IHRA, 2016). By relying on this international condemnation of the BDS movement, through a contemporary definition of anti-Semitism, Israel has attempted to control the narrative from the perspective of its state peers.

Through this widespread state support, primarily seen in Western nations, Israel has been able to successfully diminish some effects of the BDS movement through international laws against the spread of the BDS. Nations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Austria, Canada, and others have adopted anti-BDS legislation limiting the ability of citizens, organizations, and companies from divestment or boycotts against Israel (Jewish Virtual Library; Aljazeera, 2019; Palestine Legal, 2019). At an EU summit in November 2018, European nations were pushed to outlaw anti-Semitism within their states, and many of their solutions were anti-BDS legislative measures domestically, or statements condemning BDS actions against the Israeli state (Nelsen, 2018; Middle East Monitor, 2018). By making pro-BDS actions illegal, these nations have sided with Israel and encapsulated supporters of the BDS movement in their definition of anti-Semitism. This support is valuable for Israel on the international stage, and is a major legitimizing force for the actions of Israel towards Palestinians, both positive and negative.

Domestic State Power

The main step that Israel has taken to marginalize the BDS movement on a domestic level is an international-minded travel ban on known and prominent BDS supporters. Prominent members of the BDS movement, like Omar Barghouti (the founder), are banned from entering Israel, which also makes transit even within the West Bank incredibly difficult as Israel forces are in primary security control of the region (Brutan, Jabari, & Goldman, 2019). In addition, the travel ban extends to international organization members who are associated with BDS support. For example, Jewish Voice for Peace organization members are denied entry into Israel due to the organization's support for the BDS movement (Brutan, Jabari, & Goldman, 2019). This approach by the Israeli government directly targets individuals and organizations--the type of support that the BDS draws upon-- and attempts to marginalize BDS effects within the country. By enacting a travel ban, Israel is using their state authority to limit the domestic power of the BDS movement (J Street).

Israel engages in the debate with the BDS movement largely through appeals to state power. This approach has been fruitful, as many large Western powers support Israeli state attempts to disparage the BDS movement, and have shown their support by adopting anti-BDS legislation. Legislation of this sort effectively limits the abilities of domestic individuals, corporations, organizations, and other non-state entities to participate in the BDS movement. In this appeal to external state power, Israel has also established itself as an important international actor. With support from its peers, Israel is now considered a powerful, sovereign state, and is generally accepted as the leadership of the Israel-Palestine territories, at least marginally.

Discussion

The BDS Movement

From its inception in 2005, the BDS movement has continued to grow domestically and internationally into a movement that has had significant negative impacts on Israel. Through individual-based international support, and through institutional recognition, the BDS movement has been legitimized internationally. Its growth has been steady, and the BDS movement has had significant impacts on Israeli academics, cultural exchange, economic advancements, and the international human rights reputation of Israel. The BDS, however, has not engaged directly with the Israeli state. Mainly the BDS, and its supporters, have interacted indirectly with the Israeli state, including through boycotts of Israeli businesses, academic boycotts of Israeli institutions, and divestment in Israeli banks. Although the BDS movement directly targets Israel, it acts in ways that do not directly address the Israeli state.

The Israeli State

On the other hand, the Israeli state has maintained its sovereignty over territory throughout the second half of the 20th and into the 21st century. Israeli state control over the domestic territory has remained relatively constant, especially security control through military forces. Support from other states internationally has been extremely valuable for the Israeli state, especially from states with large webs of influence, such as the United States and many Western European states. Overall, the Israeli state has been consistently supported by other states during the last two decades, which has led to stability in its power. With this power stability, the Israeli state has been able to take some direct measures to combat the effects of the BDS movement. These direct actions have come primarily through the travel ban on BDS supporters, including

organizations members of other countries, and the international call to label the BDS movement anti-Semitic. In these strategic moves, the Israeli state has directly responded to the BDS movement's attempts to marginalize Israeli sovereignty.

Closing Thoughts

In this distinction between BDS appeals to non-state power and Israeli state appeals to state power, another angle of the Israel-Palestine dilemma can be examined. Within this conflict, there is a major issue of divisions of power. Because each "side" of this issue seeks different sources of legitimating power, the Israeli state on one hand, the BDS movement on the other, there has been minimal engagement between the groups. The Israeli state has been side tracked in their attempts by accusing the BDS of anti-Semitism, as their response to the BDS movement internationally, and the BDS has had a lack of direct response, in general, to the Israeli state. Additionally, the BDS movement does not have a concrete solution in place to achieve their goals if the Israeli state were amenable to finding a resolution. At this point, the Israel-Palestine conflict is far from being solved, and none of the regional groups, all with historical claims to the territory, are willing to compromise their stances. By bringing anti-Semitism into the dialogue, the Israeli state is creating a hostile space for contemporary solutions, and in their separation from the Israeli state, the BDS movement has essentially avoided any interaction and has yet to offer feasible resolutions.

The current climate of this conflict is unsustainable. With the Israeli state's vast appeal for condemnation of the BDS movement, and the BDS movement's widespread appeal, these two actors will be forced to interact-- likely soon. The BDS movement has gotten international acclaim, as well as criticism, and the Israeli state response has legitimized the movement even further. The Israeli state's attempts to combat the BDS movement have been fruitful, but the introduction of anti-Semitism rhetoric into the dialogue creates a dangerous precedent of complete Israeli state control of the narrative. With this issue so prevalent in contemporary international news, it is hard to ignore and even harder to remain neutral. With this framework in mind, I encourage drawing from all sides of the conflict to understand the complex power dynamics and intricate rhetoric surrounding the Israel-Palestine dilemma.

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Madison v. Alabama: Does the 8Th Amendment Prohibit the Execution of a Person Who Does Not Remember His Crime?

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Sir William Blackstone, in 1765, in *The Commentaries on the Law of England*, wrote:

Idiots and lunatics are not chargeable for their own acts, if committed when under these incapacities: no, not even for treason itself. Also, if a man in his sound memory commits a capital offence, and before arraignment for it, he becomes mad, he ought not to be arraigned for it: because he is not able to plead to it with that advice and caution that he ought. And if, after he has pleaded, the prisoner becomes mad, he shall not be tried: for how can he make his defense? If, after he be tried and found guilty, he loses his senses before judgment, judgment shall not be pronounced; and if, after judgment, he becomes of nonsane memory, execution shall be stayed: for peradventure, says the humanity of the English law, had the prisoner been of sound memory, he might have alleged something in stay of judgment or execution. (Blackstone, 1765)

Under the common law of England and America, insane persons were not given the death penalty. But what is an insane person? The Supreme Court, in *Madison v. Alabama*, attempted to provide some clarity to this question (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019).

Facts

In April 1985, in Mobile, Alabama, Police Officer Julius Schultz was mediating a domestic dispute between Vernon Madison and Cheryl Green, his former girlfriend. Schultz remained at the house in his squad car to protect Green and her daughter while Madison moved out of the house. While Schultz sat in the car, Madison shot him twice in the back of the head killing him, and also shot and injured his former girlfriend. Madison was tried three times in 1985, 1990, and 1994. The conviction from his first trial was overturned because prosecutors excluded black people from the jury. His conviction in his second trial was overturned because evidence, not properly introduced, was brought to the jury through an expert witness's improper testimony (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019). In his third trial, the jury convicted Madison and recommended life in prison. Madison's third trial judge, Judge Ferrill McRae of Mobile County Circuit Court, decided to impose the death penalty instead of life in prison. The conviction and sentence were affirmed by the Alabama Court of Criminal Appeals and the Alabama Supreme Court (Liptak, 2018).

Madison has been an inmate in the Holman Correctional Facility since 1985. He had severe strokes in 2015 and 2016 that resulted in brain damage, vascular dementia, cognitive impairment, long-term memory loss, physical decline, and an inability to remember his crime of shooting Schultz (Liptak, 2019). Madison told psychologists, in 2016, "I never went around killing folks" (Baptiste, 2018). He was supposed to be executed May 2016. The state court, after a competency hearing, may have allowed Madison's execution because the state court believed the Supreme Court only barred execution if the prisoner was incompetent from insanity or gross delusions. Madison was arguing that he was incompetent because of suffering from dementia. Alabama concluded that Madison had a rational understanding of the reasons for his execution, even if he had no recollection of his crime (Liptak, 2018). The federal District Court rejected his petition.

The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals granted a stay on the day of the execution and later concluded Madison should not be executed because he lacked a “rational understanding” that *he* is being executed as punishment for a crime (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2017). The Supreme Court upheld the stay. But on November 2017 in *Dunn v. Madison*, the Supreme Court, on federal habeas corpus review, overturned the decision by the 11th Circuit and allowed the execution to proceed (*Dunn v. Madison*, 2017). The Supreme Court concluded that neither *Ford* nor *Panetti* clearly established that a person is incompetent to be executed simply because he failed to remember his crime. The state court’s determinations of law and fact were not “so lacking in justification” as to give rise to error “beyond any possibility for fair-minded disagreement” (Swoyer, 2017). The 11th Circuit Court overstepped its authority under the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) of 1996. This Act set the standard that federal courts, in habeas corpus reviews, are to follow in order to overturn a lower court’s decision. The 1996 Act tightened habeas corpus laws that had been used to appeal death sentences from state courts and required greater deference to state court findings in death penalty cases (AEDPA, 1996).

Madison’s execution was rescheduled for January 2018. Madison again argued to the state court that his mental condition precluded Alabama from going forward with the death penalty. The state court responded that nothing extensive changed since the first competency hearing and the execution could continue. However, the Supreme Court granted a stay 30 minutes before the execution was supposed to take place. The Supreme Court decided to hear the case, under a writ of certiorari not habeas corpus, in February 2018, and oral arguments were held October 2, 2018 (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019).

Precedent

The Supreme Court, in two key cases, has given lower courts some guidance on the applicability of the death penalty to criminals with mental problems. In 1986, in *Ford v. Weinwright*, the Supreme Court ruled that the Eighth Amendment’s ban on cruel and unusual punishment bars the execution of inmates who have lost their sanity after sentencing. To arrive at this decision, the Supreme Court upheld the common law rule that the insane could not be executed. Justice Thurgood Marshall, writing for the majority, concluded early English and American common law had reasoned that executing insane prisoners would not serve any penological goals, and the state’s procedures for determining competency were inadequate (*Ford v. Weinwright*, 1986). The determination of insanity could not be left to the governor, the executive branch. Defendants need a competency hearing in a court, and the judicial branch should make the decision. The prisoner was entitled to a competency evaluation and a judicial competency hearing that provided for full procedural rights including the right to counsel and the right to cross-examine witnesses (*Ford v. Weinwright*, 1986).

In 2007, in *Panetti v. Quarterman*, the Supreme Court set out the competency standard. It held that criminals sentenced to death may not be executed if they do not have a rational understanding of the reason for their execution. Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote the majority opinion. He wrote that the Texas courts failed to hold an adequate competency hearing as required by *Ford*. Panetti was considered competent because he knew the state’s reason for requiring executions was as a punishment for the crime of murder. However, the Texas courts ignored the fact that delusions could

prevent Panetti from understanding that he was the one who committed the murders. It was also not decided, as required by *Ford*, whether he has a “rational understanding” of the reason for his execution. The Supreme Court concluded that the lower courts should have considered the claim that the criminal suffered from “a documented mental illness that is the source of gross delusions preventing him from comprehending the meaning and purpose of” his death sentence (*Panetti v. Quarterman*, 2007).

Oral Arguments

Chief Justice John Roberts, quickly in the hearing, focused oral arguments on two questions: whether the Constitution bars the execution of an inmate simply because he does not remember the details of his crime; and whether dementia can cause someone to be so incompetent that the person cannot be executed. Bryan Stevenson, executive director of the anti-death penalty Equal Justice Initiative in Montgomery, Alabama, and Madison’s lawyer, had to convince a majority of the justices that they could spare Madison without opening the floodgates to challenges from many other death row inmates who could claim that they also do not remember their crimes (Wolf, 2018). To avoid the floodgate’s concern, Stevenson stated that an inability to remember the details of the crime does not, by itself, mean that an inmate cannot be executed. He suggested that an inmate would have to not only be suffering from dementia, but also have brain damage (Totenberg, 2018). He stated that “the state has an interest in being able to impose punishment and execute these kinds of sentences” (Howe, 2018). Roberts then asked Thomas Govan, Alabama’s deputy attorney general, if the only issue the two sides were arguing about was whether vascular dementia could be the basis for determining that an inmate is too incompetent to be executed. Govan responded that only “if someone has vascular dementia or any other type of mental illness, if it precludes them from having a rational understanding of their punishment, and that they will die when they are executed,” then the person would meet the standard for incompetency (Howe, 2018). His position was that the state courts had already decided this issue in Alabama’s favor, meaning Alabama courts concluded that Madison had a rational understanding of the circumstances of his execution (Totenberg, 2018).

The Supreme Court’s attention then shifted to whether dementia could leave a person incompetent to be executed, or whether only insanity or gross delusions, as in *Ford* and *Panetti*, could result in incompetency, and whether state courts adequately concluded whether Madison’s dementia left him incompetent. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg questioned whether the state only focused on insanity or delusions as conditions for incompetence to be executed. Justice Elena Kagan asked Govan to point to excerpts in the state’s order that support the idea that the state courts considered whether Madison’s dementia resulted in incompetence. Govan responded that Madison knows he is in prison because he was found guilty of committing murder (Barnes, 2018). Stevenson told Ginsburg that an abstract understanding of whether a person can be executed for committing murder is not enough. Madison has been told that he is in prison for committing murder, but he does not remember committing the crime. He does not understand why *he* is being punished. Stevenson suggested, not knowing why Madison is being punished, does not result in a rational understanding of the reasons for Madison’s execution (Barnes, 2018). Justice Stephen Breyer suggested a standard for inmates who were not insane or suffering from delusions. If dementia makes a

person unable to remember that they have committed a crime, then the person is incompetent. Govan responded that the state would “still have a strong interest in seeking retribution for a horrible crime” (Barnes, 2018). Thus, Roberts’ questioning got both sides to agree that any mental condition could support the refusal to execute the inmate provided the condition resulted in a lack of rational understanding.

Decision

Justice Kagan wrote the majority opinion. She was joined in the opinion by Justices Ginsburg, Breyer, Sonia Sotomayor, and Chief Justice Roberts. Kagan wrote that the Supreme Court has already decided that an inmate who suffers from a mental illness cannot be executed if the person does not understand why the state is trying to execute him. The exact diagnosis does not matter. Delusions, dementia other mental illnesses, or physical diseases can lead to a lack of rational understanding. The simple fact a person lacks memory does not automatically mean the person cannot be punished with the death penalty. A person, lacking memory of their crime, may still be able to form a rational understanding for the reasons for the death sentence. The focus of the court’s inquiry in this type of case is the inmate’s comprehension of the reason for his death sentence. The Eighth Amendment does not automatically prohibit the execution of someone who does not remember committing a crime. The inmate could understand why he is being executed even if he does not remember committing the crime. “Do you have an independent recollection of the Civil War?” asked Kagan in the majority opinion. “Obviously not. But you may still be able to reach a rational – indeed, a sophisticated – understanding of that conflict and its consequences.” Kagan continued, “Do you recall your first day of school? Probably not. But if your mother told you years later that you were sent home for hitting a classmate, you would have no trouble grasping the story.” The same reasoning applies to a person who blacks out before committing a crime. The person may come to understand why a prosecutor seeks punishment. As with mental illness, the Eighth Amendment would bar the execution of an inmate with dementia if the inmate did not understand the reason why the state wants to execute him (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019).

