

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

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After the Insurrection: Rethinking the Constitution

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Introduction

On January 6th of 2021 an insurrection occurred at our nation's Capital on the nation's Capitol building. One member of the Capitol police was killed during that insurrection with several injuries (some severe) to other members of the Capitol police. In addition, two of those police members subsequently committed suicide.

In addition to the deaths and injuries, there was a good deal of damage done to the Capitol building. Windows were broken, doors busted, and offices were entered with items stolen. In addition, there was a defiling of the building too disgusting to describe.

January 6, 2021 was an important date since that was by federal law the day for a joint session of Congress to open and count the electoral votes sent from each state. That is important because once that vote is announced, we have a president-elect.¹ Some Republicans, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives, intended to object to some states electoral votes. Both the House and Senate were in session as required by the Constitution when the electoral vote is being counted (12th Amendment). Indeed, Vice President Pence was rushed out of the Senate (where he serves as President or presiding officer of the gathering) just before the insurrectionists took to the Senate floor. Meanwhile, members of the House either left the House floor or stayed and barricaded the doors with furniture and other items with officers standing near the doors with guns drawn.

It remains to be determined just how much of a role the former president of the United States played in the insurrection. Of course, it is undisputed that Trump had since just days after the presidential election on November 3, 2020 claimed that the election was rigged and that he, not Joseph Biden, was the actual winner of that election.² This assertion has subsequently been dubbed "The Big Lie."³ In addition, on the day of the insurrection, Trump appeared before many that took part in the insurgency urging them to march to the Capitol and essentially do whatever it took to save our democracy. Indeed, he even intimated that he would follow them there (he didn't). Just these facts alone resulted in the House of Representatives voting to impeach Trump on January 13, 2021 with just one week before his four year term was to end. This marked the second time he was impeached (a first in presidential history). This dramatic and unprecedented turn of events (along with the many other abnormalities which occurred during the Trump years), have resulted in many questioning the condition of our democracy.⁴ Thus, it seems only sensible that this might be a good time to revisit our Constitutional regime for any changes that might improve our system of governance. Of course, the insurrection was not something that just spontaneously occurred. There will probably be many historians, political scientists, and cultural analysts who seek an answer to the question as to how American found itself capable of such an act. In other words, the toxic nature of our politics seemed to be brewing for some time. The origin of this turn of events is difficult to pinpoint. Some might point to the skirmish between Speaker Tip O'Neil and Newt Gingrich. Others might point to the period during which the Tea Party seemed to invade the Republican Party. While others might point to the presidency of Barak Obama, and the treatment he received (especially the questioning of his United States citizenship). Whether the seeds of this incident were planted in the 1970's, 1980's or later, there is still the question of what changes to the Constitution might improve and help redress what it is that ails our nation and the democracy by which it purports to be

governed. Here are some proposals for modifying America's constitutional system. They are proposed with the intention of helping it improve its democratic regime.

Judicial Recall

During the State of the Union Address in 2010 then President Obama saw fit to criticize a recent Supreme Court decision. He stated, "With all due deference to the separation of powers, last week the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections."⁵ The camera's then showed some of the Supreme Court Justices in attendance, including Justice Alito. Those watching could see Justice Alito shaking his head and seeming to say, to himself, "not true."⁶ The Supreme Court case President Obama was referencing was *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*.⁷ Justice Alito was one of the Justices voting with the majority in that 2010 decision. He has not attended a State of the Union address since.⁸

Congress did not begin to seriously regulate campaign finance until after the Watergate era. It was then that a federal law was passed allowing public financing of presidential elections and setting limits on individual and corporate funding of campaigns.⁹ While million dollar checks were written in the 1972 presidential election, these new laws limited individual contributions to \$1,000 per election, per year. They also restricted PAC's to \$5,000 limits per candidate, per year. In addition, for the first time in the nation's history they allowed for presidential candidates to accept taxpayer money to fund the entire general election. Not surprisingly, given the fact that the last elected president prior to these laws had resigned due to improper campaign activity, both Ford and Carter (the Republican and Democratic nominees respectively) opted to refuse private contributions and accept the public funding option in 1976. These recently enacted laws, however, were challenged in federal court. The cases were fast tracked by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Buckley v. Valeo* with the Court issuing its majority opinion in January of 1976.¹⁰ The Court struck down several aspects of the law, including each of the following provisions:

- Ceilings placed on total amounts spent on House and Senate seats
- Ceiling place on what a candidate could spend of his own money
- Ceiling placed on independent expenditures
- Ceiling placed on what could be spent on pre and post presidential nomination (unless the candidate accepted public financing).

Importantly, the Court grounded its decision not on statutory interpretation but on the Constitution. Where in the language of the Constitution did the Court find language that prohibited Congress from passing these provisions? It found them in the First Amendment. Essentially, the Court relied on a cliché in its reasoning to reach its conclusion. Consider the following syllogism:

- Major Premise: Money talks,
- Minor Premise: Talk is speech,
- Conclusion: Speech is protected by the First Amendment.

The importance of this reasoning (as demonstrated in the Court's consistency in future challenges to additional regulations of campaign finance) is that the Court's reasoning was grounded in the language of the U.S. Constitution. Thus, the decision can only be changed if the Court changes its mind or the Constitution is changed. The former is unlikely given the makeup of the Court and since one of the informal (although frequently cited) practices of the Court *is stare decisis*.¹¹ The remaining alternative is for the Constitution to be changed. One such change that could be used to rectify the *Citizen's United* decision, and other cases in the future that might be considered harmful to the nation's democracy, is the "judicial recall."

Theodore Roosevelt and the Judicial Recall

If while discussing politics or government the word “recall” were to be used, the meaning would generally be understood to reference the voters ending a politician’s term prematurely. The so-called “recall” was a Progressive Era reform, and, indeed, it allowed voters to not have to wait for a politician to face election to be removed. Today nineteen states allow for the recalling of a state official. Eleven states don’t allow the recall, and three allow it of any state official.¹² This is not, however, what Theodore Roosevelt meant when he proposed the Judicial Recall. When Teddy Roosevelt ran for the presidency in 1912 on the Progressive Party label he made the Judicial Recall one of his primary platform positions. Roosevelt was upset with how some courts in the United States were ruling. As such he proposed allowing voters themselves to overturn court decisions. That is what he meant by Judicial Recall.

As the Progressive Party’s presidential nominee in 1912 Roosevelt spoke for such well-known reforms as a graduated income tax, the direct election of United States Senators, the short ballot, prohibition of child labor, and the right of women to vote. These were “progressive” issues that were fairly well known. Not so well known was his notion of the “judicial recall.” The Progressive Party Platform in 1912 called for adoption of the referendum, initiative, recall, and the “judicial recall”. Here is how it was worded in the Platform:

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end, it pledges itself to provide that when an Act, passed under the police power of the State, is held unconstitutional under the State Constitution, by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the Act to become law, notwithstanding such decision.¹³

Two points should be made concerning this plank of the platform. First, it should be pointed out that the plank references solely state laws and state courts. Second, the plank references “ample interval for deliberation,” but does not spell out how that would be guaranteed.

State v. National Application

The Progressive Party platform limited application of the judicial recall to state court rulings. Concerning the issue of applying the “judicial review” concept to federal courts, consider the following points. As Roosevelt campaigned during 1912 when he spoke of the “judicial recall,” he not infrequently spoke of it in general terms. That is, Roosevelt did not seem, in his campaign remarks, to limit the device solely to state courts. Consider the fact that Roosevelt was very critical of two particular U.S. Supreme Court cases of his era that characterized the concept of substantive due process: the *E.C. Knight* case and the *Lochner* case.¹⁴ Here is how he spoke concerning these two cases:

The American people, and not the courts, are to determine their own fundamental policies . . . [they] must themselves be the ultimate makers of their own Constitution, and where their agents differ in their interpretations of the Constitution the people themselves should be given the chance . . . to settle what interpretation it is that their representatives shall thereafter adopt as binding.¹⁵

Roosevelt’s reference to “the people themselves” could apply to both the people of the state and/or the people of the nation. Yet, even if it were the case that Roosevelt referred only to the “judicial recall” in the context of state courts, that does not mean he objected to the use of the device in federal courts. Also, given the growth and power that has occurred in the national government since Roosevelt’s era, it would not seem irrational to view him as approving of such a practice in the federal courts. This point is buttressed by the fact, just noted, that while campaigning he did reference it in general terms. Finally, even if Roosevelt wouldn’t have wanted the device to be used in federal courts, that should not prevent it being considered as such today.