The case was sent back to the state court because the majority on the Supreme Court was not convinced that the state court thought only mental illness or delusions could support Eighth Amendment death penalty claims. The majority wanted to be certain that Madison was not being executed because he was not delusional or psychotic. Dementia can also affect a person’s rational understanding. The majority was also not certain that the state court adequately decided if Madison had a “rational understanding” of the reason for his execution (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019).

Justice Alito wrote the dissenting opinion. He was joined by Justices Clarence Thomas and Neil Gorsuch. Justice Brett Kavanaugh took no part in the decision because he was not a member of the Court during oral argument. Justice Alito complained that what “the Court has done in this case makes a mockery of our rules” (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019). The dissenters concluded that Madison had pulled “a bait and switch” (Howe, 2019). Madison had asked the Court to decide whether the Eighth Amendment bars the execution of an inmate who cannot remember committing the crime for which the inmate would be executed. Instead, once the case was accepted for review, the issue became whether the state court rejected Madison’s claim of incompetence to be executed because the state court thought dementia, as opposed to

other conditions, could not be a basis for the claim. If he knew this would be the issue, Alito suggested he would have dismissed Madison's petition to review the case. Alito believes "our whole certiorari system would be thrown into turmoil" if litigants can petition to have one issue decided, and then change to a different issue later (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019). Justices prepare for oral argument based on the petitions and briefs. If they all address a different issue than what will be decided, justices waste their time preparing for the wrong issue.

Also, Alito is concerned that there are far too many reviews in death penalty cases. Too many problems arise as inmates, like Madison, remain on death row over thirty years. While the AEDPA applies to habeas corpus reviews, Alito would prefer that the Court probe less into state cases, especially factual questions. The dissenters are more restrained in their view of the role of federal courts. Alito would give more deference to state proceedings to lessen federal reviews whether the case comes to the Court on habeas corpus or writ of certiorari. In this case, the dissenters believe that the state court conducted an adequate competency review and said so in *Dunn (Madison v. Alabama)*, 2019).

Analysis

First, the majority seemed to have offered some clarity as to how inmate competency to be executed is to be determined. Neither a diagnosis of a mental illness nor a faulty memory alone will automatically trigger protections of the Eighth Amendment. Whatever the person is suffering from must cause the person to not be able to have a "rational understanding" of why the state wants to execute him. This approach is the same method used to decide whether a defendant can claim an insanity defense. For questions of whether the defendant was insane when the crime was committed, the person is evaluated by a court appointed psychologist. If the person is found to be suffering from a mental disease or defect, except for psychopathic personality, then the defendant can move to a court determination as to whether that mental problem makes the person insane under the state's insanity defense (Scheb II, 2014). In states where the M'Naughten approach is used to judge insanity, the court would have to decide if the person can still reason. The court will decide if the defendant knew the nature and quality of his/her actions or that his/her actions were wrong. In the case of a loss of control test for insanity, the court would add the discussion of whether the person could control their behavior. The defendant may be able to reason and realize killing is wrong, but because of voices talking to the person, the defendant may lack the substantial capacity to control their behavior and ignore those voices (Scheb II, 2014). Having a test for whether a person can be executed similar to the insanity defense would make it easier for courts to conduct capacity hearings.

Second, it is not clear what will happen to Madison now that the case was sent back to the state court. Madison could still receive the death penalty. Dr. Karl Kirkland, a psychologist for the state, testified at Madison's competency hearing that Madison "suffered a significant decline post-stroke," but "certainly" understood that Alabama was seeking to execute him for the murder the state said he committed. He was able to describe details from his childhood as well as previous court appeals, including that, at his third trial, a judge had overridden the jury (Howe, 2018). Alabama could execute Madison because it does not matter whether Madison remembers his crime. He does

rationally understand concepts of crime and punishment. He understood what he was found guilty for and how the state planned to punish him.

Madison could also not face the death penalty. Dr. John Goff, a psychologist testifying on Madison's behalf, concluded that, although Madison knew the state wanted to execute him, he did not recall killing the police officer or "the sequence of events from the offense to his arrest to the trial or any of those details." He only knows he was tried three times because people told him what happened (Howe, 2018). Since he has no memory of the murder, he cannot rationally understand the execution. He cannot understand why he has been singled out to die.

The state court found Kirkland's report more convincing and scheduled Madison for execution. What the state court must do now, if they wish to go forward with Madison's execution, is to develop a more detailed record that his dementia is making it impossible for him to remember the crime, if that is the case, but that dementia had not interfered to the degree that Madison does not have a "rational understanding" of the punishment that comes from committing that crime. The majority concluded that the state court offered "only one sentence of explanation" that did not take into account the ability for rational understanding. A more detailed and better competency hearing decision would satisfy the majority (Editorial Board, 2019).

Third, this case may provide some insight into Justice Roberts. Other writers have wondered if Roberts is trying to take Kennedy's place on the court as the new swing justice. Or maybe, Roberts is evolving into a more liberal justice. Mark Joseph Stern, an author for Slate, offered some insight in an article entitled *Roberts Confirms He's the New Swing Justice* (Stern, 2019). If Roberts did not join the liberals, the court would have split 4-4. This would have left in place a lower court order allowing Madison's execution. Roberts probably wanted to avoid a stalemate. In oral arguments, he seemed to push Stevenson to agree to decide the case using *Panetti*. He pushed Govan to agree that dementia, and not just insanity or delusions, could be a factor in determining not to execute an inmate under *Panetti* (Stern, 2019). But Roberts dissented in *Panetti* with the majority's interpretation of the Eight Amendment.

In 2015, Michael Clemente, a student at Yale Law School, published an influential article in the Yale Law Review, *A Reassessment of Common Law Protections for "Idiots,"* asserting that the Eight Amendment, as originally understood, provided protections against the execution of the mentally disabled (Stern, 2019). He used numerous historical documents, including Blackstone, to argue that the Eighth Amendment extends to a broader group of people than only the "profoundly or severely mentally retarded" that the Supreme Court had been focused on (Stern, 2019). Clemente became one of Robert's law clerks in 2018. Roberts may have listened to Clemente (Stern, 2019). The originalist approach to the Eight Amendment may actually be to define insanity much more broadly. Roberts may still be an originalist and interpreted the Eight Amendment the way the Framers would have interpreted the amendment back in the 1700's. A more detailed understanding of history may have caused his ideas to evolve since *Panetti*.

And fourth, Justice Alito has been frustrated with the sheer volume of death penalty cases. Creative arguments by attorneys representing inmates on death row has dramatically increased not only the volume of cases but also the length of time it takes for a person who got a death sentence to be executed. Madison has been on death row

for over thirty years. He is not unique. As the inmate population ages, more health problems, as Madison experienced, will increase in death row inmates (Barnes, 2017). Alito would probably prefer more deference given to state determinations so appeals would not be endless. Following the AEDPA of 1996 would provide this deference to the state. He also does not appreciate paperwork from attorneys that state an issue on appeal only to see it changed in oral argument. Justices prepare before oral arguments. This preparation is wasted time if the issue is later changed. However, in this case, the change in focus may have come more from Roberts' questioning. It does not appear the attorneys colluded before oral argument to change the issue but, changes like this can undermine the Court's ability to give deference to state competency hearing findings (*Madison v. Alabama*, 2019). As there seems to be an endless number of requests for writs of certiorari, and only a finite amount of time on the Court's docket, there needs to be limits even to death penalty reviews. While these cases are very important, and a person's life is at stake, the nation has many problems that need the Supreme Court's review, especially in hyper-partisan times when compromise among people is in short supply.

Conclusion

Madison v. Alabama's outcome is consistent with Blackstone's historical understanding of punishments that are cruel and unusual punishments. According to Blackstone (1765), idiots and lunatics have been relieved from death penalty punishment. The inmate is incapable of presenting evidence that could spare their life. The inmate is not able to prepare for the next world or try to make amends to the Almighty. The descent into a state of idiocy and lunacy, and having to spend a life in prison, is punishment enough (Blackstone, 1765).

There are also good contemporary reasons for continuing to follow the philosophy of not executing those who are not able to reason. Madison killed a police officer who was simply doing the job society asked him to do. Both sides' attorneys realized this was a very horrible crime and retribution is often considered a rationale for punishment. Retribution is an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The problem is that executing a prisoner who can no longer understand why he is being punished does not satisfy society's desire for vengeance (Will, 2018). It often "offends humanity" (Editorial Board, 2019) because the punishment is being applied to someone who is incapable of understanding that they are blameworthy and thus worthy of punishment (Beebee, 2018).

The execution could still serve a deterrent effect. It does send the message to the rest of society that, if someone kills police officers, that person will not spend a lifetime in jail. Instead, they will be killed. Society cannot tolerate people who kill public servants. But to have a deterrent effect, people would have to identify with that criminal and understand they could be in the inmate's shoes if they strike out at officers (Will, 2018). If the criminal is now too insane to reason, the average person will not see themselves in that person's shoes. The inmate is simply too different. The one being executed cannot serve as an example to others (Morshedi, 2019). If there is no benefit to killing people who cannot understand that punishment or why it is given, the person probably should be left in jail for their life.

Blackstone was an English jurist and judge who realized that the law needed to be accessible to all. Until he wrote the *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, finding

the law, especially as it evolved in court cases, was difficult. Even if potentially applicable laws were found, they were often confusing and contradictory. The *Commentaries* attempted to organize and present the common law in a rational and comprehensible form. The *Commentaries* embrace the philosophy that many laws and rights come from the natural law. Blackstone said the discovery of the law of nature depends on the exertion of right reason (All About Philosophy, n.d.).

It is hard to have classroom discussions of the death penalty. Too often, classes divide into pro-death penalty and anti-death penalty camps with little understanding of the reasons behind their choice. The nuisances of the vast area between these two points gets lost. Yet it is this nuisance that helps students develop the critical thinking skills to actually analyze one's choice. *Madison v. Alabama* is an excellent case to develop a broader understanding of the death penalty.

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**The Etymology of Geechee: A Position Statement
from a Freshwater Geechee**

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Abstract

This paper examines the etymology of the term Geechee. It takes the position that the term has an American Indian origin and not an African origin. This paper also takes the position that the term originated as a war-name for Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans in the Seminole Nation during the 19th century. In addition, it takes the position that every original Geechee was a Gullah, but every Gullah was not a Geechee. As for methodology, this paper utilizes the case study method approach and the participant observation approach.

Introduction

Charles Garrett and David M. Lucas (2002) have pointed out that there are two theories regarding the etymology of the term Gullah. Both theories pose that Gullah has an African origin. One theory holds that Gullah descends from the Gola, which is an ethnic group which lives in Liberia and Guinea. The other theory holds that Gullah descends from Angola. Garrett and Lucas further asserted that many ancestors of Gullah people came from the Angola region.

There are also two theories regarding the etymology of the term Geechee. One of the theories holds that Geechee is an African word and descends from the term Kissi, which is an ethnic group in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. The second theory holds that Geechee is an American Indian word and descends from the term Ogeechee. Garrett and Lucas (2002) have acknowledged that some scholars and writers hold that Geechee has an African origin and that some scholars and writers hold that Geechee has an American Indian origin.

Guy B. Johnson (1930), Mary Granger (1940/1986), Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake (1974), Charles Joyner (1986), and the present writer hold that Geechee has an American Indian origin in that they believe it comes from the Ogeechee River or Ogeechee Indians. Reed Smith (1926), Mason Crum (1940), Hillary S. Barnwell (1997), Cornelia Walker Bailey (Bailey & Bledsoe, 2000), and Joseph E. Holloway (1995/2005) hold that Geechee has an African origin. According to Charles Garrett and David M. Lucas (2002), Marquette L. Goodwine also holds that Geechee has an African origin. Garrett and Lucas have informed us that:

Among academicians, the word "Gullah" is generally used in the South Carolina Sea Islands, while the word "Geechee" is often used to describe descendants of enslaved Africans now living in the Sea Islands of Georgia and northern Florida. Joyner (1986) suggests the word "Geechee" derives from the Ogeechee River near Savannah, Georgia. Barnwell (1997) argues "Geechee" is simply another name for the language and culture of Black Sea Islanders, originating from a tribal name in Liberia. However, Marquette L. Goodwine (2001) definitively states, "Geechee exists due to the transliteration of the name 'Gidzi,' an ethnic group from the Windward Coast of Africa. When commenting on our speech, Geechee derived from the interactions of Gullah speakers with non-Gullah,

English speakers. Thus, a dialect of sorts (a bridge language), or as linguists call it, a 'pidgin language' was created." (p. 1)

Following Goodwine and others, Garrett and Lucas proceeded to argue that "the terms 'Gullah' and 'Geechee' should be considered synonymous" (p. 1).

Cornelia Walker Bailey (Bailey & Bledsoe, 2000), writing in her autobiography, made an observation that can be compared with that of Marquettea Goodwine about the origin of the term Geechee. She said:

As to the labels "Geechee" and "Gullah," there's a line of thinking that they came from two neighboring tribes in West Africa—the Kissi, pronounced "Geezee," who lived where the modern-day countries of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea converge; and the Gola, a tribe on the Sierra Leone-Liberia border. A lot of members from both of these tribes were brought to these islands, and while it has never been proven—the people who study such things will be arguing about it for years to come—it could very well be that what we called stemmed from the two tribal names. (p. 4)

Cornelia Walker Bailey noted that it has never been proven that term Geechee is derived Kissi or that the term Gullah is derived from Gola. She also noted that people who study the Geechee and Gullah heritage will be arguing about the origins of the terms for years to come.¹

Nevertheless, Cornelia Walker Bailey (Bailey & Bledsoe, 2000), chose to weigh in on the subject and presented an argument about the origin of the term Geechee. Cornelia Walker Bailey made the important observation that "Ogeechee is an Indian name" and identified it as one of the three major rivers in Georgia (p. 312). However, Cornelia Walker Bailey proceeded to argue that the term Geechee did not derive from the term Ogeechee because none of her ancestors had ever lived near the Ogeechee River. Cornelia Walker Bailey related that she was following Lorenzo Dow Turner and took the position that the term Geechee "probably came from Kissi," the ethnic group found in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea (p. 312).²

The objective of this paper is to examine the etymology of the term Geechee. It will take the position that the term has an American Indian origin and not an African origin. This paper will also take the position that the term originated as a war-name for Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans in the Seminole Nation during the 19th century. In addition, it will take the position that every original Geechee was a Gullah, but every Gullah was not a Geechee. The methodology used in this paper will be the case study method approach and the participant observation method approach.