Mechanics

Although the plank in the Progressive Party Platform specifically endorsed the “judicial recall” concept and Roosevelt mentioned it in several speeches while campaigning for the presidency, not many mechanics concerning how the procedure would actually work were specified. It is clear Roosevelt did not think the device could be used as soon as humanly possible after a court had issued a ruling. The plank in the Progressive platform referred to “ample interval for deliberation” in connection with the timeframe for using the device. What, however, constituted “an ample interval”? In April of 1912 in a speech in Philadelphia Roosevelt explained that at least 2 years should pass before a court decision were to be placed before the voters for possible reversal.¹⁶

Waiting for the Supreme Court to overturn the *Citizens United* decision might take years, decades, or it may never be overruled. Were Roosevelt’s “judicial recall” added to the U.S Constitution the American people could (after a two year wait), themselves, take the lead in overturning that decision. While details remain concerning exactly how this modification in the Constitution would work, that should not prevent the idea from being investigated and adopted.

Executive Department Nominations

Background

In 1976 Ronald Reagan was seeking to gain the Republican Party’s nomination for president in spite of the fact that Gerald Ford, the Republican incumbent, had announced he was running for reelection.¹⁷ Due to the facts surrounding Ford’s ascendancy to the presidency, and perhaps to his lackluster personality, the so-called experts thought Reagan might have a chance to deprive Ford of the Party’s nomination. As the date for the Kansas City Convention arrived, it was generally assumed that Ford had just enough delegates to ward off the Reagan challenge.¹⁸ The Reagan camp decided to make one last dramatic move to shift support to his candidacy.

At that time, it was normal practice for presidential candidates of both major parties to announce their vice presidential running mates following their nomination at the Party’s Convention. The naming of the running mate was the first major decision made by a party’s nominee, and it was generally understood that the VP was chosen with the intention of gaining votes for the upcoming general election.¹⁹ Reagan, however, decided he would name his running mate prior to the Convention in an attempt to gain the support of any delegates who might still be uncommitted. It was a bold innovative move, which by most accounts, didn’t work.²⁰ But, it set a precedent that has now become the norm.

The fact that presidential candidates are now expected to name their vice presidential running mate prior to the party’s national convention has taken some of the last remaining drama from the national conventions.²¹ However, it is a precedent which, as the first major decision made by a presidential candidate, gives the voters a genuine glimpse into the character of the presidential nominee. Expanding the list of individuals which presidential nominees would announce for serving in certain executive departments would give voters even greater information concerning the character of the presidential nominees.

Executive Departments

Although the Framers of the U.S. Constitution gave serious consideration to the creation of a plural executive, in the end they decided on a unitary executive. As one delegate at the Constitutional Convention put it during the debate over this issue, having a plural executive would, especially during war, be like a multi-headed hydra. However, the creation of a *de facto* plural executive could arguably be traced to the conclusion of the Brownlow report of 1937.²² That Report concluded that the President of the United States “needs help.”²³ Thus, while the Framers designed a unitary executive, nearly two hundred years later, and especially following the Brownlow Report, the presidency has grown tremendously in size. Indeed, the “needs help” conclusion of the Brownlow Report could be considered the beginning of what would years later be described as the “swelling of the presidency.”²⁴ What followed was tremendous growth in the Executive branch. This included new Departments.

Here is a list of Executive Departments and the year in which they were created.

Department of State	1789
Department of Treasury	1789
Department of War / Defense	1789 / 1949
Department of Justice	1876
Department of Interior	1849
Department of Agriculture	1862
Department of Commerce	1903
Department of Labor	1913
Department of Health & Human Services / HEW	1953 / 1980
Department of Housing & Urban Development	1965
Department of Transportation	1967
Department of Energy	1977
Department of Education	1979
Department of Veterans Affairs	1989
Department of Homeland Security	2002

There are a total of fifteen Departments. Using the Brownlow Report as a marker, that would indicate that there were eight Departments created from the first Administration of 1789 until 1937 (148 years) with seven additional Departments created since (84 years).

The Executive Office of the President (EOP) was also created in response to the Brownlow Report. Prior to this Office, Presidents had few institutional assistants. As two scholars of the presidency observed, "...as recently as the Calvin Coolidge administration (1923-1929), the entire budget for the White House staff, including office expenses, was less than \$80,000."²⁵ In 2016 the EOP included the Council of Economic Advisors, the Council on Environmental Quality, the Executive Residence, the National Security Staff, five Offices (including the Office of Management and Budget), and the White House Office which, itself, consists of twenty-four offices.²⁶

Inner Cabinet Appointment Amendment

In short, since the Brownlow's Report of 1937 announcing that the president needed help, it would appear that he got it. Given the importance of these offices and those who lead them, it seems the time may have arrived for the public to play a role, albeit indirect, in their selection. Just as the selection of vice presidential running mates has been routinely made a part of the election process, the same could be done for members of the president's cabinet.²⁷ However, not all executive departments and those who are in charge of them are considered equal. Some presidential scholars have identified four departments that are of particular importance. These have been dubbed the president's "inner cabinet." The individuals heading them are: (1) the Secretary of State; (2) the Secretary of Defense; (3) the Secretary of Treasury; and (4) the Attorney General (who heads-up the Justice Department).²⁸

While the role and impact of the Cabinet is totally dependent on the President, most presidents promise to rely on the advice of their department heads. And "most modern presidents develop close ties with" the leaders of the so-called inner cabinet.²⁹ With this in mind, an amendment to the Constitution could require that presidential candidates provide the public with the names of the four individuals whom they would nominate to lead the four "inner cabinet" Departments. The Amendment would mean that the public would now have five specific decisions on which to judge a presidential candidate (rather than just the naming of the vice presidential running mate).

Given how vague and evasive presidential candidates can be on exactly what they will do if elected, requiring them to name these five individuals prior to the election could have several advantages. First, it could provide important information concerning the character of the presidential candidate. Second, it could indicate the political direction the administration would take should a particular ticket win. Finally, modern presidents have had considerable turnover in those serving as Department Heads.³⁰ Naming the heads of the most important departments might serve to obviate this trend, since those selected would

have a received *quasi* public approval. In addition, this itself might put more pressure on presidential candidates to put more thought into those selected for these positions.

Direct Election of the President

Probably one of the most criticized institutions the Framers created when writing the Constitution in 1787 is the institution known as the electoral college. The Constitution doesn't even use that phrase (it merely refers to "electors"). Textbooks on American government seldom go into the reasons why the Framers chose the electoral college as the mechanism for electing the president (they actually adopted election by Congress twice before finally turning to electors). One important reason was that election by Congress created so many issues. The major issue being that if Congress elected the president then they could not allow the president to run for reelection. Otherwise, there could be no "independent" president—he would merely do the bidding of Congress (creating what has been dubbed the "puppet" argument). Another method for electing the president debated at the Constitutional Convention was popular election. The reason usually given for why the Framers rejected popular election is that they thought the voters were incapable of selecting a president. That reason was exemplified by the statement of Mason of Virginia during debate over the issue when he stated that allowing the voters to choose the president "would be as unnatural . . . as [referring] the choice of colors to a blind man."³¹

Without describing every argument on the issue of selection of the nation's president, in the end the Framers adopted the electoral college. Since then, many arguments have been made for modifying that method of election. In the modern era (since, say, the election of the man considered to be the inventor of the modern presidency—Franklin Roosevelt) the most frequently voiced criticism of the presidency has been the electoral college method of electing him (thousands of amendments have been introduced in Congress for modifying it). Furthermore, the most frequent criticism of the electoral college system is that it is possible for the "winner" of the election to actually "lose". In the literature on the electoral college, the metaphor used to describe this phenomenon is the "loaded gun" critique.³²

The so-called loaded gun critique specifically refers to the possibility of a presidential ticket getting the most popular votes nationwide but not getting a majority of the nation's electoral votes. While this criticism is severe, it has historically suffered from being quite rare. For example, from 1789 (since the first Congress under the Constitution of 1787) until the presidential election of 1996, the loaded gun fired only once (in 1888).³³ Yet, since 1996 the U.S. has had two instances in which there were issues with the winner of the popular vote winning the presidency. The first was in 2000. In that election Al Gore got more popular votes nationwide than George W. Bush, but Bush became president. In 2016, Hillary Clinton got more popular votes nationwide than Donald Trump, but Trump became president.

While the so-called "loaded gun" *was* responsible for the 2016 result, it was the U.S. Supreme Court that intervened in the 2000 presidential election; however, it is possible that the "loaded gun" phenomenon was responsible for the outcome in 2000 (what a statewide recount of Florida's vote would have revealed will never be known). So, if we treat 2000 as the loaded gun firing, here is how the history of that event would look:

1789 ==> 1996: instances of the Loaded Gun firing = 1

2000 ==> 2020: instances of the Loaded Gun firing = 2.

Put differently, during a period in which the U.S. had 59 presidential elections, the popular vote winner lost once, but during a period in which the U.S. conducted 6 presidential elections, the popular vote winner lost twice. Or, in a mere one-tenth of the time it took the "loaded=gun" to fire once, it has fired twice. When the occurrence of the "loaded-gun" firing was as rare as it was until 2000, it did not seem to warrant amending the Constitution to prevent it. If, however, it starts to become a reoccurring event, that would be different.

Perhaps the strongest argument for abolishing the electoral college is that if the United States wants to call itself a democracy and furthermore refer to itself as the democratic leader of the free world, it should have its highest official selected democratically. Few would doubt, that if the electoral college were abolished, it would be replaced with direct popular election.

Democracy and the Electoral College

Is the electoral college system for electing the president democratic? The answer to that question depends on whom you ask. Let's start with the Framers. The Framers knew that whatever they included in the Constitution they were writing would have to be ratified by at least nine states. Put more bluntly, the delegates knew they had to "sell" the document to enough states or their work would have been in vain. One of the selling points of the electoral college method of electing the president is that the delegates left it to each state to determine how the electors were to be chosen. Article II, Section One contains this language, "Each State shall appoint, *in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct*, a number of electors . . . (emphasis added)" Did the Framers have a preference for how to select these electors. If you believe what they said, they did.

Publius devotes one *Federalist Paper* to a discussion of the electoral college: *Federalist Paper* No. 68.³⁴ In the second paragraph of that essay, Publius writes, "It was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice . . ." In the next (3rd) paragraph he refers to the actual electors as "a small number of persons, selected by their fellow citizens . . ." Two paragraphs (5th) later he notes that this method refers the choice to "an act of the people of America . . ." In the next paragraph (6th) he references the vote was to be based on "the people themselves." And in the next paragraph (7th) he describes the plan devised by the Framers which was "that the people of each State shall choose a number of persons as electors . . ."

In short, while the Framers did not dictate how the electors would be chosen, they clearly expressed the desire that the states would assign that function to the voters of the state. The Framers did not, however, require that the electors be chosen by the voters. In the first presidential election, the electors were chosen by the state legislature in six states, and by the voters in four states. Of course, over time the process of selecting electors became more democratized, but it would probably surprise most people to know how many states made that decision in the first presidential election.

Scholars

Scholars are divided on the democratic nature of, and hence desirability of, the electoral college system. Robert Dahl was, in general, critical of the lack of democracy he saw in a great deal of the American constitutional regime. The answer to the question raised in the title of his book (*How Democratic is the American Constitution?*) is 'not very'. He devotes an entire chapter in the book to a criticism of the electoral college. Yet, Martin Diamond, another highly respected political scientist, was highly supportive of the electoral college.³⁵

In 1984 the American Political Science Association ran a Pro/Con electoral college article in its publication, *PS*.³⁶ The two professors, both from the University of North Carolina—Charlotte provided an overview of the major criticisms and support for the electoral college system. Perhaps not surprisingly, both of the professors make a case for democracy. What is somewhat surprising is that the professor defending the electoral college system argued that popular election would be less democratic than the present system.

Given some of these arguments one might be inclined to conclude that the "undemocratic" nature of the electoral college system might be merely one of public perception.. This brings us back to the question of whether the fact that the United States has, within a period of twenty years seen two presidential elections in which the "winner" received fewer popular votes, indicates a need to turn to popular election (to prevent future instances of losers winning)? Since the Framers preferred popular vote for electors one could even argue that they wouldn't object. But such a change could bring additional changes. Consider just two very significant but possible changes.

First, would the introduction of popular election of the presidency significantly increase the role of money in U.S. elections? The role of money is already of great concern, and it is quite possible that popular election would exacerbate the issue.³⁷ Also, direct election could possibly mean the end of the two-party system and the beginning of a multi-party system.

Other Possible Amendments to Consider

While the above three ideas for amending the Constitution would seem to be the most urgent facing the nation today, there are some other ideas that should be given some consideration.

Judicial Tenure

Given the emphasis on the membership of the U.S. Supreme Court in the last few years, another possible change in that institution would be to place a limit on the number of years one could serve on the Court or, as an alternative, an age limit. There have been instances in the past when Justices have seemingly served longer than they should have, and others have argued that limiting service would make the Court more responsive to the public.³⁸ The Framers would oppose this change (see *Federalist* 79).

Equal Rights

Equality under the law was not specifically mentioned in the Constitution of 1787. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) was the first time the Constitution contained a reference to equality under the law, and even then (and still today) it specifically references only the states³⁹ That is why the U.S. Supreme Court issued two opinions (under different names) in the famous *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954.⁴⁰ In fact, the Court, itself, did not realize it needed to issue two separate rulings until this fact was brought to Chief Justice Warren's attention by one of the Court's clerks.⁴¹

When the demand intensified for treating men and women equally under the law, Congress proposed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972. Section One (which stated the right being protected) contained only 24 words: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Section Two contained a routine provision granting Congress the authority to enforce Section One, and Section Three stated the ratified Amendment would go into effect two years after being ratified.⁴² The proposed Amendment came within three states of being ratified. Most of the opposition came from the deep southern states.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court developed an "equality" test solely for laws treating people differently based on sex, it has never treated sex discrimination under law as equivocally as it does race discrimination.⁴³ Hence, the contemporary desire to add the ERA to the Constitution.

The Washington, D.C. Amendment

The last proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which was *not* ratified was the so-called D.C. Amendment. Congress proposed it in 1978. It would have granted D.C. the minimum number of representatives in the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate. It was covered (as all modern proposed amendments are) by the seven-years clause which meant that if not ratified in seven years it would no longer be considered proposed. Seven years later only 16 states had ratified it and so it failed to be ratified and has not been formally proposed since.

The U.S. Constitution refers to states as having representation in Congress. This does not include districts and that is what D.C. is. That is why an amendment is needed to grant the residents of the District congressional representation. When the D.C. Amendment was proposed there were more people living in the District than in the state of Alaska. The failure of the proposed amendment to be ratified explains why car tags in the District have the phrase "No taxation with representation" printed on them.

Prior to the presidential election of 1964 the residents of the District could not vote for president and vice president. The Twenty-third Amendment to the Constitution (ratified in 1961) rectified this situation by granting the residents of the District three electoral votes.⁴⁴

The U.S. Senate

If one can make a persuasive argument that the electoral college method of electing the president and vice president of the United States should be abolished because it is not consistent with one of our enshrined constitutional doctrines (one-person-one-vote), one would also have to be in favor of abolishing the United States Senate. That is, if one wanted to be logically consistent. That is because each state, regardless of population, has the same number of senators representing them. Put differently, the Senate doesn't represent people, it represents states. That's why Alaska (with a population of 731, 545) and California (with a population of 39,512,223) are equally represented in the Senate.⁴⁵

It is this that caused one political scientist to call the U.S. Senate the stupidest thing in the U.S. Constitution.⁴⁶ Professor Sherry thinks that the Senate, under current opinions of the U.S. Supreme

Court, is already unconstitutional.⁴⁷ Another political scientist has pointed out that there are fourteen states in the West and Great Plains (which he refers to as “sagebrush states) which have one-third of the votes in the Senate but less than one-tenth of the people in the nation.⁴⁸

Without going into the numerous criticisms made against the modern U.S. Senate and how it operates, these points alone seem sufficient in making a serious argument for amending the Senate out of the Constitution.