Discussion of the Etymology of the Term Geechee

As used in this paper, the term Geechee refers to a social group of Gullah-speaking Maroons (and their descendants) who joined the Seminole Nation as partisans during their three wars with the USA in the 19th century.³ During the 19th Century,

Gullah-speaking Maroons of African descent and American Indians of Muskogean (Creek) descent united as the Seminole Nation and fought three wars against the USA (Mooney, 1910b; Cromartie, 2011a, 2011b, 2013c; Amos, 2011; Hancock, 1980, 2014a, 2014b; Twyman, 1999; Dixon, 2014).⁴ One of the strongholds of the Seminole Nation was the Okefenokee Swamp. That swamp is located in southeast Georgia.

In the June 15, 1837 issue of the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, as Porter (1971) pointed out, it published the following extract of a letter received by an unnamed White man living in Savannah from another White man writing from Camden County, Georgia:

You will be surprised to hear that I have not long returned from an excursion after Indians. Three of them were captured about two miles from my house, and it is believed that some hundreds are in the Oakafanoke [sic]. The Indians were conducted to this neighborhood by a runaway negro from this section. The negro is well known to me, and a great villain he is—he is fled to the Oakafanoke [sic], or in that direction, and fears are entertained that he may conduct, the next time, a much greater number. (“Extract,” 1837, p. 379)

The letter was dated May 31, 1837. It showed evidence that Africans and American Indians were operating together in the Okefenokee Swamp. Two years later, Major General Thomas S. Jesup, a White soldier in the Army of the USA, wrote a letter which mentioned Africans and American Indians operating together in the Okefenokee Swamp. Jesup stated that:

. . . the Creek Indians have all left the Okefenokee & gone south, there were seven runaway negroes from Georgia among them, well armed & plenty of ammunition. . . . the negroes have done most of the mischief in that quarter; the negroes also have left & on their way south burned the houses in the vicinity. (Quoted in Porter, 1971, p. 282)

There are many Black Georgians who have a connection to the Okefenokee Swamp and/or the Seminole Nation. For example, Cornelia Walker Bailey (2016), a self-identified Saltwater Geechee, has informed us that her grandfather John Bryant, also known as John Bryan and John Bryan’, was “one half Creek and one half African and they say he came from the Okefenokee Swamp” (p. 2).⁵

In her autobiography, Cornelia Walker Bailey made an important statement about Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans in the Seminole Nation. She stated that:

. . . instead of using the Underground Railroad and going north, a lot of Geechee/Gullah people who escaped from slavery went down to Florida and joined the Native Americans there, the Seminoles. That some of them intermarried with the Seminoles and over time came to see themselves as part of the Seminole tribe. That after the Second Seminole War, when most of the Seminoles were forcibly removed to Indian Territory, to Oklahoma, that people of

Geechee/Gullah ancestry went too and that some of their descendants still live in Oklahoma. (Bailey & Bledsoe, 2000, p. 311)

Cornelia Walker Bailey pointed out that some Geechees from Oklahoma were present in the Gullah/Geechee delegation that made a trip to Sierra Leone in 1989. The delegation included Geechees and other Gullahs from Georgia, South Carolina, and Oklahoma.⁶

The definition of Geechee used in this paper draws on Thomas Jesup (1861b, 1861c); Lorenzo Dow Turner (1941b); and Sterling Brown (1941). During March 1940, the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) held a conference at Howard University titled "The Interdisciplinary Aspects of Negro Studies." At the ACLS conference, Turner (1941a) presented a paper titled "Linguistic Research and African Survivals." During the question and answer period following the paper, Sterling Brown (1941) asked Lorenzo Dow Turner about the term Geechee. Turner (1941b) stated in part that, "I think this name is an Indian word . . ." (p. 79). However, when he published his book *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, Turner (1949) said that the term Geechee had "a probable African origin . . ." (p. 301). Thus, Turner contradicted that which he said some eight years earlier at the ACLS conference.

Many people have read the Turner's statement on Geechee in his book. However, it appears that a lot of them have never seen his statement on Geechee in the ACLS conference proceedings. This situation has caused many people to repeat the error in the book, including Joseph E. Holloway (1990/2005). The present writer believes that Turner was right in 1941 and wrong in 1949. Geechee is derived from an Indian word, not an African word. Sterling Brown (1941) deserves credit for being to present Turner with a question about the etymology of the term Geechee at the Howard Conference.

There is ample evidence that Geechee is an Indian word. In Georgia, there is a waterway known as the Ogeechee River. Part of the American Indians known variously as Creek, Muskogee, and Ogeechee lived near the Ogeechee River. The language of the Muskogee people gave birth to the term Geechee. The position of the present writer is that both the term Ogeechee and Geechee come from the Muskogee language. The ample evidence comes from James Mooney (1910a), William Bartram (1791), Francis Harper (1958), and Thomas S. Jesup (1861b, 1861c). They have all written about some aspects of the American Indian roots of the term Ogeechee. They have also noted that the Ogeechee Indians was one of the tribes and clans within the Creek Confederacy. In the case of Jesup, he has pointed out that the Ogeechee Indians was one of the groups that a part of the Seminole Nation during its Second War with the USA.

Regarding the Ogeechee Indians, James Mooney (1910a) has written in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* that:

Ogeechee. A town or subtribe of the Yuchi, formerly situated at some point on lower Ogeechee r., Ga. The Creeks and other tribes made war on them, and according to Bartram they were exterminated by the Creeks and Carolina

settlers (?) on Amelia id., Fla., where they had taken refuge after having been driven from the mainland. (p. 109)

Mooney pointed out that the Ogeechee Indians were attacked by a combination of Carolina settlers and other American Indians. He also pointed out that the Ogeechee Indians were forced out of the Ogeechee River area of Georgia down into Florida on Amelia Island.

William Bartram (1791) traveled through Georgia and Florida shortly before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. and made observations of American Indians and their physical environment. In his report, Bartram stated that:

And they say, also, that about this period the English were establishing the colony of Carolina, and the Creeks, understanding that they were a powerful, warlike people, sent deputies to Charleston, their capital, offering them their friendship and alliance, which was accepted, and, in consequence thereof, a treaty took place between them, which has remained inviolable to this day: they never ceased war against the numerous and potent bands of Indians, who then surrounded and cramped the Indian plantations, as the Savannas, Ogeeches, Wapoos, Santees, Yamasees, Utinas, Icosans, Paticas, and others, until they had extirpated them. The Yamasees and their adherents sheltering themselves under the power and protection of the Spaniards of East Florida, they pursued them to the very gates of St. Augustine, and the Spanish refusing to deliver them up, these faithful intrepid allies had the courage to declare war against them, and incessantly persecuted them, until they entirely broke up and ruined their settlements, driving them before them, till at length they were obliged to retire within the walls of St. Augustine and a few inferior fortified posts on the sea coast. (p. 55)

Bartram made reference to American Indians in the Creek Confederacy as the “they.” He made it clear that following three languages were observed among American Indians in the Creek Confederacy: (1) Muscogulge, (2) Stincard, and (3) Uches and Savannucas. In terms of those three, Bartram related that he observed “Muscogulge tongue being now the national or sovereign language” (p. 55). The terms Muscogulge Confederacy and Creek Confederacy were seen as synonymous by Bartram. He also used those terms to refer to the same political nation. According to J. Leitch Wright (1986), the term Muscogulge later morphed into the term Muskogee in spelling and pronunciation.⁷

Francis Harper (1958) provided an important “Commentary” in the reprint Naturalist Edition of *The Travels of William Bartram*. In his commentary, Harper reported that:

. . . the Ogeechee tribe was a band of Yuchi and this may have been the one which afterwards removed to Florida and settled at Spring Garden by Woodruff Lake. Possibly these Indians stopped upon the Georgia coast long enough to leave a memory of themselves there though could hardly have remained for a sufficient length of time to erect mounds of any magnitude. However, the

Ogeechee mentioned here may have been Indians from the mouth of Ogeechee River belonging to the Guale tribe which later settled in Florida north of St. Augustine. The Quaker Dickenson visited their towns in 1699. As to their “destruction” we may say that myth makers have destroyed more tribes than America ever contained. (p. 350)

It was noted by Harper that the Ogeechee Indian information contained in her commentary was supplied by J. R. S., which were the initials of John R. Swanton.

While serving as a general in the Second Seminole War, Thomas S. Jesup (1861b) sent a letter dated January 19, 1837 to Benjamin F. Butler, the Secretary of War. He stated:

I detached Lieutenant Colonel Foster, from Fort Clinch, with five hundred regular troops, Georgia volunteers, and Indian warriors, against the Tallahassee and Ogechee Indians, who had fled from the Withlacoochee, and have established themselves in the swamps south of the mouth of the Withlacoochee. (p. 826)

Some two days later, on January 21, 1837, Jesup (1861c) sent another letter to Butler. In it, Jesup reported that, “Lieutenant Colonel Foster is in pursuit of the Tallahassee and Ogechees, south of the Withlacoochee . . .” (p. 827). Jesup, in both letters, identified Ogeechee Indians as partisans of the Seminole Nation.

In addition to providing information to Butler about the Ogeechee Indians, Thomas S. Jesup reported on the Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans of the Seminole Nation to Butler. On December 9, 1836, Jesup (1861a) sent a letter to Butler and stated that, “This, you may be assured, is a negro, not an Indian war” (p. 821). Jesup also informed Butler that the Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans of the Seminole Nation were “perhaps, the most numerous” (p. 820). During the Second Seminole War, which lasted from 1835 to 1842, Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans of the Seminole Nation served as chiefs and captains of their own warriors or served as lieutenants and warriors under American Indian hereditary chiefs and war leaders. The highest-ranking Gullah-speaking Maroon partisan was known to Jesup as Abraham. In a military report, Jesup (1861d) wrote the following about Abraham:

The principal negro chief, supposed to be friendly to the whites; said to be a good soldier and an intrepid leader; he is the most cunning and intelligent negro we have seen; he is married to the widow of the former chief of the nation. (p. 852)

Jesup was very clear about the groups active in the Seminole Nation, including the Ogeechee Indians and the Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans. His reports reflect that clarity. It should be noted that the reports of Jesup refer to Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans simply as “Negroes.”

Webster’s New International Dictionary and *The Oxford English Dictionary* are widely acknowledged as two of the most authoritative of the English language. Although both dictionaries do not offer an etymology of the term Ogeechee, they have offered definitions of the term Geechee that leave a lot to be desired. Despite the shortcomings of their definitions of the term Geechee, neither tries to make the case

that the term Geechee is an African word. In *Webster's New International Dictionary*, the Merriam-Webster Inc. (1986) has defined the term Geechee in the following way:

geechee . . . *n -s usu cap* [fr. the *Ogeechee* river, Ga.] 1 : a dialect containing English words and words of native African origin spoken chiefly by the descendants of Negro slaves settled on the Ogeechee river in Georgia—compare GULLAH 2 : a Geechee-speaking Negro. (p. 943)

The definition of the term Geechee offered by the Merriam-Webster Inc. referred to the language first and to the people second. It also stated that the term Geechee is derived from the Ogeechee River.

Writing in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (1989), two White outsiders, offered a definition of Geechee as follows:

Geechee . . . U.S. dial. [f. the name of the Ogeechee River, Georgia.] (See quot. 1934.) Also a derogatory term for a Negro of the southern United States. Cf. Gullah.

1926 *Nat. Geogr.* Sept. 287 Among the negroes living on the Ogeechee River a patois, developed in ante bellum days, has persisted. . . The origin of 'Geechee', as the patois is called, is explained by the fact that slaves employed on the old rice plantations were more less isolated and rarely conversed with their white owners, with the result that their knowledge of English words was bizarre. The 'Geechee' speaks in a sort of staccato and always seem excited when talking.

1934 Webster, *Geechee*. A dialect, originally of Negro slaves on the Ogeechee river, Georgia, formed of English and native African words. 2. One who speaks Geechee. (p. 417)

The definition provided by Simpson and Weiner states that the term Geechee is derived from the Ogeechee River and identified it as a derogatory term for Black people in the South. Simpson and Weiner acknowledged that their definition was based an article by Ralph A. Graves in the *National Geographic* and the definition offered by Merriam-Webster Inc.

During the second decade of the 20th Century, Ralph A. Graves (1926), a White outsider, published an article wherein he offered a definition of the term Geechee. In that article, Graves declared that:

Among the negroes living on the Ogeechee River a patois, developed in ante bellum days, has persisted. It impressed the stranger almost as a foreign new language. The origin of "Geechee," as the patois is called, is explained by the fact that slaves employed on the old rice plantations were more or less isolated and rarely conversed with their white owners, with the result that their knowledge of English words was slight and the pronunciation of them was bizarre. The "Geechee" negro speaks in a sort of staccato and always seems excited when talking. His patois is encountered all along the Georgia coast. (p. 278)

Graves was a White outsider who referred to Gullah as a patois as did John G. Williams in the 1890s. He noted that Gullah could be found all along the coast of Georgia. Graves emphasized that Gullahs were often on plantations were the majority group and had little contact with White slaveholders.

Some 20 years before Ralph A. Graves's article appeared, Monroe N. Work (1905), a Black outsider, published an article titled "Some Geechee Folklore" and posed that the term Geechee was a derogatory one for Black people. Work wrote that, "The Negroes inhabiting the tide-water section of Georgia and South Carolina are so peculiar in their dialect, customs, and beliefs that the term Geechee, which means a rough, ignorant, and uncouth person, is applied to them" (p. 633). This may or may not be where J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner got their derogatory notion from. Nevertheless, J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner as well as Work are incorrect. In the age when they were writing, among many people, anything associated with people of Black African descent was often saw as rough, ignorant, and uncouth when compared to anything associated with people of White European descent. Thus, to be called an African or a Geechee or even a Gullah was saw as derogatory. It is also clear that outsiders J. A. Simpson, E. S. C. Weiner, and Monroe N. Work played a role in Geechee being depicted as a derogatory term for Black people instead of a badge of honor.⁸

The actions by J. A. Simpson, E. S. C. Weiner, and Monroe N. Work do not negate the fact that within the Seminole Nation, the American Indians referred to Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans and other Black people as "Estelusti" as pointed out by Minnie Moore-Willson (1910), Daniel F. Littlefield (1977), and J. Leitch Wright (1986).⁹ The position of the present writer is that the war-names Geechee and Geechees were given to Estelusti in the Seminole Nation by American Indians in the Seminole Nation to distinguish the Estelusti who fought alongside them for over 100 years from the other Estelusti. The position of the present writer also is that their American Indian comrades-in-arms gave them the war-names Geechee and Geechees in honor of the Ogeechee Indians whose numbers were decimated by the treachery of the European colonists. John R. Swanton (1928), John K. Mahon (1967), Joseph A. Opala (1981), and William C. Sturtevant (1955) have all noted the Creek-Seminole custom of bestowing honorary war-names on individuals and groups. Clay MacCauley (1887) observed that Seminoles in Florida continued the tradition of bestowing honorary names on groups and clans after the Emancipation Proclamation took effect.¹⁰

Implications of this Research on the Term Geechee

In terms of implications, this research on the term Geechee has at least four significant consequences. One significant consequence is that sheds light on the etymology of the term Geechee. A second significant consequence is that it sheds light on the position that the Geechee has an American Indian origin and not an African origin. A third significant consequence is that it sheds light on the position that the term Geechee originated as a war-name for Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans in the Seminole Nation during the 19th century. A fourth significant consequence is that it sheds light on the position that the every original Geechee was a Gullah, but every Gullah was not a Geechee.