It’s About Time

The Framers are often portrayed by academics as not being true devotees of democracy.⁴⁹ After all, the word “democracy” doesn’t even appear in the Constitution of 1787, or today. And then there are the super-majorities written in the Constitution. The most pertinent one relating to the subject at hand are those required for amending the Constitution. Amending is outlined in Article V of the Constitution. There are two methods given there for proposing an amendment. Both require a 2/3’s vote. There are also two methods given for ratifying a proposed amendment, and both of those require a 3/4’s vote. Without a doubt, these super-majority requirements do make amending the Constitution more difficult than if mere simple majorities were allowed. Yet, what is not often explained is why the Framers relied on super-majorities for amending instead of simple majorities. What if the Framers had good reasons for not relying on simple majorities for the amending process?

Precedent and Thinking at the Convention

The Framers had experience to guide them when debating the amending process. Under the nation’s first constitution (The Article of Confederation) it took approval of all of the states to make changes in that document. It was never changed. The Framers knew that unanimity would make amending too difficult. But they also had reasons for not wanting to make amending too easy as these would result in the Constitution being frequently amended. Here is how Publius explained it:

... as every appeal to the people would carry an implication of some defect in the government, frequent appeals would, in great measure, deprive the government of that veneration which time bestows on everything, and without which perhaps the wisest and freest governments would not possess the requisite stability.⁵⁰

The reasoning of the Framers did not stop there. Another consideration was not wanting changes in the document being regional in nature. That was another reason they required a super-majority rather than a simple majority. From a democratic point of view, however, this “problem” of amending can be accentuated by imagining bare majorities in the 13 least populous states having the power to prevent an amendment favored overwhelmingly by 37 of the most populous states. This is an example Martin Diamond made in his text on democratic-republican government.⁵¹ Diamond, who made a strong argument for the Framers being true democrats, made the observation that one could turn the math around and imagine bare majorities in the 38 states with the least population passing an amendment in spite of overwhelming majorities in the 12 *most* populous states.⁵² In the latter case a minority of the nation (under the Framers’ design) could pass an amendment! Thus, Diamond concludes, “The real aim and practical effect of the complicated amending procedure is not to give power to minorities, but to require *nationally distributed* majorities (emphasis in the original).⁵³

Back In Time

Here is a list of all twenty-seven amendments to the U.S. Constitution and data showing the years between each amendment (the dates listed are year of ratification and numbers at end show years since last amendment):

1 st – 10 th	1791	
		4 years
11 th	1795	
		9 years
12 th	1804	

13 th	1865	61 years
14 th	1868	3 years
15 th	1870	2 years
16 th	1913	43 years
17 th	1913	0 years
18 th	1919	6 years
19 th	1920	1 year
20 th	1933	13 years
21 st	1933	0 years
22 nd	1951	14 years
23 rd	1961	10 years
24 th	1964	2 years
25 th	1967	3 years
26 th	1971	4 years
27 th	1992	NA

Experts on the amending process have pointed out that amendments to the U.S. Constitution have tended to come in “clusters rather than discrete and isolated events.”⁵⁴ For example the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, were all proposed in the first Congress. Another example would be the so-called “Civil War Amendments” (13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments). Then there were the “Progressive Era” amendments (16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th). The explanation given for this pattern points to political events or movements which typically has “more than one issue on its mind.”⁵⁵ A variation of this them would be a movement for change which sought to cover several contingencies within a single overriding concern or issue. It’s this situation which the country seems to be in today (as exemplified by the January 6th insurrection at the Capitol building).

Table 1 is a list of all twenty-seven amendments to the U.S. Constitution (with the date of their ratification), and data showing the gap (in years) between each amendment. The average number of years between one amendment and the next is eleven years, but this does not show the real pattern of time and amending. In eleven of the sixteen instances the period between amendments is between zero and 9 years. More revealing is the fact that 5 gaps consist of double digits, with the smallest being 10 years and the largest being 61 years. The 61 year gap came early in the republic (between the 12th Amendment and the first Civil War Amendment (the 13th, banning slavery). One could argue that the short gaps are periods in which the amendments resembled, as referenced already, the notion of amendments coming in clusters. What may be the most revealing fact of Table 1 can be demonstrated with a “what if” thought experiment.

What if there managed to be an amendment proposed in 2022 which was ratified in 2029 (maximum 7 years for ratification). Since the last amendment (omitting the outlier 27th, which was proposed in the First Congress and was ratified in 1992) that would mean fifty-eight years would have passed since the last amendment (the 26th) was ratified in 1971. This would be only three years short of the longest period between amendments (that between the 12th and 13th Amendments). Again, that former 61 year gap occurred between the electoral college amendment (the 12th) in reaction to the 1800 presidential election and the first of the Civil War Amendments (the 13th banning slavery). A traumatic event (the Civil War and the issue of race in America) resulted in the call for constitutional change.

The insurrection of January 6, 2021 may constitute a traumatic event that could result in one of more of the amendments discussed above.⁵⁶ This is not, in any way, to compare the insurrection with the Civil War. But what has to be kept in mind is that the insurrection was the culmination of several years of political events which seemed out of place in American politics, and may continue with the presidential election of 2024. Here is a partial list of such things for which the insurrection may be considered the ultimate manifestation.

Table 2
List of Events

1. Presidential Election of 2000 – resulting in Supreme Court decision
2. Iraqi War – there are no “weapons of mass destruction”
3. Senate refuses to allow President Obama to fill Supreme Court vacancy
4. Presidential Election of 2016 – firing of the “loaded gun”
5. Election of a non-politician in 2016
6. Non-politician refuses to say he would recognize a loss in presidential election
7. Non-politician president refers to “American carnage” in Inaugural Address
8. Non-politician president refers to Nazis sympathizers as “some very good people”
9. *Washington Post* documents thousands of lies told by non-politician president
10. A president who orders the separation of immigrant children from their parents without keeping track of the child’s parents and by housing the children in cages
11. A president who promises aide to a country if that country will do him a favor
12. A president who calls a state election official and asks the official to “find” enough votes to give him the state’s electoral votes
13. A president who prior to his running for reelection states that he will respect the outcome of the election ONLY if he wins the election
14. A president who, after losing the election, asserts that the election was stolen
15. A president who urges a crowd to interrupt the counting of the electoral votes by fighting like “_ell”
16. A president who refers to those who attack the Capitol as “special people” who he loves
17. A former president who asserts that he is “actually” the president (because the election in which he supposedly lost was stolen from him).

It remains to be seen if the former president will remain popular enough to run for the presidency in 2024. What is known is that many Republicans (including well-established ones) are still defending him and that hundreds of laws have been introduced in Congress to make voting more difficult in the years to come. In short, the trauma the nation witnessed on January 6, 2021 may just be the beginning. This places even greater pressure on the need to reform the constitutional regime if necessary to preserve our democratic form of government.

END-END-END

¹ The media routinely refer to the winner of the presidential election (as announced by the major media outlets) as “president-elect” but it is important to note that that is not the case. It is important because the Constitution refers to the “president-elect” (see the Twentieth Amendment) and thus the exact moment when this occurs should be clearly understood.

² <https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-falsely-claims-he-won-presidential-election-2020-10>.

³ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/02/12/trumps-big-lie-was-bigger-than-just-stolen-election/>.

⁴ Enter “democracy” in the book search at Amazon.com for proof of this statement.

⁵ <https://www.scotusblog.com/2010/01/commentary-alito-vs-obama-whos-right/> (last accessed on February 3, 2021).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ 558 U.S. 50 (2010).

⁸ <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/02/05/childish-spectacle-supreme-court-justices-bemoan-state-union/2769143002/>(last accessed on February 3, 2021).

⁹ The 1971 Revenue Act and the 1974 amendments. (See, *The Oxford Essential Guide to the U.S. Government*, 2000), p. 64.

¹⁰ 424 U.S. 1 (1976).

¹¹ A literal translation of the Latin phrase “*stare decisis*” is “let it stand”. This is typically translated as the Court’s practice of following precedent, or deciding future cases based on how it has previously ruled. Ironically, some of the Court’s best known rulings (such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 1954) are those in which a precedent was overruled.

¹² This data are from: [https://ballotpedia.org/Recall_\(political\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Recall_(political)) (last accessed on February 3, 2021).

¹³ <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/progressive-platform-of-1912/> (last accessed on 2-4-2021).

¹⁴ *U.S. v. E.C. Knight*, 156 U.S. 1 (1895) and *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905).

¹⁵ Edward Harnett, “Why Is the Supreme Court of the United States Protecting State Judges from Popular Democracy?” 75 *Texas Law Review* 907, April 1997, note 148. Based on a speech (the so-called “Confession of Faith” speech given at Ohio’s Constitutional Convention on February 21, 1912) Harnett asserts that Roosevelt endorsed the notion of applying the “judicial recall” to the U.S. Supreme Court. He buttresses the argument by also noting that it was the delegates at the Progressive Party Convention who insisted on limiting the concept to state courts (see, p. 941 of volume 75 of the *Texas Law Review*, *supra*).

¹⁶ Elmer H. Youngman, Ed. *Progressive Principles* (Progressive National Service, New York 1913), p. 91. Given that the U.S. Supreme Court has overruled decisions within a year, this two year minimum would seem to be reasonable (see, for example the following: *Jones v. Opelika*, 316 U.S. 584 (1942) and *Murdock v. Pennsylvania*, 319 U.S. 165 (1943); *Sterrett v. Mothers & Children’s Rights Organ.*, 409 U.S. 809 (1973) and *Edelman v. Jordan*, 415 U.S. 651 (1974); and *Robbins v. California*, 453 U.S. 420 (1981) and *U.S. v. Ross*, 456 U.S. 798 (1982).

¹⁷ Ford had become President in a bizarre set of circumstances (due, primarily, to the XXVth Amendment) which resulted in him being the only President who was never elected vice president or president.

¹⁸ See, <http://werehistory.org/1976-convention/>.

¹⁹ The efficacy of this strategy has been challenged in research published in 1982. See, Danny M. Adkison, “The Electoral Significance of the Vice Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Summer 1982), p. 330.

²⁰ See, http://archive.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2008/02/24/risky_strategy_that_doomed_reagan_in_76_could_boost_democrats/.

²¹ The McGovern-Fraser Commission reforms of the mid-1970s resulted in removing the drama from the presidential nomination itself, leaving only the selection of the VP as the remaining unannounced significant decision at the Conventions. See, Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (Crown, 2018), Chapter 2.

²² See, Report of the President’s Committee on Administrative Management at <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/report-of-the-presidents-committee-on-administrative-management-the-brownlow-committee-report/>.

²³ U.S. President’s Committee on Administrative Management. *Report of the President’s Committee*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 5.

²⁴ This was a play on words of a bestselling book from the 1960s, *The Selling of the Presidency* by Joe McGinnis, 1969.

²⁵ Lori Cox Han and Diane J. Heith, *Presidents and the American Presidency*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 268.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 270.

²⁷ The word “cabinet” does not appear in the U.S. Constitution. The phrase “executive departments” does (Article II, Section 2). When Senator Birch Bayh first proposed the XXVth Amendment he used the phrase “cabinet” and Senator Sam Ervin (who chaired the Senate Watergate Investigative Committee and was considered a constitutional scholar) objected to the use of the word. He persuaded Senator Bayh to change the reference of “cabinet” to “principal officers of the executive departments.” For clarity, Senator Bayh made sure witnesses, during hearings over the proposed amendment, made it clear that the reference to the “principal officers of the executive departments” in the proposed amendment meant the cabinet. See, Birch Bayh, *One Heartbeat Away*, (The Bobbs-Merrill, Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 102-103.

²⁸ Some scholars also include the Department of Homeland Security as a fifth component of the “inner cabinet.” See, Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige, *The Politics of the Presidency*, 10th Ed. (Sage, 2021), p. 342.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

³¹ See this statement of Mason’s in *Madison’s Notes of the Federal Convention of 1787* on July 17, 1787.

³² See, Judith Best’s *The Case Against Direct Election of the President*; Longley and Braun’s *The Politics of Electoral College Reform*; Peirce’s *The People’s President*; and Martin Diamond’s *The Electoral College and the American Idea of Democracy*. The metaphor is based on a comparison with ‘Russian Roulette’ in which a revolver with only one bullet in the chamber is used in a dangerous game of chance.

³³ Some report that the “gun” also fired in 1824 and 1876 (see, Danny Adkison and Christopher Elliott, “The Electoral College: A Misunderstood Institution” (*PS*, 1997), pp. 77-80.) Although it is true that the winner in both of those elections did not get the most popular votes nationwide, the outcome was not due to the electoral college. In 1824 it was due to the election being decided by the House contingent. Thus, it was the House of Representatives which elected the candidate with fewer popular votes (J.Q. Adams), not the loaded gun firing. Likewise, in 1876 the disputed electoral votes were allocated by the Hayes – Tilden Commission (15 members with 8 Republicans and 7 Democrats). Thus, it was the Commission which elected the candidate with fewer popular votes (Hayes), not the firing of the loaded gun.

³⁴ *Federalist Paper* No. 68 was written by Hamilton.

³⁵ See, Martin Diamond, *The American Idea of Democracy* (American Enterprise Institute, 1977).

³⁶ Theodore S. Arrington and Saul Brenner, “Should the Electoral College be Replaced by the Direct Election of the President? A Debate,” *PS*, Spring 1984, pp. 237-250.

³⁷ If popular election were to be adopted, why still hold national nominating conventions to select each party’s ticket? Wouldn’t the obvious next step be to have a national Democratic primary and a national Republican primary to select each major party’s ticket? Furthermore, wouldn’t it be likely that all of these elections would probably require a run-off election? If so, that would be a total of *six* national elections each leap year.

³⁸ Concerning the latter, see: <https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2018/6/27/17511030/supreme-court-term-limits-retirement>. Concerning time served, some of the more recent justices with length terms are Thomas (29 years and still serving); Kennedy (30 years, retired in 2018); Stevens (34 years, retired in 2010) and Rehnquist (33 years, 2005). [This list of those with a long tenure are not meant to indicate they should have left the Court sooner.]

³⁹ The pertinent portion of the Amendment reads, “No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws” (Section 1).

⁴⁰ 349 U.S. 294 (1954).

⁴¹ The Clerk pointed out that as worded the opinion contained a legal error (since the equal protection clause did not apply to the national government and yet one of the companion cases was from a public school in Washington, D.C.). The Court corrected the error and placed the D.C. case under its own name, *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

⁴² However, of the thirty-five states typically included as having ratified the ERA, three of these states (Idaho, Nebraska, and Tennessee) subsequently rescinded their ratifications. It has never been determined by the U.S. Supreme Court if such states would still be counted having ratified the amendment.

⁴³ In a case from Oklahoma (*Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190, 1976) the Court articulated the “intermediate scrutiny test” for alleged sexual discrimination under the law. The Court uses the “strict scrutiny test” for race discrimination cases.

⁴⁴ The minimum number of electoral votes any *state* can have is three (for one representative and two senators).

⁴⁵ For Alaska, see: www.census.gov/quickfacts/AK, and for California, see: www.census.gov/quickfacts/CA.

⁴⁶ See, Suzanna Sherry, “Our Unconstitutional Senate,” *Constitutional Stupidities, Constitutional Tragedies*, edited by William Eskridge, Jr. and Sanford Levinson (New York University Press, 1998, pp. 95-97.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Her argument is based on the malapportionment cases on which the Court has ruled.

⁴⁸ See, William Eskridge, Jr., “The One Senator, One Vote Clauses,” *Constitutional Tragedies*, edited by William Eskridge, Jr. and Sanford Levinson (New York University Press, 1998, pp.35-39.

⁴⁹ The most notable being Robert Dahl’s *How Democratic is the American Constitution?* (Yale University Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ See paragraph 6 of *Federalist Paper* No. 49 (authored by Madison).

⁵¹ The chapters Diamond wrote were subsequently published as *The Founding of the Democratic Republic* (F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1981). The example described here can be found on p. 104.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Alan P. Grimes, *Democracy and the Amendments to the Constitution* (Lexington Books, 1978), p. 25.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ This even goes beyond the January 6th insurrection and continues as the former president continues to assert that the election was stolen and may use this issue to run again for the presidency in 2024. So, the totality of the issue could constitute an existential threat to America’s democratic regime.

Revealing the Green Path of China

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Abstract

This paper moves from a brief macro-level assessment of China's ascent in economic status to a more revealing cross-comparison of urban dynamics in Tianjin, China and the Greater Los Angeles Metropolitan Area in the United States. The comparison is intended as a springboard to examine both the challenges and the possibilities in these two regions as they strive to achieve a greener, low-carbon economic development path. Given the normative nature of pathways to be chosen in encouraging sustainable development patterns, we hope to build on extensive literature examining the nature of cities as engines of innovation. This study expresses optimism, exposing the underlying importance of public discourse, academic exchange, and consumer preferences in building a greener future. This paper includes a comparative analysis of university students' attitudes concerning the likelihood and feasibility of global transitioning to a low-carbon economy.