Summary and Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to examine the etymology of the term Geechee. It has taken the position that the term has an American Indian origin and not an African origin. This paper has also taken the position that the term originated as a war-name for Gullah-speaking Maroon partisans in the Seminole Nation during the 19th century. In addition, it has taken the position that every original Geechee was a Gullah, but every Gullah was not a Geechee. This position does not deny the fact that language can be very dynamic as opposed to being static. For example, there are now many Black people with a Geechee heritage who self-identify as Gullahs and many Black people with a Gullah heritage who self-identify as Geechees. Some writers, scholars, and government officials now speak of the “Gullah-Geechee people” and the “Gullah-Geechee heritage” as designations and markers for one social group as a whole.¹¹

Further, in his book *Black Majority*, Peter H. Wood (1974) raised the issue of whether the term Gullah has a multiple etymology. He stated that:

The etymology of the term “Gullah” itself remains in some doubt. It could represent an abbreviated form of Angola, which would fit with the import data cited in the previous note. But it could also derive from the Gola tribe of the Windward Coast, which would relate to expressed preferences for slaves from the rice-growing region. The most likely answer is that both sources contributed to the word, and that it has a multiple etymology . . .” (p. 172)

The same may be true with the term Geechee in that it might have a multiple etymology in that the American Indian source and the African source contributed to the word. However, it is most likely that the term Geechee is derived from the term Ogeechee and comes from the Ogeechee Indians and not the Ogeechee River. As mentioned above, the position of the present writer is that the term Geechee originally referred to a social group of Gullah-speaking Maroons (and their descendants) who joined the Seminole Nation as partisans during their three wars with the USA in the 19th century Geechee. The position of the present writer is that every original Geechee was a Gullah, but every Gullah was not a Geechee.¹²

Writing in his book *Freedom on the Border: The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas*, Kevin Mulroy (1993) made the following statement about the racial dynamic during the Second Seminole War:

Whites had named them “Seminole Negroes” and had recognized them as an independent group during the Second Seminole War. We do not know how the maroons referred to themselves at this point. I would argue, however, that from an early stage in their development they would have felt a self-awareness and would have shared ideas about themselves as a people; that by the time of removal this had developed into a historical consciousness; that they had engaged in common pursuits, established an economic and social system and built communities based on group goals, collective action, and strong kinship ties; that they possessed a unique history and culture. In Robert K. Thomas’s

terms, they shared a common origin—a sense of “peoplehood”—and possessed an acute sense of both the significance of membership and the boundaries dividing them from others. This is what gave the group cohesiveness, strength, and identity. (p. 33)

Mulroy also related that the American Indians in the Seminole Nation were fighting against the USA to “retain their land and . . . maintain an identity separate from the Creeks” (p. 33). He also noted that the Gullah-speaking Maroons were fighting against the USA “for their freedom” (p. 33). On the one hand, the White slaveholders in the USA wanted the land of the Muskogee-speaking American Indians. On the other, the White slaveholders wanted the free labor of the Gullah-speaking Maroons who fled from enslavement in Georgia and South Carolina. This social condition made the Gullah-speaking Maroons and the Muskogee-speaking American Indians into natural allies in Florida. This social condition also (1) led to the spread of Gullah culture from Georgia and South Carolina to Florida, Oklahoma, Texas, Mexico, and the Bahamas as well as elsewhere; and (2) led to acculturation between the Muskogee-speaking American Indians and Gullah-speaking Maroons wherein the latter acquired the names Geechee and Geechees.¹³

Notes

1. When she was in the process of writing her book, Cornelia Walker Bailey (1998) declared in an article that:

. . . a White planter named Thomas Spalding bought the southern portion of the island in 1802 and imported enslaved Blacks from the West Indies and Golas from West Africa to work his fields. The name Gullah is derived from these Gola people. After slavery ended, our ancestors stayed on, carving out a life that was rich in the culture of the Gola tribe. (p. 135).

- Later, in her autobiography, Bailey appears to have backed off that statement about the origin of Gullah. She said that the Gola origin of Gullah may or may not be true.
2. It should be noted that there is a very large ethnic group in Kenya known variously as the Kissi and Gusii. For some information about that group of people in Kenya, see Timothy Parsons (2011); and Tabitha N. Otieno and Albertha Yeboah (2003, 2004). It should also be noted that Uche is a first name which has been used by Igbo (aka Ibo) women in Nigeria. For example, there is a relatively famous movie actress named Uche Uwujii in Nigeria’s Nollywood. Her films include *Lost Passion* in 2003, *A Can of Worms* in 2008, and *Up to Me* in 2006 (IMDb, 2019).
 3. I can trace back my Geechee and Gullah heritage for at least six generations. For example, my mother, Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, was a Geechee and a descendant of a Black Seminole woman named Bess Frazier who lived on the Georgia coast in Camden County. A report from AfricanAncestry.com indicates that the present writer’s maternal DNA is Yoruba from Nigeria. My father, Jimmie Lee Cromartie, was a Gullah born in the shadow of Negro Fort in Florida and a descendant of a Gullah man, June Wright Cromartie, who once lived in North

Carolina's Bladen County and Sampson County. A report from AfricanAncestry.com shows that my paternal DNA is Akan from Ghana. For discussions of my Geechee background received from a lineage through my mother, see Cromartie (2013a, 2013b, 2013c). For discussions of my Gullah background received from a lineage through my father, see Cromartie (2016a; 2016b; 2016c). As I stated in my book *Morgan-Frazier Family Clan: Chronicles of a Black Family with a Geechee and Gullah Heritage in Essays, Research Reports, Documents, and Photographs*, my mother Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd proudly referred to herself as a Freshwater Geechee. I also wrote the following in my book:

Certain institutions within the mass media have taught Black people to engage in self-hatred and contempt for their own cultural heritage. Sadly, some members of the Morgan-Frazier family clan have not been able to escape that social phenomenon. However, there are members of the Morgan-Frazier family clan who have managed to escape that social phenomenon and embraced our Geechee and Gullah heritage. For example, Julia Frazier Cromartie Boyd, my mother proudly described herself to me as a freshwater Geechee as opposed to a saltwater Geechee. My mother, a former packer in a Brunswick, Georgia shrimp factory, used the term saltwater Geechee to refer to cultural insiders living on Georgia's barrier islands and coastal counties. She used the term freshwater Geechee to refer to cultural insiders living within inland counties like Wayne, Ware, Liberty, and elsewhere. My mother took the position that one of the only significant differences between saltwater Geechees and freshwater Geechees involves the location (i.e., place of residence). For her, the cultural heritage of saltwater Geechees and freshwater Geechees consists of the same basic traits. When it comes to food, both groups tend to rely heavily on a rice diet. This norm can be traced back to Africa. My mother informed me in 1987 that some of our relatives with the surnames Lee and Johnson still lived on St. Simons Island. (p. 13)

Cornelia Bailey has written that, "Here on the Georgia islands, Saltwater Geechee was what we called ourselves, and black people who lived about thirty miles inland, around freshwater, were called Freshwater Geechee" (Bailey & Bledsoe, 2000, p. 5). Further, as mentioned above, the grandmother (Bess Frazier a.k.a. Bessie Frazier) of my grandfather (Augustus Manson Frazier) on my mother's side of the family was a Black Seminole. She was born in 1838 during the Second Seminole War. By 1861, Bess Frazier found herself enslaved in Camden County, Georgia on a rice plantation. At that time, Bess Frazier and her three children—six years old Fanny, four years old Albert, and two years old Jordan—were held in bondage by a slaveholding White woman named Louisa T. Nichols. The father of Louisa T. Nichols was Henry J. Nichols, a White slaveholding man and physician, who migrated from Charleston, South Carolina and owned a rice plantation in Camden County. Her brother Henry Johnathan Nichols was also a White slaveholder as well as her husband Nathan A. Brown. The Nichols also spelled their surname Nicholes

(Cromartie, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Louisa T. Nichols, Henry J. Nichols, & Nathan A. Brown, 1861; Census Office, 1860). It should be noted that Patricia Jones-Jackson (1987) made the following statement in her book *When Roots Die*:

Though many writers have stated that rice was a Sea Island crop (see, for example, Wood, *Black Majority*; and Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource"), Professor Charles Joyner has indicated to me (through personal communication) that rice was grown not on the Sea Islands but in rice fields adjoining nearby mainland rivers. Rice requires fresh water, and the flooding and draining of rice fields require freshwater rivers moved by ocean tides. Thus Sandy Island had rice fields but the ocean islands did not. (p. 171)

Jones-Jackson has really helped to set the record straight by reporting that which Joyner told her. If Joyner was correct, this means that it very well may be that certain White slaveholders wanted enslaved Africans from specific areas of the Motherland to work on rice plantations on the mainland and not on the Sea Islands. For the works mentioned by Jones-Jackson, see Peter H. Wood (1974) and Juanita Jackson, Sabra Slaughter, and J. Herman Blake (1974). Further, Asa G. Hilliard, III (1995) pointed out that Maroons were active "in the United States in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama" (p. 53). He also urged Black people to accept, and not reject, our Maroon heritage and the Marron within us. I definitely agree with Asa G. Hilliard, III.

4. For some important books by White officers who fought against the armed forces of the Seminole Nation, see William Hayne Simmons (1822), Woodburne Potter (1836), M. M. Cohen (1836), John Lee Williams (1837), John T. Sprague (1848); George A. McCall (1868). In the case of Cohen, he said that "maroon negroes live among the Indians" (p. 46). McCall made an important letter on September 25, 1826 about a visit he had to Pilacklichaha (aka Pelahlikaha, Pu-lacklicaha, Pyaclekaha, and Peliklakaha), which was one of the largest Maroon communities, if not the largest, in Florida. He stated that Pilacklichaha was "one of the most prosperous negro towns in the Indian territory" (p. 160). McCall added:

We found these negroes in possession of large fields of the finest land, producing large crops of corn, beans, melons, pumpkins, and other esculent vegetables. They are chiefly runaway slaves from Georgia . . . I saw while, riding along the borders of the ponds, fine rice growing; and in the village large corn-cribs well filled, while the houses were larger and more comfortable than those of the Indians themselves. The three principal men bear the distinguished names of July, August, and Abram. We found these men to be shrewd, intelligent fellows, and to the highest degree obsequious. (p. 160)

McCall made it clear that most of the Maroons at Pilacklichaha were from Georgia and that the Black chiefs in that Maroon community were July, August, and Abraham (aka Abram). He also made it clear that the Maroons were raising rice, corn, beans,

melons, and pumpkins as well as animals. Another important book from the 19th Century was written by Charles Poe (1898). He said that, "The Maroons were thoroughly established among the Seminoles, had in a few cases intermarried with them, and were regarded more as brethren and allies" (p. 15). Poe, as did McCall, reported that many of the Maroons who allied themselves with American Indians in the Seminole Nation were "runaway slaves from Georgia" (p. 14)

5. I was born and raised in Georgia's Okefenokee Swamp area. I went to high school in a city named Waycross, which is located a few miles to the northeast of the Okefenokee Swamp. Laura Singleton Walker (1934) has related that the first White family to live in the present limits of Waycross on a permanent basis occurred in 1871. The first White family that attempted to live in Waycross was the Wildes family consisting of Maximillan "Maxie" Wildes, his wife Elizabeth Wilkinson Wildes, and their 10 children. Of the 12 original members in the Wildes family, 8 of them and 1 other person lost their lives during a July 22, 1838 attack by Seminoles who were based in the Okefenokee Swamp. Survivors of the attack included four members of the Wildes family. I went to Waycross Senior High School with a descendant of one of the four survivors. His name was Maxie Wildes just like his ancestor and namesake. On the one hand, I am descendant of a Black Seminole. On the other hand, Maxie Wildes is a descendant of the Wildes family who was attacked by Seminoles. For reports about the attack on the Wildes family, which is also known as the Wildes Massacre and the last attack by the Seminoles and other American Indians on White people in Georgia, see Laura Singleton Walker (1934) and Thomas Hilliard (1934). Hilliard correctly reported that incident occurred on July 22, 1938. Walker incorrectly reported that it occurred on July 22, 1932.
6. See the documentary *Family Across the Sea* by Tim Carrier (1990).
7. For more information about the Creek Confederacy and what one writer has termed the Muskogean linguistic family, see Frederick Webb Hodge (1907) as well as Henry W. Henshaw and James Mooney (1907).
8. American Indians have faced a somewhat similar situation in terms of such racist treatment. In 1868, James Michael Cavanaugh, a White member from Missouri in the House of Representatives, stated that, ". . . I like an Indian better dead than living. I have never in my life seen a good Indian (and I have seen thousands) except when I have seen a dead Indian" (Quoted in Wolfgang Mieder, 1993, p. 42). General Philip Sheridan, a White officer in the Army of the USA, has been credited with having once told an American Indian that "the only good Indian I ever saw was dead" (Quoted in Wolfgang Mieder, 1993, p. 45). During 1886, Theodore Roosevelt, a White man who would later become the president of the USA, said in a speech that: "I don't go so far as to say that the only good Indians are dead Indians, but I believe nine out of ten are, and I shouldn't like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth" (Quoted in Wolfgang Mieder, 1993, pp. 45-46). No matter how it was phrased, the three supported the view that, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." When it came to Black people, some White people and some Black people held the position that anything Black is inferior to anything Black. To be connected to American Indian people and Black people was a recipe for the receipt of derogatory statements during the early and late 20th Century. The derogatory statements led to the development of self-hatred among many Geechees and other Gullahs. For

example, see Emory Campbell (2011), William C. Saunders (1980), and Clarence Thomas (2007). In the case of Campbell, he says the derogatory statements led to “ridicule and shame” (p. 78). Campbell has recalled that, “At school our Gullah Geechee speech was vigorously denounced, and we tried with considerable enthusiasm to learn English” (p. 80).