Introduction

This paper examines the challenges and opportunities for a cooperative US-China strategy to achieve carbon neutrality over the next few decades. At President Biden's Spring 2021 Climate Summit, China and the United States have exhibited a willingness to cooperate and lead ahead of the United Nations Conference of Parties 26 (COP 26) scheduled for November 2021. These two nations account for close to half of all global carbon emissions. Setting aside the tensions between the U.S. and China, climate action presents opportunities for both countries to find common ground in pushing forward toward building carbon-neutral economies.

Behind the Leadership of President Xi Jinping, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is signaling its determination to pursue the win-win of economic growth and pollution reduction. China's current evolution involves a transformation from an emphasis on "*GDPism*" (a focus on economic growth) to a development path of "*Green GDPism*" (an emphasis on economic growth accompanied by reductions in pollution and carbon emissions). The new development pattern optimizes a win-win situation catapulting China to a prominent leadership position in tackling climate change. China has pledged to cut back its carbon emission. It is the number one producer of solar energy panels and electric cars. At the same time, China's Belt and Road initiatives are financing questionable amounts of coal-fired plants abroad. So, tackling global climate change will require greater international coordination of effort in mitigating future global carbon emissions.

Negative Western media portrayals of the situation in China reveal the West's inability to comprehend China's style of centralized planning and its intention to continue to deliver a win-win scenario of economic growth accompanied by low-carbon urbanization. This paper shows that Chinese university students (comprising 70 percent of China's urban young adults) exhibit substantial confidence that China will take on a global leadership role and help to steer the world through this present age of uncertainty toward a greener and more sustainable future.

Over the past few decades, China's performance demonstrates to the world the Chinese Central Committee can continue to deliver on its promise to build a better future for its people. China is at the center of the rise of Asia and its growing middle class. The locus of global economic power is shifting in a world where emerging markets now account for 50 percent of official global output. Consider its

historical momentum as displayed in Table 1. China's reforms have propelled its ratio of per capita GDP from only 20 percent below average world per capita income to almost 20 percent over the world average today—a fact that is truly incredible, given that China has the largest population of any nation in the world. In the past few decades, China has lifted hundreds of millions of its citizens out of poverty.

China can attribute its rise to the quick pace of industrialization and urbanization. From 1970 to 2020, China's urban population grew from 200 million to 800 million, transitioning from 20 percent to 60 percent urban. In the upcoming decade, another 350 million will transition from rural to urban by 2030. The rapid pace of industrial and high-tech information sector growth can provide economic support for continued urbanization in China. China's 14th five-year plan outlines a path to peak carbon emissions by 2030 and fixes 2060 as the target date for reaching its long-term goal of becoming carbon neutral. There are already 93 cities with a population of over 1 million in China. Its recent growth has been achieved while the country has steadily decreased its carbon intensity over the past few years. It is essential to keep in mind that China's overall carbon emissions still increase, even though its carbon intensity has decreased. Its rate of increase in national output is so large that it overwhelms substantial decreases in carbon emissions per unit of output. The five-year plan commitment is ambitious, but the stated goal of decreasing carbon emission per unit output by 20 percent annually over the next five years does align with the national goal of reaching peak emissions by 2030. (Liu, 2021)

China is unlike many other developing nations. Many developing countries argue that the U.S. needs to get serious about its carbon emission reduction strategy before asking other nations to commit to implementing targets that might restrain the manufacturing growth on which they depend. Instead, China is moving forward, launching a national experiment in carbon trading that covers its thermal energy sector (encouraging investment and innovation in low-carbon development). This strategy demonstrates a singular commitment to avoid a carbon lock-in problem. China's State Council decided in 2011 to “gradually promote the establishment of a carbon trading market” (ChinaDaily, 2011). China's carbon trading system incentivizes innovations in low-carbon development over time. China's central planning agency, the National Development and Reform Commission (NRDC) has piloted cap and trade systems in five municipalities (Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Tianjin) and two provinces (Guangdong and Hubei). This initial experiment informed the design of an expanded cap and trade system. California and Beijing have been cooperating to evaluate their respective implementation of sub-national cap and trade systems. This July of 2021, China initiated its national carbon exchange system, covering its thermal energy sector. This energy sector includes its coal-fired electricity plants and accounts for 40 percent of its carbon emissions. This newly instituted carbon market is the largest ever in both geographical area and the reduction of carbon projected. Formerly the largest carbon trading market was the European Union. China's cap and trade program is a central part of the country's overall climate and energy policy planning. Some critics question whether China's carbon exchange and other generally outlined plans to reduce carbon will materialize over the next decade and beyond. (Liu, 2011)

The degree of cooperation between the United States and China may be pivotal in improving relations between the two countries. This paper finds that climate action provides a tangible avenue for both countries to realize they have more to gain by helping one another than by giving credence to the idea that the two countries should decouple their respective economic fortunes. The decoupling argument ignores the gain of the positive-sum realities available through inter-cultural exchange and international exchange opportunities of the past few decades. To reverse course would seem to miss a great opportunity, especially when both countries seemed poised to lead on policies involving climate action.

Cross-Comparison of Urban Form and Society in Tianjin and Greater Los Angeles

This study undertakes a cross-country comparison between students' attitudes in a similarly situated area of China and the United States to assess the degree to which both countries are committed to climate action goals. In a country as large as China, there are differences of opinion about the degree to which the government should put a premium on carbon emission reduction. When I visited Tianjin, I saw its similarity to my region of the United States, situated in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area. The similarities motivated me to survey the student attitudes toward climate action in an undergraduate

international trade class when I visited the Tianjin University of Science and Technology in Tianjin, China.

Thanks to a scholar exchange program between China and the U.S., I was invited to teach and give seminars on carbon emission reduction policies to students and Chinese scholars in Tianjin in 2015. There has been much attention in the media given to trade disputes, military tensions, and some discussion of the need for both countries to pursue an economic decoupling. This study, by contrast, is intended to show how close ties between China and the U.S. This micro-analysis reveals similarities and common interests, hoping to dwarf tensions caused by those who highlight differences. Two very similar regions for comparison are Tianjin (a Municipal Province) in China and the Greater Los Angeles Area in the United States. Both highly urbanized regions are approximately the same land area. Tianjin is 31,776 square miles, and the Greater Los Angeles Consolidated Statistical Area (CSA) is 33,995 square miles in land area. Tianjin has a population of 14.8 million (reported in 2013), while Greater Los Angeles contains 17.8 million residents (in 2010). The reader should note that a “municipality” in China, such as Tianjin, is a larger administrative district than what Americans think of as a city. Tianjin is one of four centrally administered municipalities in China (the others are Beijing, Shanghai, and Chongqing).

Comparing **Tianjin** to the **Los Angeles-Long Beach, California Combined Statistical Area (CSA)** reveals remarkable similarities. The Los Angeles-Long Beach CSA is more commonly referred to, by local urban planners, as the Greater Los Angeles Area. Besides Los Angeles County and Orange County, this CSA includes Ventura, Riverside, and San Bernardino counties. The total land area of the Greater Los Angeles Area CSA, minus areas of the undevelopable steep slope, is almost identical to Tianjin’s land area. Both regions are comparable in terms of being commensurate as a unified labor market/commuter shed. Table 2 displays that the two regions have gained about the same amount of population growth in keeping with their character of harnessing their economic advantage as gateways to globalization in the Pacific Rim. From Table 2, we wish to establish further that the survey of university students comprises regions that are very similar in terms of urban and economic composition (same urban population, rapid growth, and land area). It is desirable to survey business students similarly situated in terms of their understanding of recent urban development trends and the importance of globalization and international trade ties to thrive in their local economies. Even the levels of air pollution are comparable in Tianjin and Los Angeles, as revealed in Table 2.

Both Tianjin and Los Angeles are economically diverse, and both house two of the world’s largest and busiest ocean ports for cargo shipping containers on the Pacific Rim. Indeed, both ports are among the top ten busiest ports in the world. These regions provide a revealing cross-comparison because of similar land area and population size and their unique connection as gateways of international trade. Approximately 100,000+ Twenty-foot Equivalent shipping container Units (TEUs) are shipped from Tianjin to the United States (U.S.) each year. About half of all the containers that Tianjin ships to the U.S. go through the Ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach and then travel to the rest of the continental United States.

The established international trade ties between Tianjin and the Greater Los Angeles Area provide another good reason to perform a cross-country comparison of the two remarkably similar world cities. In addition, rapid urbanization in Los Angeles distinguished it from other major metropolitan areas in the United States. While it is obvious that transportation and logistics are essential to both regions, they also contain diverse high-technology sectors. Both regions have cultural treasures in terms of art museums, tourism, entertainment, and hospitality. Both regions are also home to some of the world’s most prestigious academic and research-oriented universities and post-secondary education institutions.

Cross-Comparison of Urban Form and Society

Until 1950 Tianjin ranked just behind Shanghai as the second-largest city in China with 2.5 million residents. Tianjin is currently the fifth-largest mega-city in China and has been dwarfed in status behind its sister city of Beijing. This is unfortunate, as anyone traveling to Beijing should not overlook the tourist treasures of Tianjin, which is just 35 minutes away from Beijing by bullet train. Tianjin is a beautiful, architecturally spectacular, and economically diverse city. Currently, Tianjin is home to branch headquarters of 300 out of the Global Fortune 500 companies in the world. It has an impressive financial

district. Tianjin has expanded very rapidly as a Free Trade Zone (FTZ). China's Free Trade Zones feature low thresholds for corporate establishment and foreign direct investment, offering liberalized foreign exchange opportunities. (United Nations World Urbanization Prospects, 2018)

Tianjin boasts the largest manufactured port in all of China. Tianjin's port resembles the port of Los Angeles-Long Beach, which accommodates more cargo than any other port on the west coast of the Americas. Both Tianjin's port and the Port of Long Beach import more cars than any other port for their respective nations. Tianjin's geographic position and strategic importance for trade in China are unmatched. It serves 30 major navigation routes that connect to 300 international ports and significantly links China's global trade to the U.S., Europe, and Asia (Guo, 2014).

Public opinion and social outlook in the more prosperous and fast-growing developed regions of China (the 300 million Chinese citizens connected to the modern world through special trade and global investment zones such as Tianjin) are much more closely aligned with the opinion patterns in the fast-growing international trade centers in the U.S., such as cosmopolitan Los Angeles. The central hypothesis of this study is that these two regions, being quite similar concerning their mutual benefits from trade and broad cooperation, leads them to possess matching views concerning the importance of recognizing and acting to prevent the worst impacts of climate change. Table 3 displays the results of a survey of university students in Tianjin and Los Angeles. The similarity and difference of attitudes toward climate change yield statistically significant results, as displayed in Table 3.

Both groups of students surveyed acknowledge that Climate Change is a real challenge that will affect their lives in the future. The big difference between these two groups of university students concerns their degree of optimism when it comes to the ability of political leadership to make the required changes to mitigate carbon emission corresponding to their government's nationally determined commitments (NDCs) under the Paris agreements. The students in Tianjin are significantly more confident and optimistic about the ability of their national government to meet its recent Nationally Determined Commitment (NDC) to reach carbon neutrality in line with the 2016 Paris agreements. For both groups of students, the survey reveals an overwhelming majority feel that climate change is real and will require government action. Table 3 focuses on a difference between the two regions that are characteristically similar in terms of economic development and international trade ties. The Tianjin students surveyed are much more hopeful concerning the ability of their national government to effectively limit carbon emissions in line with the overall goal of holding the increase in global warming to less than 2 degrees centigrade by the end of this century (the stated goal of the 2016 Paris agreements).

Over the past few years, China has met its stated targets of reducing carbon intensity by 15 to 20 percent each year in the thermal power sector. It is committed in the 14th five-year plan to continue this momentum. The recent establishment of a national carbon allowance trading scheme will encourage innovation in the energy sector. Other national low-carbon development plans to achieve China's climate action pledge involve transportation and the built environment. The United States did have a clear national goal of carbon emission reduction targets, but there was a reversal of the Obama Administration's Clean Power Plan under President Trump. The Biden administration has renewed the U.S. pledge at Paris and has committed to cut carbon emissions by 50 percent by 2030 and reach carbon neutrality by 2050 (Friedman, 2021). This would be an amazing feat, given that emissions per capita in the U.S. are more than double the carbon emissions per capita in China. The Biden administration is having problems with passage of the *American Jobs Plan* (2021), legislation that provides for a Clean Energy Standard. The plan is more ambitious in limiting carbon emissions than even the Obama administration Clean Power Plan, and the Biden Plan supports an extensive electric car infrastructure and establishes a first national Clean Power Standard. Whether the Biden Administration can get these plans through the U.S. Congress to renew its commitments at the Congress of the Parties in Glasgow in November 2021 (COP 26) remains to be seen. On the other hand, China is launching a national carbon trading market in July 2021, and more broadly, China is spurring innovation in clean energy and low-carbon urbanization planning strategies as part of its efforts in expanding the development of innovation clusters in edge cities (Zheng, 2015).

Conclusion

Chinese leaders are acutely aware that the success of the Chinese Communist Party depends on how effectively it deals with growing environmental problems. There has been a great deal of success in subnational cooperation between California and Beijing, between universities and researchers in California and China in sharing technology and planning policies to promote sustainable development. This study and the survey done in Tianjin were sponsored by just such a scholar exchange program between the U.S. and Chinese scholars. Attending the International Low-Carbon Urbanization Conference in 2015 and working with Chinese scholars ahead of their attendance in 2016 at Paris (COP 25) and Glasgow (COP 26), one sees that Chinese professors and students have reason to be much more optimistic as they work toward their government's stated goals. This is what the survey reflects, with 62 percent of students in Tianjin, China feeling some degree of optimism, compared to only 43 percent of students in Los Angeles who feel optimism that their nation can meet its stated climate action goals. In the past ten years, China has emitted more greenhouse gases, including carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide, per year than any other country in the world. It surpassed the United States as the top emitter in 2005, according to *Climate Watch* (2020). Both nations have been working together ahead of COP 26 scheduled in November of 2021.

Climate action is an area of concern for both nations that provides a path for cooperation. We need to share solutions and work together in this area of research to help overcome tensions that have been building between the U.S. and China. Decoupling our economies or wasting resources on a new “cold war” is unnecessary. Such concerns should pale in comparison to the monstrous threat of teetering on the edge of a mass extinction event. Such a calamity can be avoided, provided we can forge a common, greener destiny between these two nations that account for almost half of all global carbon emissions.

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**Table 1 China in comparison with the world: 1700 to 2015
Per Capita GDP (1990 international dollars \$)**

YEAR:	1700	1820	1900	1950	2001	2015
China:	\$600	600	545	439	3,583	8,265
World:	\$615	668	1,262	2,110	6,041	7,154
Ratio: of China to the World	0.98	0.90	0.43	0.21	0.59	1.16

Source: A. Maddison, 2006*

*updated for 2015 IMF data

Table 2: Tianjin and the Greater Los Angeles CSA

	Tianjin (Municipality)	Los Angeles (CSA)
Population, 1950	2.5 million	5.0 million
Population, 2013	14.7 million	18.7 million
Increase 1950-2013	12.2 million increase	13.7 million increase
Land Area	82,300 sq. kilometers	90,000 sq. kilometers
SO₂ (tpd), 2013	59	54

**Table 3:
Comparative Analysis of University Student Attitudes Concerning Climate Change**

Survey Statement	Tianjin	Los Angeles	<i>p-value</i>
Global warming is happening	97%	88%	< .01
My nation will fail to meet its NDC	38%	57%	< .05

Note: N = 200 comprised of 100 business students from each region.
Percentages based on the number of students who coded strongly agree or agree.

Artists and Leaders: An Examination of Engagement with the Artistic Field and its Impact on Higher Education Leadership Experiences

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The capacity to envision and inspire has an essential place in leadership, allowing leaders to recognize innovation, visualize employee development needs, and guide action. Nearly every leadership theory calls upon this essential vision, whether they call it predictive abilities or inspirational motivation (Marti, Gil & Barrasa, 2009; Bass, 1985). Regardless of its label, the ability to visualize the future is a vital aspect of leadership to help leaders see beyond familiar patterns, be open and flexible to change, and recognize newness within the context of existing constructs. This pilot study will conduct an initial exploration of how artistic engagement may potentially inform leadership experiences.