9. Minnie Moore-Wilson (1910) has informed us that, in the language of the Seminole Nation, “Estalustee” was used to refer to the Black race, “Estachatee” was used to refer to the American Indian race, and “Estahadkee” was used to refer to the White race (p. 187). The spelling of Estelusti with the term ending with a double “e” letters may have been more correct because of the Muskogee phonetics tradition with words. Kevin Mulroy (1993) pointed out that Esteluti were also known as Mascogas in Mexico; Seminole Freedmen or simply Freedmen in Oklahoma; and Seminole Freedmen, Seminole Negroes, or simply Seminole in Texas. For some contemporary problems and challenges of Estelusti in the Seminole Nation, see Ray Von Robertson (2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2011) and Shirley Boteler Mock (2010).
10. According to Mary Alicia Owen (1904), one or more clans among the Musquakie Indians of the Midwest used the term “Geechee Manito-ah” to refer to a major deity. She also pointed out that the Musquakie Indians used war-chiefs in battle and the succession of the royal chief went to a nephew and not his own son. It should be noted that the Seminole Nation used war-chiefs in battle and the succession of the royal chief went to a nephew and not his own son. James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas (1907) have informed us that the Musquakie was part of the better-known Foxes Indian tribe and vice versa. In fact, Mooney and Thomas have written the following about the tribe:

An Algonquian tribe, so named, according to Fox tradition recorded by Dr William Jones, because once while some Wagohug, members of the Fox clan, were hunting, they met the French, who asked who they were; the Indians gave the name of their clan, and ever since the whole tribe has been known by the name of the Fox clan. Their own name for themselves, according to the same authority, is Meshkwakihug, “red-earth people,” because of the kind of earth from which they are supposed to have been created. They were known to the Chippewa and other Algonquian tribes as Utugamig, “people of the other shore.” (p. 472).

William Thornton Parker (1913) is another person who has observed some American Indians using the term Geechee Manito-ah to refer to a major deity in the form of the “Great Spirit” (p. 151). However, Parker has provided a slightly different spelling which is “Gitche-manito” (p. 151).

11. See Marquette L. Goodwine & The Clarity Press Gullah Project (1998), National Park Service (2005), Michele Nicole Johnson (2009), LeRhonda S. Manigault-Bryant (2014), and Melissa Cooper (2017).
12. Robert Farris Thompson (1983) has noted that Geechees and Gullahs have the

ability to engage in critical thinking about our own culture. He stated that Geechees and Gullahs can engage in critical thinking by “by virtue of the culturally open and responsive spirit.” Because of Africanisms in Gullah culture, Gullahs are in a position to stay in touch with their Africanity. Thompson has informed us that one Gullah folk saying from the Congo holds that, “The man in touch with his origins . . . is a man who will never die” (p. 158). He also reported that a related Gullah folk saying from the Congo is as follows: “If you know where you are going, and where you are coming from, you can decorate the way to other worlds—the road to the ancestors and to God; and your name will merge forever with their glory” (p. 158). I hold that it is imperative for Geechees and other Gullahs to be in touch with our origins. I also hold that it is imperative for Geechees and other Gullahs to know where we are going and where we have been for the sake of our ancestors. As for the Gullah language, I agree with Charles Joyner (1984) that the Gullah started out as pidgin language and later developed into a Creole language. He has argued that, in the case of the Gullah language, “The English contribution was principally lexical; the African contribution was principally grammatical” (p. xxi). I also agree with Jodi Barnes and Carl Steen (2012) position that “reflexive, indigenous research is valuable, and we wish more people like Eugene Frazier (2005) and Vennie Deas Moore (1987) were writing about their communities and their histories” (p. 175). They added: “This lore is being lost as elders pass on without conveying their stories to younger generations” (p. 175).

13. For the plight of Gullah-speaking Maroons in the Seminole Nation who fled to Andros Island in the Bahamas, see Kenneth Wiggins Porter (1945), John M. Goggin (1946), Rosalyn Howard (2002).

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RACIAL VARIATIONS OF THE INJECTION ROUTE OF ADMINISTRATION AMONG INJECTION DRUG USERS IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARATIVE TREND ANALYSIS

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- ▶ Injection Route of Administration
- ▶ Racial Disparities
- ▶ Health Disparities
- ▶ HIV infections
- ▶ Injection Drug Users
- ▶ Comparative Trend Analysis

KEYWORDS



INJECTION DEFINITION

▶"An **injection** is an infusion method of putting fluid into the body, usually with a syringe and a hollow needle which is pierced through the skin to a sufficient depth for the material to be administered into the body."

▶" An injection follows a **parenteral route of administration**; that is, administration via a route other than through the digestive tract. Since the process inherently involves a small puncture wound to the body."

▶**Parenteral injection** – Somewhere in the body other than the mouth or alimentary canal

- ▶Intravenously
- ▶Intramuscularly
- ▶Intradermal
- ▶Subcutaneously

(Crossword Nexus, 2019; WHO, 2019)

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BACKGROUND



- ▶ Increasing popularity of injection as the route of administration (Peters et al.,1997)
- ▶ Preference of injection as the route of administration
 - ▶ Heroin use
 - ▶ Cocaine use
 - ▶ Crack cocaine use
 - ▶ Amphetamine use
- ▶ This kind of research is imperative to shape drug treatment, mental health and social services across the nations
- ▶ Address health and racial disparities

(Peters et al.,1997; WHO,2019)

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Disparities in the Injection Route of Administration

Limited studies address the variations in the injection route of administration among racial groups who are injection drug users in the United States.

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

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Primary route of
injection
administration

Secondary
route of
injection
administration

Tertiary route of
injection
administration

FOCUS ON THE ROUTE OF ADMINISTRATION

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FOCUS ON THE ROUTE OF ADMINISTRATION

U.S. Food and Drug Administration lists various forms of route of administration

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(U.S. Food and Drug Administration, 2019)

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The objective of this research is to address the variations in the injection route of administration among racial groups who are injection drug users in the United States and how that contributes to their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS behaviors and hospital admissions.

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Data Collection

- Secondary Data
- Responses were collected from 96 urban areas among injection drug users in the United States.
- The dataset: *The Community Vulnerability and Responses to Drug-User-Related HIV/AIDS, 1990-2013 [96 Metropolitan Statistical Areas, United States] (ICPSR 36575)*¹ was used

(Friedman et al, 2013)

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Data Collection

- The dataset: *The Community Vulnerability and Responses to Drug-User-Related HIV/AIDS, 1990-2013 [96 Metropolitan Statistical Areas, United States] (ICPSR 36575)*¹
- The Community Vulnerability and Responses to Drug-User-Related HIV/AIDS, 1990-2013 [96 Metropolitan Statistical Areas, United States] study (CVAR) was a research study of why large United States Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) vary over time in their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS among drug users and in MSA responses to HIV/AIDS.

(Friedman et al, 2013)

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METHODS



A comparative trend analysis assessed the various route of administration among four racial groups (Blacks, Latinos, Whites, and other races), who are injection drug users, in the United States.



Utilizing a stepwise model building procedure in SPSS version 24, ANOVA test calculated the various coefficients and means using four linear regression models that were compared.



An assessment was conducted on the various injection route of administration of the racial groups that contributed to the ratio of injection drug users who were admitted to the health centers for heroin, crack, or cocaine admissions.



Specifically, Whites were compared to Blacks, Latinos, and other races to ascertain the various variations in the injection route of administration that contributed to the likelihood of admissions in the health centers.

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Whites were statistically significantly associated with injection as a tertiary route of administration for heroin, crack, or cocaine ($\beta=0.004$, $P<0.05$, $P=0.002$, 95% CI: 0.001 - 0.006) than Blacks, Latinos, and other races.



All racial groups were observed with statistical significance for injection as a primary route of administration ($P<0.05$, $P=0.000$), but Whites who are injection drug users were more likely to have been prescribed hospital admissions for utilizing both tertiary and primary injection route of administration ($P<0.05$, $P=0.000$) than any other racial group in the United States.

RESULTS

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INJECTION ROUTE OF ADMINISTRATION	RACIAL GROUPS	P VALUES
Tertiary route of administration for heroin, crack, or cocaine	Whites only	0.002
Primary route of administration for heroin, crack, or cocaine	All racial groups	0.000



RESULTS

CONCLUSION

- ▶ It's imperative to understand the true likelihood of injection route of administration among racial groups that is crucial for attaining successes in HIV prevention.
- ▶ Health workers may be able to eliminate discrepancies resulting in wrongful or ineffective screening generalizations of injection route of administration among racial groups.
- ▶ A concern of an increasing tertiary route of administration for the injection of heroin, crack, or cocaine among Whites.
- ▶ Newer drug treatment technologies or therapies for addressing drug injector prevention among Whites should focus on addressing both primary and tertiary injection route of administration, as well as high tendencies for injection drug-use hospital admissions among Whites.



LIMITATIONS

►Secondary data analysis

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Future researchers must factor a wider consideration of the kind of both primary and tertiary route of administration that are influencing these kind of statistics.

Categorization of the route of administration

The influence of the adverse reactions of the various route of administration on the injection drug user

FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

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THANK YOU!

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Human Trafficking and At-Risk Population in Rural and Small Communities

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What Is Human Trafficking?

Human trafficking is modern-day slavery and involves the use of force, fraud, or coercion to obtain some type of labor or commercial sex act.

- ▶ Became a federal crime in 2000
- ▶ Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000
 - Use of force, fraud, or coercion to induce commercial sex acts or labor or other services



Human Trafficking

- ▶ Sex trafficking
 - Person coerced, forced, deceived into entering or continuing in commercial sex work
 - Can include prostitution, pornography, and so on.

- ▶ Labor trafficking
 - Bonded labor/debt bondage
 - Forced labor involuntary domestic servitude



Extent of Human Trafficking

- ▶ Most trafficking goes undetected
- ▶ Official statistics greatly underestimates extent of human trafficking
 - By nature, trafficking is underground, hidden
 - Most victims do not report victimization
 - Victims often a mobile population
 - Definitions of human trafficking not clear



Consequences for Victims of Human Trafficking

- ▶ Physical health consequences
 - Labor trafficking victims may be exposed to dangerous working conditions
 - Sex trafficking victims sexually and physically abused
- ▶ Psychological effects
 - Labor trafficking—shame, anxiety disorders, PTSD, and depression
 - Sex trafficking—depression, anxiety, hostility, PTSD, and suicide attempts



Rural Human Trafficking Victims

- ▶ **Rural Victims**
 - Often women and girls, but not exclusively
 - Minors, especially runaway or homeless youth
 - American Indian or Alaskan Natives
 - Temporary visa holders
- ▶ **Risk Factors**
 - Prior physical/sexual abuse or neglect
 - Drug dependencies
 - Prior debt or economic challenges



Rural Sex Trafficking

How are victims recruited?

- Familial or intimate partner recruitment
- Social networking
- Gang recruitment
- False advertisements

Where is it happening?

- Commercial sex
- Commercial front brothels
- Truck stops

How victims are control?

- Withholding medical treatment
- Forced drug dependency
- Isolation or movement controlled
- Physical or sexual assault
- Psychological manipulation
- Threat of if harm to individual or loved ones
- Isolation and monitoring



Rural Labor Trafficking

How are victims recruited?

- False job advertisements
- Outside recruitment agencies
- Familial recruitment

Where is it happening?

- Agriculture
- Restaurants
- Domestic work
- Construction
- Traveling sales
- Carnivals and tourism

How victims are control?

- Debt bondage
- Isolation or movement controlled
- Physical or sexual abuse
- Document confiscation
- Threats against family or friends
- Psychological manipulation
- False promises during recruitment
- Threat of if harm to individual or loved ones



Signs of Human Trafficking

- ▶ Isolated from family, and friends
- ▶ Stopped attending school or other social setting
- ▶ Sudden or dramatic change in behavior
- ▶ Individual is disoriented, confused or showing signs of mental or physical abuse.
- ▶ Bruises in various stages of healing
- ▶ Fearful, timid or submissive
- ▶ Signs of having been denied food, water, sleep or medical care.
- ▶ With someone who appears to in charge or controlling.
- ▶ Individual appear to be coached on what to say
- ▶ Unsuitable living in unsuitable conditions
- ▶ Little or no personal possessions and appear not to have a stable living situation



Victim Services Needed in Rural Areas

- ▶ Trafficking victims have fewer resources available to them than do victims of other crimes
- ▶ Little or protective shelters in many rural areas
- ▶ Small towns need more professors in policing, social work and the medical community

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Interesting Findings: A Turkish Scholar's Interviews with American Conservatives

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This is a quick overview of the content of American conservative discourses in Washington State; the fixations, symbols, and other elements discovered through interviews with a panel of elite conservatives. The interviews explored both institutional and personal positions and opinions about the family (women's role and sexuality),

religion, patriotism (nationalism, authority, democracy and human nature), tradition v. change and Economics. Since the research was carried out by a Turkish scholar it is highlighted with comparisons to conservative discourse in Turkey.

Family

Family was the first of five topics raised in my interviews with American conservatives. I made every effort to make the respondents comfortable so that they could express their feelings freely on these often sensitive topics. Although I aimed to explore the contradictions of conservative discourse in terms of micro structures in my analysis, I was careful not to challenge respondents in any way during the interviews. While discussing controversial issues such as divorce, abortion, the role of women in the family, child care, family values, marriage and different gender preferences, arguments, the respondents themselves raised and discussed them as they elaborated their positions.

For Christians the family counters the human flaws in its members through love and care. This is done by teaching both the difference between right and wrong and how to choose what is right while making a living in the world. From this point of view the family institution is a necessity not a mere consensual association. In addition to being the foundation of society, the family is one of its most complex products. In Connell's words, the family is multi-layered with sets of relationships stacked upon each other, just like the geological layers. In no other institution do so many long-term relationships periodically reach maximum levels of intensity. This is because economic necessity, emotion, power, and desire for independence are so tightly woven together in the family. The family has an indispensable place in the life of the individual despite all this complex structure. Therefore, conservatives resist even the slightest interference with the family. Because change the structure or function of the family, would change the structure and functioning of society.

The family (American family values) is always of great importance when any candidate goes before the electorate.

Studies show that families that are together in the traditional sense provide a sense of security that prepares children for school.

We work for laws that protect marriage and the traditional family. The other side wants a bigger role for government that we view as interfering with family life.

Conservative family values revolve around the notion of parental control...for conservatives the realm of the family should be completely autonomous with no government interference. That's why many conservatives homeschool. They don't trust public education.

As indicated by the response on education, ideological lines over time can become legal lines that protect conservatives from the rest of society such legal lines are not as clearly drawn in Turkey where moral education is still dealt with as values education. Moral education and education of values are part of religious education designed for religious individuals. Many American conservatives see homeschooling as a solution to

their conflicts and it is now a legal option in Washington and many other states. However, such options are not currently available in Turkey. Legally Children must receive training in all official state or private primary school in Turkey. If children are not sent to school by their parents, the parents are punished. And all the children have to have basic education for 8 years. The debate about the proper role of the state in family affairs concerning ideas about separation of church and state, and the understanding of secular values in education differ in the US and Turkey. Conservative religious groups in both countries do not want a secular education for their children. It is also clear that in both cases conservatives see the church as an alternative way to provide education. Although religious education in mosques is available in Turkey, it is limited to learning the Quran and cannot substitute for officially approved education which is an option in the US. The mosque and the church have similar functions in the social structure, but conservatives in the US have preserved far greater play for the churches as providers of officially accepted instruction. Since the Reagan revolution there has been continual pressure for states to adopt voucher systems that would let parents choose to spend the state money allocated for their children's' education for tuition at church schools, this would apply to mosques in the US.

Family: Gender Roles

Respondents were asked about the role of woman in the family is to learn the extent to which traditional conservative discourse is still used. Since the working woman remains responsible for housework, she has two jobs within the family structure. With their changing roles in the modern world, women have to work harder to get ahead in business while the workload at home remains the same. Can traditional views survive in or adapt to this situation?

People who represent a very strongly pro-feminine/pro-feminist point of view are rare in the Republican Party the conservative movement. Most women in the conservative movement are fairer... They run businesses. They form businesses. To support economic development they want small taxes and less regulation. They are just like men... women who are conservative enjoy watching another conservative woman succeed.

I would say approaches depend more who the people are as far as family life goes regardless of who might make more money or how household responsibilities are distributed.

There was a women's rights movement in the 1960s changed the law. Now women can choose whether or not to go into the workplace and from conservative point of view, we see nothing wrong with either choice. If you choose to have a career great, we think you might regret it down the road when you are older and you have no children. We see liberals as saying—although you have the choice, there's only one right choice. If you choose to be a mother and stay at home they get angry.

Just a question in two ways of thinking: First, I would clearly and unequivocally affirm what we call the equality of being between the man and the woman found in our foundational text. In Scripture, almost 1st page says that in the image of God we were created: male and female created in the image of God. So there is no question that a woman has the equality of being with the man.

To summarize, in terms of the traditional family, the role of the woman has advanced. Today it is different because of changes brought about by the women's rights movements in the 1960s. Spouses now usually have to share all responsibilities. The demands of making a living and caring for children have forced people to change. Living according to the discursive structure of the traditional family model is a difficult, maybe impossible, in today's conditions. First of all, all of the participants stated in some way that women and men are equal in the family. But they have very different understandings/perspectives on equality. While role differentiation is most important for some—the role of women in child care is linked to creation—most acknowledge that equality in terms of sharing responsibilities has become a necessity. At the level of discourse one respondent took us back to the foundation—God created all men and women equal. This foundation is shared by ideologies around the world in Turkey as in the United States.

Religion: Separation of Church and State

Established Modern views on religion differ from those that form the basis of politicized forms contemporary religious conservatism. As Turkey modernized religion, as the official influence of the clergy, was confined to the private sphere and excluded from government. Perspectives on religion has have been changing since the year 2000 and Religion is now a phenomenon within the public sphere. Perhaps the most important difference between American and Turkish conservatism lies in their approaches to modernism. America was born Modern. It did not have a traditional structure that needed to be restructured. The American Revolution left it all behind in Europe. Modern Turkey must build on and within its traditional social structure, modernity must adapt to it as it adapts to modernity. Significant conflicts between religious doctrines and modern values, especially rationality, must be reconciled within the context of tradition. At present with the conservative electoral resurgence religion is ascendant in social life and new relations in the public sphere are emerging. The reintegration of Religious values that does not interfere with everyday secular life is moving Turkey toward a single, inhomogeneous modernity that differs from western models. Islam and modernity are being reconciled in this respect, as a result of the process of constructing new conservative identities.

With this in mind, I asked the participants the following prompts were used a needed to facilitate discussion: "Can a person be religious and modern at the same time?", "How do conservatives use Christian religious symbols?", "What upsets American conservatives about attacks on religious symbols?", "What do American conservatives think about religion in foreign cultures, especially about Islamic cultures and anti-Islamism?", "What is the role of Christin values in American society and its religious communities?", "In terms of religion how do conservatives understand

pluralistic democratic values?”, “In the face of secular world desires are Christian values in public space enough to safe guard conservative values?”, “What is the impact of decreasing church attendance and the lack of exposure to religious symbolism and ritual?”, “To what extent do the American conservatives exclude those who are not religious/do not attends church?”, “Is religiousness an important criterion for conservative candidates in elections and party leadership in government?”.

Following the respondents interests discussion centered on secularism, the position of strong faith groups in America, the meaning of Christian symbols for conservatives in America, Muslim communities as religious societies, and the religious motivation of and use of religious symbols by politicians.

I personally think it's very important to make sure that the state does not promote any one religion. That is absolutely crucial because it's so important to have people of all religions feel equally served by the government, equally at home in that nation. But arguments arise when free exercise your religion is limited by government restrictions.

The United States Constitution clearly says that Congress “shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion”. But for conservatives that's not “separation of church and state” which is not found in the Constitution, but in a letter that somebody wrote and that the Supreme Court latched onto to make a decision and turn that into a doctrine...Whereas the Christian right is very conservative religious elite that strongly opposes the trend and blames the government for it. But I think that their number is not growing significantly, I think of anything it is stagnant or declining.

Roman Empire was made up of many kinds of pagan religious people rather than of any one particular faith. These polytheistic religions were a source of persecution as Christianity began to spread. Finally, The Church was favored and the Catholic Church became the state church—the two became almost inseparable at times. I was really convinced, by this, more than ever that a free church in every state is a really good idea because, for one, that helps us as an American country to be a welcoming country.

The household for better and for worse is the source of moral education. What they're getting at home will be reinforced by moral education in Sunday school and the public schools. This is where the idea of separation of church and state becomes real and is sometimes interpreted to mean that the government must be hostile to religion. The words “separation of church and state” come from the offhand phrase used by Thomas Jefferson. There was no express, systematic thought about this separation. It has been interpreted overtime in different ways. One of which sees American government as hostile to organized religion which is just simply wrong.

These responses clearly show that European style secularism, with which I am familiar, does not exist in America. All the conservative respondents considered the relationship between religion and state to be problematic. To deal with the problem they used historical examples: (1) The Roman Empire is used to legitimize the role of the

state in religious affairs, but also serves a warning against excessive interference. (2) Thomas Jefferson was blamed for introducing excessive secularization which led to seeing the state as the enemy of religion. Historical references ignore Europe from the fall of Rome to the American Revolution. Unlike in European states, there has never been one established church for conservatives to defend against the secular assault of modernity. To create a union among the thirteen newly independent states, each with its own state religion; the “no establishment” and “free exercise” provisions were foundational. Once the federal state was established, definition and enforcement of the two seemingly exclusive provisions fell to the new national government. Now it had to keep dominant churches in any state from using elections and republican institutions to enact policies that establish/favor one religion over another and it must, also, guarantee free exercise to every individual in each by insuring that religious belief were not forced upon citizens through public schools or other governmental institutions. As the number of churches multiplied and migration produced a mix of religions in all states, changes continually added new dimensions to the debate until most took refuge in the American truism, “You can’t legislate morality”.

In modern Turkey state/church conflict is similar to that experienced in Europe, but the historical power of the church is greater and secular forces have extensive external support. In a unitary state where the vast majority of the citizenry share the same religion and come from a tradition of state support of the faith democratic elections and republican institutions would be expected to result in state support of religion. The solution emerging in Turkey appears to be similar to those of European states, but more balanced. Education as in all three cases is the real battleground. The emerging Turkish solution involves a unique kind of separation. Secular, science based, instruction in the public schools and moral instruction in the church with government protecting and supporting both. Turks can legislate morality, but not in the secular sphere. The government, of course, protects religious symbols and ritual as sources of cultural and national identity.

Patriotic Values: Americanism, Democracy and Capitalism

What is the nation? Two concepts emerged from the interviews: a mythical community and a tradition that builds historically through reincarnation of founding truths. In a nation state lacking the traditional structures of aristocracy and monarchy, a new basis for tradition had to be created. Since European Christian discourse supported such structures, the new nation had to re-invent Christian discourse to support its myths and structures. Debates in the nation states of Europe between Conservatives and Liberals were beside the point because the founding myth was Liberal. The true Liberalism of the founders is what American conservatives want to conserve. Progressives, called Liberals, think that Liberalism in America can and should be continually improved through reform.

American conservative discourses draw on its European counterpart when possible to add traditional credibility—Burke has even been adapted and enlisted in the cause. The American founders understood the distinction the concepts of state and nation, took an explicitly anti-state view which continues to anchor conservative discourse in the US—that government is best that governs least. Since the Liberals have to use the

government to carry out reforms, conservatives see them as statists who pose an authoritarian threat and are, therefore, un-American. The interviews show how presently and historically conservative discourse seeks to limit the role of the state although Americans seldom use the term “state”. To get at the detail I asked the participants about the sacred structure set forth in the Constitution: the American Presidential System and the historical Two-party System that grew out of it. I asked about equal representation and the two-party system and the concentration of power in the modern presidency with a large permanent military establishment. Finally, I focused their thinking by raising the hotly debated issue of immigration.

Conservatives everywhere are patriots: true believers in their national creed. In this respect American conservatives are not different, but what is the substance of the American creed? It is this substance that is unique and makes them different. Americanism: what is it and how is it understood by conservatives in the United States of America?

The slogan make America a great again only wants to see America first. Conservatives believe this, like he said, it's time to blame bad people not America—9/11 was not America's fault...If you watch the national conventions of the political parties Republicans do patriotism, Democrats less.

Among conservatives there is almost religious-like worship of the Constitution. You don't mess with the Constitution. We don't want it amended unless it's absolutely necessary. We don't want your judges reinterpreting it. Leave it alone! It's worked for 220 years, it is the greatest document ever written so, don't mess. So there is a religious-like defending that 220-year-old document”

The constitution prevents authoritarianism. That's really important to conservatives because the president has to respect the balance of powers that was instituted in our Constitution. The founding fathers divided power into these interlocking pieces where the executive has its role, the legislative has its role, the Supreme Court and the court system has its role. So conservatives would be opposed the president becoming too powerful.

Because conservatives in America believe that strongly in the Constitution as it was written, they think that a strong executive, a strong president is an aberration in the constitutional system. They believe that the constitutional system is set up so that the legislative branch should have been the stronger branch. Because of the all people in the House have to be elected every two years, the people have more direct control over the legislative branch, but the executive branch has become more dominant. That's true though. The legislative branch has been giving up authority and allowing as the executive that larger margin to agencies.

This is not a pure democracy the founding fathers actually were terrified of pure democracy; they didn't want that. When they saw the French Revolution, they were terrified of that so there's a strong element of dispersing. We have a Republican form of government, not a pure democracy, but it's not authoritarian.

You can run as an independent but in order to be really successful you really need to be a Republican or Democrat and that's how you divide this huge spectrum of beliefs into just two.

I think the two-party system is good. But I do think that there are a lot more people that are more in the middle want to see things growing to get better. It doesn't have to rely solely on always being conservative.

Strong military, obviously, strength by force is huge. Because if you're not investing your assets that might be new vehicles, weapons, tanks whatever else, it's just like any other technology not investing is falling behind because it's constantly changing... I think there's a constant struggle concerning military spending and what is appropriate and what can keep us safe as a country versus maybe funding social projects—looking internally at helping more of the groups that are least able to care for themselves. I guess, I think that funding the military obviously is a good thing. I saw firsthand about having a strong military presence went a long way in saving a lot of little lives on both sides.

The present system raises those kinds of questions, but the Trump is an anomaly; I would not draw any conclusions about the conservative movement from the election of one president... They don't like presidents to be too prudent nor impolitic and crass, but they do like someone who takes a stand. I think conservatives also value the military—Peace through strength. I would disagree with the idea that conservatives oppose everything, they just they distrust the bureaucracy. They distrust most government agencies. They distrust government officials. And so, there is a strange dichotomy. I want a strong military, but I do not trust the people who run it. I do not trust someone who says I'm from the government. Like you get out of my court rights. So, there is that split.

I believe in the story of the Bible. Pretty early in its pages it tells of the best of all possible worlds. The world that is described as a glorious rule--there are signs and remnants of the greatness of the original creation. But we human beings for the most part of have kind of destroyed it not totally destroyed. So we have glory and ruin because we are what Christians call a fallen world where we are not at our best most of the time. It is this idea that people are fallen from their original good and best that makes it necessary to distribute out the various facets of government. So that no one person could have enough power to have their way... it is an attempt to guarantee the maximum freedom within a framework of order and it all balances things out. There's a little bit of flow; there been some bad presidents that I personally think hurt the country, but they could not run the whole place down, thankfully. I think the balance of powers, in some form, is the only way to protect ourselves.

American conservatism needs to conserve the principles and institutions the founding...Academic conservatives who call themselves traditionalists follow Edmund Burke or Russell Kirk. Other conservatives who are free-market/ free enterprise follow Adam Smith. But the *Declaration* is broader and more

fundamental than the framework of either the traditionalists or free-marketers. They are not based on the principle of equality. Equality of condition gives the true meaning to the principles of the *Declaration*. So they shy away from it.

In the US to be patriotic is to be American. Americanism is the creed of Freedom, Democracy means Free Elections (choice), Capitalism means Free Markets (opportunity) and a standing military is required to preserve Freedom by containing the naturally aggressive authoritarians and Communists around the world. It has become even more essential in the face of Terrorism, the new and all pervasive threat to the American Way. Obviously, the military needs strong leadership so the President must be the most powerful person in the world, but through the miracle the constitutional checks and balances, engineered by the founders, he will never have too much or too little—this is the first article of faith.

Tradition and Change

Conservatives are known to favor limited change. There is a general acceptance that traditions are important because traditions keep society together and provide continuity. In this study, which seeks to understand American conservative discourse, the concepts of change, tradition and society are examined. The respondents were asked to discuss the dynamics of tradition and change in American conservative thinking and politics. I found that the best way to get at the question of change with them was through the use of Trump's slogan "Make America Great Again" that tapped into their rhetoric and took them back to fantastic of days of the beautiful and glorious past. The heroic success stories from the past arm them with an ideal America to compare with the present. Using this framework they identify bad/ corrupting change and from this perspective I was able to make sense of their perspectives and discursive arguments on political issues and fit them into a conservative discourse of restoration. There are two things that need to be restored: (1) America's place in the world—the greatest military and economic power in history; the hope of freedom and prosperity for people everywhere and (2) The American Dream at home—the next generation will always be much better off than their parents.

We believe our system of government is worthy of respect. We want a president who will make us respected and will not apologize. We conservatives can't stand it when a president goes out, the way Obama used to, and apologizes. He would apologize for the things America had done. We would prefer that our president emphasize what we have done.

Sloganeering is certainly successful for Trump as it makes America great again. Things were great all along, but I don't think that they were visible. It was really tickly. Obama got pommeeled. He and his people felt bad about America so Obama went out to for to apologize for America. America did need an apology—it was a great nation. It's an exceptional nation! It is the indispensable nation!

You don't make the government subsidize something that might not be working. I think the right way is to use Trump as an example. He is going to curtail and roll back these programs whether it's through passage of bills are just executive

orders and make it easier to enter the marketplace. Whether you agree with some of the stuff that happened or not it's clearly been the stance. That I've been on the outside looking in that's what the government from the federal government on down is trying to do, has been doing for two years.

"I do think it's fair to say the conservatives view the past in a much more positive light than liberals. If you will ask the conservative, when was the heyday of America? They say the 40's to the 60's...everybody supported the war effort. There were no protesters in World War II burning their draft card or burning flags. We all pulled together in the 50s. Everybody had mom and dad. Everybody went to church on Sunday. It was the golden era. But, US liberals talk about the 40s and the 50s as a time of racism and homophobia when women were stuck in the kitchen—they had no careers, very interesting...When Republicans say "Make America great again" they mean make it number one—have the strongest military. Families that work. But, Democrats think we mean go back to the 1950s again where gay people needed to be in the closet and women had to stay home and be barefoot and pregnant. It's funny how we don't see it that way. Conservatives ask, why you would you be upset by making America great again. How can Liberals say that's terrible? We just like to be positive because it is our way.

We connect ourselves with people of the past. We see some hymns from other languages that are sung in English instead. That used to speak Elizabethan English back in the 1600s or whatever, but it changed by the 19th Century and this is how we talk now in this kind ways. We re-write songs but they still connect us with them. It's not such a bad thing to preserve some of those musical connections with people before us. We don't; it doesn't hurt anything. Singing the same songs that celebrate the same truths same practices with different words or even creating new tunes. Singing those songs that people in the past also sang gives us the feeling of connectedness with them. I think it is a good thing.

The perspectives of American conservatives on the past determine the discursive background they use in their discursive construction. The participants in this study assumed that the past was better when constructing their conservative discourse. Their thinking is regulated by a shared understanding of historical process that makes and remakes America great, again and again. To maintain a hegemonic social discourse, they go back and create the ideal sovereign to be made and re-made. Hope springs eternal and conservative discourse becomes utopian as the future is transformed into another discursive structure that idealizes the political discourse of the founders and worships America's great achievements. All problems are attributed to corruption of the American ideal.

Globally, America is great because it is good. As long as we are good, we need not be concerned with the economic development of other countries, especially China. This kind of global country thinking that attributes any problem to corruption at home, makes anything permissible and success the metric of virtue.

At home it's the individual American, the self-made man, the brave settler, the pioneer, the entrepreneur who is rewarded for the virtue of hard work in American free market. Whenever government interferes virtue is undermined. Those who do it make

excuses for the consequences by blaming it on a lack of government action and when they look for excuse they look back to the best of times and find problems that did not exist and would not have if it were not for their deviation from American ideals. Looking back on the 1950's Conservatives sitcoms like *Ozy and Harriet* as the reality of the times and wonder how Liberals can imagine Harriet as an abused wife kept at home barefoot and pregnant. These kinds of connections make it easy, if not essential, to look at all social programs as threats to individual freedom and as dangerous interference with the free market

Conservative discourse in Turkey is in some ways similar. There are references to Ottoman times. Such conservative discourse usually has a strong religious orientation and looks back on the good old days before the western secularism corrupted Turkish society. While some conservatives are pure Islamic traditionalists, most Turkish conservatives, like their American counterparts, favor of innovation, but have yet to develop a supporting discourse to cope with new situations. For example, conservatives were inclined to favor the change to a Presidential system. Western concepts of property right are accepted but societal and governmental hierarchies are linked to older notions of property and neither Turkish progressives nor conservatives have developed a national concept of equality to bridge the gap.

Economics

I feel like an economic stability leads to other kinds of stability. In other words, businesses should be held to a standard of honesty and right practices for their customers and workers. I guess, that's where government does have some measure of responsibility to kind of keep an eye on that. I guess I would not be a totally free market absolutist in that sense. Generally, I believe you just let the markets happen. If there's a market for something people will buy it. If there isn't, they won't, but not quite. Obviously, if business is big enough what they sell is the only thing and you have to buy at whatever price? They can charge what they charge. You have to pay it. I think our efforts over time to have some kind of effect. I guess you'd say some kind of shared moral exertion even on the practices of businesses and others. But it is true that some degree of market-driven economy can be good for the average person. Provided that businesses are not allowed to monopolize the market. So again it goes back to kind of what you're conserving having economic stability, being able to do your job and be paid and have enough money. When you are paid enough to provide for your family, a place to live and food. We get opportunities for school and other kinds of things that are ideal when we evaluate all the things that happened around a person working, making a living, providing for themselves and for others. I think that trying to help that happen and help people be successful is the goal of economic policy. I realized some of the goal is to continue to amass more stuff and gain more power. As a result, I feel like there's a collective challenge to sort it out.

Trump is doing it correctly. It is right to encourage the economy with the tax cut and by taking on regulation. Diminishing regulation is really important to our society.

Strong beliefs lead to strong opinions. In my conservative opinion the government doesn't create jobs! Every single job creates an atmosphere for somebody. Private individuals take risks and create jobs and become successful. The state and federal government is in the business of providing a fair level playing field for everybody who wants to compete. To give everyone a chance to go in and to be successful or fail in their endeavors through their hard work. That's what America is all about hard work and equal opportunity. If somebody wants to work hard, sacrifice a career and mortgage their house to start small business, I think the government should be deeply involved in supporting the business and the individual's dream of creating something, but not to the point that it is suffocated. The state level and federal governments are sometimes like that, but for the most part they're not.

Since the respondents are opinion leaders, political operatives and elected officials, they have to deal with the demographic consequences of recent and ongoing immigration from the south in the context of the solidified macro-discourse. Given that there is a large naturalized Hispanic population in Washington it is a factor in elections new perspectives on religion are emerging at the micro level. Since most Hispanic immigrants are Catholics and come from backgrounds that share basic American conservative values, especially "family values", they should be seen as a potential Republican voting bloc. To make it happen the old the macro-level truth, "Mexicans are poor, so they will vote Democrat" must change. This is a concrete assimilation challenge. The kind that American conservatives actually discover and work on to develop new relationships and change discursive structures. In spite of 9/11 and all those "bad people" they concede that most recent arrivals are good and present conservatives with opportunities to enrich and preserve the American way.

Those interested in economics pondered Washington's labor shortage in the context of a macro-discourse dominated by the threat of cheap labor and job loss. The old rub, "resources are limited; we can't afford to share" doesn't work when the real problem is, "how do we get the workers we need before we lose everything"?

American conservative discourse about economics is scientific—they really believe that the laws of economics have been discovered. Domestically, discourse revolves around proper application to insure "economic stability" in America that means a dynamic equilibrium or an ever increasing standard of living, and the type and degree of regulation required to do it—the role of the state in the economy. Globally it means keeping America at the top and maintaining economic stability through the established Liberal international order in accordance with the laws of economics. Since communists, authoritarians of all kinds and terrorist seek to destroy the international economic order and replace it with lawlessness, global economic stability depends on superior American power and the will to use it. Economic stability at the global level means favorable balances that help maintain the required dynamic equilibrium at home.

Again, American conservative discourse springs from opposition. Micro-conservative discourse at the national level stresses minimization of the state, but at the macro/global level it must be all powerful. This has tremendous consequences for Turkey, because when it comes to economics national discourse is micro-level within a global context that places real constraints on economic development so that the

problem becomes developing a workable definition economic stability to support conservative and national discursive development.

American conservative discourse though conflict maintains consensus across the board. Separation of Church and State requires secular public education, but it should be supportive of the family values leaned at home and in church. Discourse by converting religious values into American moral values address these problems and creates alternative balances. Choice as to the balance should be available to parents. A strong president is not a problem for democracy, rather it is proof that American democracy is best—just look at what happens to “bad people” like Nixon. There have been people with bad tendencies on the Supreme Court, but most of them are gone and the new “good justices” will divine the true meaning of the Constitution, fix past errors and conduct themselves properly in the American Temple of Justice. Internationally as America espouses conservative values, its virtue will restore America to its essential position of World Leader and preserve the fruits of victory won in World War II and institutionalized in the post-war American international economic order. Resorted power and increased vigilance will keep all “bad people” out and with only good ingredients, the melting pot will brew an increasingly better Americanism that supports an ever more prosperous American way of life.

Preparing Equitable & Culturally Responsive Leaders

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Abstract

Equitable school leadership is intentional; it requires learning, listening, action, and reflection. This study explored how two school administrator preparation programs, focused on culturally responsive instructional leadership and critical self-awareness, promote and foster equitable leadership. With the aim of preparing leaders for a complex and pluralistic society, this study probed which aspects of the programs contributed to leadership successes and program adjustments that would better address the challenges novice leaders face. Interviews were conducted with recent graduates new to their leadership roles. Opportunities for authentic application of knowledge promoting leadership for educational equity and cultural responsiveness was identified as most beneficial. Novice leaders were challenged by conflict and difficult conversations, thus they stressed the need for more experiences in challenging settings. Findings supported leadership preparation programs' prioritization of culturally responsive instructional leadership and critical self-awareness.

Introduction

Teachers of color in the state of study represent approximately four percent of the entire teaching force, although students of color comprise 30% of the total K-12 population (Sanchez, 2015). Exacerbating the disproportional ratio are the documented student achievement and discipline gaps between racial groups (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010). Thus, directors of two private school administrative licensure programs chose to work together to identify how well they prepared educators to reach an audacious goal: To lead in schools where an increasingly diverse student body will learn and grow.

Statement of Purpose

Teacher preparation programs have come under considerable public scrutiny at the state and national level for preparing quality teachers (National Council on Teaching Quality, 2018). Over time, evaluation of teacher preparation programs in many states has expanded to include graduate performance in initial teaching sites. Recently, this evaluation practice broadened to include the performance of educational leaders. Per MN Statute 112A.091 Subd.1: Teacher and administrator preparation and performance data requires teacher and administrator preparation programs to collect and create a summary report including data on teacher and administrator preparation and performance outcomes (Minnesota Legislature Office of the Revisor of Statutes, 2018). Therefore, preparation programs are purposefully gathering, analyzing, and using the data collected from students and their employers to adjust and improve programming (Darling-Hammond, LaPointe, Meyerson, & Cohen, 2007).

As K12 school systems transform with new faces, expectations, technology, and knowledge, leaders of preparation program have an obligation to review program content to assure that program graduates can successfully create and lead equitable learning environments. Thus, the leaders of two principal preparation programs committed to critical self-awareness and culturally responsive instructional leadership set out to identify how their programs prepare students for equitable leadership in K12 settings. In addition, their research sought to discover how their programs could be

adjusted to better meet the needs and challenges of novice leaders in a variety of school settings.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Leadership for educational equity relies on the development of cultural responsiveness. Culturally responsive school leadership (CSRL) has gained significance as the United States' demographics diversify and the racialized achievement gap continues to be a paramount issue in education. The achievement gap, sometimes referred to as opportunity gap, has driven major legislative initiatives (Payne, 2008) over the past half-century, yet the gap has remained impervious. Historically oppressed groups are still marginalized in schools, launching a call for reform in leadership practices (Gay, 2010).

Hallinger and Leithwood (1998) contend that the behaviors and practices of students, parents, teachers, and school leaders are significantly impacted by culture. Yet, most leadership reform has focused, “almost exclusively on instructional, transformational, and transactional leadership models to address the cultural needs of students” (Khalifa, M. A., Gooden, M. A., & Davis, J.E., 2016, p. 1279). The elusive achievement gap is evidence that these models do not effectively address the needs of non-white students. School leadership preparation programs need to address race, culture, language, national identity, and other areas of difference that do not effectively address the needs of historically marginalized populations (Khalifa, et al, 2016). Specifically, educators and school leaders must also address the unique needs among all students of poverty (Gorski, 2018). Thus, more than ever, preparation programs must focus on developing leaders' critical self-awareness: awareness of the values, beliefs, and natural tendencies that ground their practice (McKenzie, et al, 2008). Leaders must be willing to examine personal beliefs about race and culture and their influence on school systems (CampbellJones, CampbellJones, & Lindsey, 2010). Critical self-awareness is extended when leaders initiate courageous conversations among staff members with the intent to examine their beliefs about race and culture and their impact on students' learning experiences (Singleton, 2015).

The Culturally Responsive School Leadership Framework (Appendix A) is composed of four domains: Critically Self-Reflects on Leadership Behaviors, Develops Culturally Responsive Teachers, Promotes Culturally Responsive School Environment, and Engaged Students, Parents, and Indigenous Contexts. Each domain contains specific, researched-based leadership practices.

Minnesota requires licensed educators to seek a post-master's program to meet the MN Board of School Administrator (BOSA) Administrative Licensure Competencies, as described in MN Rule 3512.0510 (Minnesota Legislature Office of the Revisor of Statutes, 2019). Although the MN competencies align well with the Professional Standards for Educational Leaders or PSEL, (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2015) which are used to guide administrative license preparation programming in many states, the MN competencies are being revised with minor adjustments in several competency areas. The one MN competency area which

required significant revision was Diversity Leadership to transition to an emphasis on Culturally Responsive and Equitable Leadership.

Given the increasing differences in student clientele and community membership, it is imperative that leadership preparation programs prepare educators to recognize, respect, and employ each student's strengths, differences, diversity, and culture as assets for teaching and learning (National Policy Board for Educational Administration, 2015). To meet this challenge, preparation program content and procedures must be assessed and strategically adjusted.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative multi-site case study design. It included participants from both researchers' universities who were novice leaders. Novice leaders were identified as serving in a leadership role for one to three years after completion of their principal preparation program or obtaining a Minnesota Administrative license. Invitations were emailed to 57 possible participants and 28 consented to participate; 11 males and 17 females agreed to be interviewed. The majority of participants, 18 of the 28 interviewed, were between the ages of 36-45 years old. Twenty-one participants self-identified as White/Caucasian and seven participants identified their ethnicity as other than white. Six participants held roles as a lead principal, and the same number identified as assistant principal or dean. Seven interviewees identified their role as special education director, coordinator, or supervisor. Three of the novice leaders interviewed were charter school directors, and the remaining six leaders described their positions as curriculum, instruction, or teaching specialist.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with each director interviewing former students of her own program. The interview protocol encompassed three research questions: two shared research questions and a program specific question regarding equitable leadership.

1. What aspects of administrative preparation programming contributed to novice school leaders' success?
2. What aspects of administrative preparation programming could better prepare novice school leaders of challenges?

The third question was the program-specific question; thus, this addressed the unique focus on leadership development for educational equity at each institution. It was framed as follows:

3. How did the program's focus on equitable leadership through "critical self-awareness" or "culturally responsive instructional leadership" impact novice school leaders?

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. After the transcripts had been reviewed for accuracy and protected against the provision of personally identifiable information, respondents received a copy of the transcript to validate transcription accuracy.

The researchers read through transcripts to gather a sense of the entirety of the data set. These readings were meant to orient the researchers to the data and reaffirm alignment between the data and the research questions. Next, researchers began reading transcripts for the purpose of building and informing the coding system. This initial coding process referred to as *open coding*, involved the researchers making notes next to any unit of information that might be helpful in answering the research questions (Merriam, 2016). Researchers then read through all transcripts and labeled highlighted areas with initial codes. The next step in the coding process was to group codes together, referred to as *analytical coding*. This was an iterative process to narrow the initial list of codes, refine the code names to reflect accurately the content of each category, and arrive at codes that occurred across multiple transcripts. A codebook was created, which included the name and definition of each code. The researchers analyzed codes across all interviews to identify themes. Two reflective coding discourse meetings were held. Themes and codes were reviewed and discussed. The discourse clarified similarities and differences between codes and resulted in combining codes that did not stand as distinctly unique.

Findings

Preparing Novice School Leaders for Professional Success

Novice leaders were excited to share their successes. Of those interviewed, 75% felt their greatest success as an equity leader was developing relationships. There were two areas where 60% of these leaders experienced success. One was described as taking responsibility and leadership for projects or implementations in their buildings. The second was success in bridging leadership theory to practice; these included collaborative leadership, instructional leadership to support curriculum and instruction, professional development delivery and evaluation, and mentoring or coaching. Approximately one-third of the novice leaders felt success in creating a positive climate or learning environment; a similar percentage of those interviewed identified successes in the management duties required of a school leader.

The program content that novice leaders said contributed most to their leadership success was their work and interactions with effective school leaders and mentors; additionally, they described their field experiences as invaluable leadership development opportunities. Half of the research participants believed that the use of specific instructional strategies in their principal preparation programs also contributed to their effectiveness. Those strategies included the use of case studies, problem-solving scenarios, simulations and role-playing, assignments applied in the field, reflective evaluation of school and district practices, In-Basket activities, and online discussions. Learning was greatest when they were challenged and provided feedback on their assignments and discoveries; while they believed that it was highly important to hear, see and learn from descriptions of effective practices and exemplars. Half of the interviewees valued learning from program colleagues. They described these interactions as occurring both in-person and online; most identified the instructor or program as being intentional in creating and requiring these interactive and collaborative learning experiences. These collegial experiences opened their eyes to

similarities and differences among schools, districts and leadership models, strategies, and practices.

Interviewees attributed many of successes to their program's required classes, the content of those courses, and the texts they read for them. Participants frequently referenced specific courses, particularly those addressing either Law or Leadership, as highly valued and necessary to their leadership work. During the interviews, these novice leaders shared many quotes; these impressionable sayings, either repeated by instructors or read in texts, were shared along with a story or realization of how these were useful insights and lessons for their new roles. The researchers were also pleased to hear that several respondents believed their program's focus on equitable leadership contributed to their leadership successes. One stated emphatically, "The most helpful aspect that was integrated into every class we had, was cultural competence for ourselves and to develop that awareness in others." Others believed the focus on one's own cultural responsiveness fostered "the skills to ask questions and feel comfortable with the responses," as well as to help develop relationships with a range of students and stakeholders.

Better Preparing Novice School Leaders for Professional Challenges

Early career challenges were specific to each participant's context. Though responses varied, the challenge of dealing with conflict was a consistent theme. Participants cited the challenges associated with conducting difficult conversations and dealing with difficult issues. One respondent shared his greatest challenge, "...conflict...working through those conversations and the needs versus the wants of each party; as well as we've had a couple of conflicts between colleagues and working through the very sensitive issues." Study findings aligned with Le Fevre & Robinson's (2015) conclusion that new principals tend to struggle addressing issues of teacher performance and having difficult conversations.

When asked how their preparation program could have better prepared them to address challenges, participants recommended preparation programs increase instruction regarding dealing with conflict, the use of case studies as an instructional tool, and opportunities to interact with practitioners. One participant responded, "Practice more difficult conversations to focus on message and avoid inappropriate content and comments." Another participant shared, "I would have appreciated a deeper focus on practical/real-life scenarios in all my other classes....With deep conversations between participants and instructors on those situations." Participant responses highlighted the importance of the application of content as well as the value in administrative experience.

Fostering Leadership for Educational Equity

The two preparation programs in this study implemented differing approaches toward fostering equitable leadership. One program focused on Culturally Responsive Instructional Leadership and the other on Critical Self-Awareness (Lindsey, Roberts, & CampbellJones, 2013). Given the different focus of each institution, the data collected

related to equity leadership was analyzed separately by the individual program directors.

To assure that students are prepared as effective instructional leaders, one program places intentional focus on developing cultural responsiveness as an instructional leader. To begin this process, which is a first for some students, they reflect on their own cultural self and development. This is done with a self-assessment of either the Intercultural Diversity Inventory, (Hammer, Bennett & Wiseman, 2003) or the Diversity Awareness Profile (Stinson, 2012). This self-assessment, followed by an individual meeting to discuss the assessment outcomes, provides a platform from which to develop an individual action plan to foster and develop greater cultural responsiveness. This action orientation aligns with other program leadership activities that emphasize the expectation of leaders to be conscious advocates of all students and community members.

To further explore and advance their own cultural and racial consciousness, students are introduced to “courageous conversations” (Singleton, 2015, 2018) and the “Cultural Proficiency Continuum” (Lindsey, Nuri Roberts & Terrell, 2009, 2019) during the introductory classes of the program. Throughout all the program courses, students are reminded of their roles as educational leaders who must hold themselves and others accountable for culturally responsive actions and teaching. They reference the continuum for activities that relate to personal growth and developing cultural responsiveness in schools and districts with intentional leadership practices and strategies. (See Appendix A.) Each novice leader interviewed from this program verified that these reflective and developmental messages and exercises were highly valued. They also validated that class discussions and the activities focused on their cultural self allowed for sharing, insight, and learning. Using the interviewees’ own words: This was “a reality check” by “putting race on the table” and “asking myself hard questions”.

As for developing as equitable instructional leaders, program content focused on the “culturally responsive” pedagogy and teaching (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014; Nieto, 2013). Every one of the new leaders interviewed from this program concluded that it was necessary to include this content in all educational settings in the role of instructional leader. As one student stated, we “needed this awareness and understanding to address culture, equity, and differences effectively”. The most common comment was that this content inspired them to be better listeners, in addition to becoming more aware of their own biases. While 14/16 of the program completers interviewed believed the program content on culturally relevant instructional leadership was effectively addressed, a verbal minority of respondents shared that it should have gone further by requiring two essential experiences: 1.) more experiences in multicultural settings and 2.) facilitating courageous and difficult cultural conversations with professional colleagues in the field.

The preparation program focusing on critical self-awareness emphasized the necessity for students to conduct “inner-work” in order to effectively conduct “outer-work.”

Throughout the program, students complete standardized assessments: Intercultural Effectiveness Scale (IES), Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), and StrengthsFinder. Individual, face-to-face, debrief sessions are scheduled with trained counselors, and students have continued access to university counseling to assist with growth. The program emphasizes leading in a pluralistic society, adaptive leadership, and developing school cultures of safety and trust in order to discuss and address equity. Participants from the preparation program reported the emphasis on reflection increased their self-awareness and elicited a transformational mindset. The majority of responses referenced how it “ helped me to really reflect on myself as a leader and look at the attributes that I have and then look at areas that I can improve on.” These leaders gained an understanding of their core beliefs, core values, attributes, strengths, and areas for improvement. A recent graduate shared, “It’s something that I appreciated from the classes is that they didn’t expect perfection and kind of the whole purpose was growth and how you’re growing and transforming as a leader.”

Critical self-awareness encompasses being mindful of the beliefs and backgrounds of stakeholders, displaying compassion, and viewing issues from another perspective. In the words of one respondent, “....made me reflect on just my absolute core values, core beliefs,....how I bring that into a school setting; but also, how that impacts others and then I need to also just be very mindful of the values and the beliefs and backgrounds of everyone who walks in that door.” An empathetic stance was evident in another respondent who shared that he grew in, “Compassion. Viewing issues from another perspective...Patience and long suffering and teaching me how to love people.”

Critical self-awareness empowered leaders to identify the foundation that guides their decision making and actions, their purpose in being a leader, and their vision for where they are leading others. Half of the program’s respondents (6/12) specifically claimed that the program’s emphasis on critical self- awareness enabled them to articulate the meaning of their work. One participant stated, “...one of my top priorities or almost the first thing on my list is make it clear what our purpose is, who are we as a group and where are we heading.”

Conclusions and Recommendations

Study findings supported leadership preparation programs’ prioritization of a Culturally Responsive Leadership framework, especially when those consider the realities of lower academic performance among students of color and the exclusionary schooling practices that often serve as barriers for students of color (Khalifa, Gooden & Davis, 2016). Findings provided insights into content, experiences, and supports that foster equity leadership in novice leaders. Aspects of the preparation programs that participants identified as contributing to equitable leadership practices will be continued. These include course content on educational law, leadership, cultural responsiveness, and personal reflection. The programs will continue to utilize specific instructional strategies providing authentic application of knowledge that promotes leadership for educational equity and cultural responsiveness.

Intentional and increased opportunities for interactions with equitable educational leaders will be provided, while program practices to build and sustain relationships among program colleagues and graduates will be enhanced. Novice leaders in this study were most challenged by conflict and difficult conversations, thus they stressed the need for more authentic experiences in diverse and challenging settings. “Rather than having diversity reveal limitations in educational leadership, scholars and educational leaders need to find ways in which diversity can inspire transformation, improvement, and achievement for all learners at every level of education” (Santamaría, 2014, p.384). These two private school administrative licensure programs are in the process of revising their programs, based on participants’ insights, in order to better support equitable leadership. In this emerging field of educational leadership studies, the researchers conclude that school principals must be culturally responsive in order to help all children reach their fullest potential.

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Appendix A

Culturally Responsive School Leadership Framework Muhammad Khalifa, Mark Anthony Gooden, James Earl Davis	
Critically Self-Reflects on Leadership Behaviors	Develops Culturally Responsive Teachers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is committed to continuous learning of cultural knowledge and contexts (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006) - Displays a critical consciousness on practice in and out of school; displays self-reflection (Gooden & Dantley, 2012; Johnson, 2006) - Uses school data and indicators to measure CRSL (Skrla, Scheurich, Garcia, & Nolly, 2004) - Uses parent/community voices to measure cultural responsiveness in schools (Ishimaru, 2013; Smyth, 2006) - Challenges Whiteness and hegemonic epistemologies in school (Theoharis & Haddix, 2011) - Using equity audits to measure student inclusiveness, policy, and practice (Skrla et al., 2004) - Leading with courage (Khalifa, 2011; Nee-Benham, Maenette, & Cooper, 1988) - Is a transformative leader for social justice and inclusion (Gooden, 2005; Gooden & O'Doherty, 2015; Shields, 2010) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developing teacher capacities for cultural responsive pedagogy (Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2000; Voltz, Brazil, & Scott, 2003) - Collaborative walkthroughs (Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Creating culturally responsive PD opportunities for teachers (Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2000; Voltz et al., 2003) - Using school data to see cultural gaps in achievement, discipline, enrichment, and remedial services (Skrla et al., 2004) - Creating a CRSL team that is charged with constantly finding new ways for teachers to be culturally responsive (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006) - Engaging/reforming the school curriculum to become more culturally responsive (Sleeter, 2012; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) - Modeling culturally responsive teaching (Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Using culturally responsive assessment tools for students (Hopson, 2001; Kea, Campbell- Whatley, & Bratton, 2003)
Promotes Culturally Responsive School Environment	Engaged Students, Parents, and Indigenous Contexts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accepting indigenized, local identities (Khalifa, 2010) - Building relationships; reducing anxiety among students (Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Modeling CRSL for staff in building interactions (Khalifa, 2011; Tillman, 2005) - Promoting a vision for an inclusive instructional and behavioral practices (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006; Webb- Johnson, 2006; Webb-Johnson & Carter, 2007) - If need be, challenging exclusionary policies, teachers, and behaviors (Khalifa, 2011; Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Acknowledges, values, and uses Indigenous cultural and social capital of students (Khalifa, 2010, 2012) - Uses student voice (Antrop-González, 2011; Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Using school data to discover and track disparities in academic and disciplinary trends (Skiba et al., 2002; Skrla et al., 2004; Theoharis, 2007) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developing meaningful, positive relationships with community (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006; Johnson, 2006; Walker, 2001) - Is a servant leader, as public intellectual and other roles (Alston, 2005; Gooden, 2005; Johnson, 2006) - Finding overlapping spaces for school and community (Cooper, 2009; Ishimaru, 2013; Khalifa, 2012) - Serving as advocate and social activist for community- based causes in both the school and neighborhood community (Gooden, 2005; Johnson, 2006; Khalifa, 2012) - Uses the community as an informative space from which to develop positive understandings of students and families (Gardiner & Enomoto, 2006) - Resists deficit images of students and families (Davis, 2002; Flessa, 2009) - Nurturing/caring for others; sharing information (Gooden, 2005; Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) - Connecting directly with students (Gooden, 2005; Khalifa, 2012; Lomotey, 1993)

Appendix B

Cultural Proficiency Continuum
Randall Lindsey, Kikanza Nuri-Robins, Raymond Terrell, Delores Lindsey, D.
 Adapted from Resource F: Learning Strategy 1

Cultural Destructiveness	Cultural Incapacity	Cultural Blindness	Cultural Pre-competence	Cultural Competence	Cultural Proficiency
<i>“See the difference-stomp it out”</i>	<i>“See the difference-make difference wrong”</i>	<i>“See the difference- Act like you don’t”</i>	<i>“See the difference-respond inappropriately”</i>	<i>“See the difference-understand the difference that difference makes”</i>	<i>“ See the difference-respond positively and affirmingly”</i>
“Policies, practices or behaviors that effectively eliminate all vestiges of other people’s culture”	“Treatment based on stereotypes and the belief that the dominant group is inherently superior”	“Failure to see or to acknowledge differences among and between groups”	“Skills and practices are limited when interacting with other cultural groups”	“Acceptance and respect for difference; continuous expansion of cultural knowledge and resources”	“The capacity to teach and learn about differences in ways that acknowledge and honor all people”
<u>Example:</u> “Discrimination against observable manifestations of ethnicity”	<u>Example:</u> “Questioning the qualifications of people of color”	<u>Example:</u> “Not articulating the cultural expectations of the organization to all of its members”	<u>Example:</u> “Make rules instead of teaching appropriate behavior (e.g., rules against speech”	<u>Example:</u> “Risk-taking (e.g. speaking against injustice even when doing so may cause tension and conflict”	<u>Example:</u> “Holding culture in high esteem”

(Lindsey, R., et al., 2019, pp. 277-279.)