Literature Review

Artistic Field

It is necessary to develop a theoretical framework which will describe the artistic field for the purpose of this study. This framework will introduce the field of art and contextualize the definition within the field of leadership. The art realm is a vast social entity comprised of artists, critics, collectors, academics, and an audience. These participants engage with art on a spectrum that creates cultural significance, asserting that art is not created in a vacuum and carries substantial symbolic meaning and value (Bourdieu, 1993). The term fine art does not fully encompass the breadth of art being explored in this study. Fine art is arguably a designation of very recent origin, probably originating as early as eighteenth-century Europe (Kristeller, 1990; Shiner, 2001). If we are to assume Kristeller (1990), Shiner (2001), and other authors of the same mindset are correct, then we concede that those practices that fall beneath the canopy of fine art share some unique essence that distinguishes them from other activities. This significantly limits the definition of art within this framework. At the other end of the naming spectrum is the broad generalization of art used by Janet Wolff (1981). Wolff (1981) refers to a “generic sociology of the arts, sensitive to diversity in art” (p. 4). This framework assumes that we naturally class like arts together in two ways: first, the works of art share commonalities; second, the works of art do not already exist within a collective product. Wolff (1981) gives the example that music is a collective product in a way that sculpture is not.

Rather than using the limiting definition of fine art or the broad generalization of Wolff, we instead call on the works of social scientist Bourdieu to establish the necessary framework of art, specifically Bourdieu’s (1993) term “artistic field” (p. 30). Bourdieu was critical of attempting to understand the nature of a work of art through an analysis of form and structure alone, instead positing that art is a product of influence and must be viewed within the context of culture. The term artistic field enables us to overcome the mode of thought that places undue importance upon the individual or the relationships between individuals. The artistic field cannot exist independently of culture, just as artists cannot create art independent of conditioning and influence. Bourdieu points out that there are few other circumstances in which creators are accepted as immune to the conditioning that occurs because one’s position in both time and society. This is supported by the general acceptance that artists are somehow separate from the

banal corpus imposed upon them when we refer to bodies of artworks by the name of the artist (Bourdieu, 1993). The use of Bourdieu's artistic field supports our position that there is no clear nor objective demarcation between fine art and craft, and that art does not exist in a transcendent sphere unaffected by social constructs.

Leadership

Given the significance of leadership in relation to successful organizations and societies, it is essential that we ask, "what makes a leader effective?" The earliest discussions of leadership concepts attempt to answer this question, but only in the past century has academic research begun to seriously examine the traits, characteristics, and behaviors of great leaders (Adair, 2002; Avery, 2004; Barker, 2001). In the last 40 years, researchers have made substantial progress in addressing leadership effectiveness and several leadership theories have emerged from the growing body of research (Alvesson & Spicer, 2011; see also, Kotter, 1988; Kotter 1996). The type of leadership present in an environment has a direct and significant effect on the behavior and function of individuals within that organization (Kanungo, 1998; Avolio & Gardner, 2005). The same can be said of organizational behavior; leadership behaviors dictate function not only on an individual scale, but on an organizational scale as well. The long history of research in leadership has produced many theoretic perspectives addressing leadership effectiveness, with notable progress seen in transformational and transactional leadership theory.

Transformational and Transactional Leadership

The concept of transformational leadership theory is attributed to Burns' (1978) work on leadership and laid the foundation of several other theories of leadership around the same time, which continue to influence modern leadership models (e.g., House, 1977; Bass, 1985). Specifically, Burns differentiated transformational leadership from transactional leadership and maintained that these leadership styles were polar opposites. Bass' (1985) theory, although inspired by Burns, proposed that leaders could be both transformational and transactional. Bass extended Burns' research by examining the outcomes that occur when a transformational leader offers followers a motive other than their own self-interests.

Arts and Leadership

Engaging in a creative process of any kind requires a variety of skills that may be translated to leadership competencies (Dewey, 2005; Carroll & Richmond, 2008). Arts-based learning has the ability to simplify a complex issue, strengthen interpersonal, analytical and problem-solving skills, and increase self-awareness (Brenner, 2014). Engagement with beauty and art practices may improve leadership skills. Adler (2015) poses the question: "in the midst of chaos, how do we see beauty?" (p. 480). This question is the basis for much of Adler's research and she provides evidence that there are many ways to engage with beauty; nature, art, and moral beauty are merely a few ways that non-artists can participate in the artistic field. Purposeful engagement and practice of artistic skills has been linked to increased abilities to see, hear and experience what is going on around us and, even more importantly, within us (Adler, 2015). Training in studio art practices has also been linked to an increased capacity to appreciate and understand perspectives that differ from one's own (Adler, 2006; Adler, 2011; Antal, 2012; Antal & Straub, 2013). According to Adler's (2015) research, leadership development is significantly improved by the addition of simple studio art practices. By training leaders to *see* like an artist, they experience higher confidence, positivity, and self-efficacy (Adler, 2015). Adler (2015) goes on to describe the concept of leading beautifully and using artistic qualities to improve development, which has, until recently, been largely irrelevant and underused in leaders' vocabulary.

The relationship between the artistic field and leadership has been explored through the lens of theater in multiple studies. Tawadros (2015) describes the use of theater-based leadership development (TBLD) and how organizational leaders could benefit from the use of unscripted scenarios and improvisation to study leadership behavior. A group of medical residents used theater-based learning to increase clinical empathy (Dow, Leong, Anderson, and Wenzel, 2007). Austin and Devin (2003) explored how software development might benefit from skills derived from theater production. Denhardt and Denhardt (2006) took a broader approach to the subject, analyzing what leaders might learn about human interaction from theatrical dance. Although these studies involved subjects from various fields, they were all concerned with the transfer of artistic skills. Taylor and Ladkin (2009) emphasize the significance of effectively

applying art skills in management of organization. This idea is abundant in the anecdotal examples provided by Taylor and Ladkin (2009) and supports Tawadros's (2015) practical model of TBLD techniques which uses social psychology research to examine patterns of leadership behavior. Tawadros suggests utilizing conservation analysis and other micro-analytic techniques to develop an evidence-based method for improvisation and role-playing training in leadership development.

Brenner (2014) defines arts-based learning as "the use of artistic expressions...as a catalyst for improving business performance" (p. 76). A key concept in Brenner's (2014) article is that arts-based learning is usually used in two different ways within the context of leadership skills. The first is to recognize patterns that exist in both the artistic process and leadership. The second is to create art or to engage with art. Brenner (2014) highlights the importance of utilizing both roles and will often have groups participating in his workshops engage with music and complete a drawing exercise simultaneously (Brenner, 2014; Asbjörnson and Brenner, 2010).

Methods

This study is based on semi-structured interviews with collegiate administrative leaders that identify as artists. Chairs and Deans of art programs in four-year higher education institutions were identified by using the U.S. News Best Fine Arts Programs ranking (U.S. News Education Rankings and Advice, 2018). We then examined the background and curriculum vitae of each applicable Chair or Dean to determine if they had experience in the artistic field. Interviewees were recruited by email. In total, three persons agreed to be interviewed, which included a male Dean, a male Dean Emeritus, and a female Chair. The interview questions were constructed to explore how artists' skills may inform the leadership experience. Interviewees were asked nine questions that prompted a discussion about how practicing art has influenced their leadership skills and how being a leader has affected their art. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in full length. Research and analysis were performed according to the principles of narrative research (Creswell, 2013). By collecting stories of individual experiences from artists in positions of leadership in higher education administration, we aimed to conceptualize the commonalities shared among the artist-leaders through their personal narratives.

Results

In the analysis, we identified three main themes that were shared in common among all three interviewees:

1. Despite now being college administrators, the interviewees currently describe themselves as artists
2. Interviewees evolved from being studio artists into administrative leadership roles
3. Interviewees reported shared competencies across their artistic production and leadership styles

Interviewees Currently Describe Themselves as Artists

The artist-leaders interviewed described themselves primarily as artists and were concerned with the toll that their leadership positions took on their creative output. Artist-Leader 1 exhibited this sentiment by stating, "When I was just a professor of sculpture, of course I was much more prolific, making a lot of work and showing more frequently." These artist-leaders described their leadership positions as demanding of both time and energy, with unpredictable tasks of varying urgency. They explained that they had to prioritize their studio time to ensure they were continuing to create art: "It places a challenge to get past that obstacle and keep an active engagement with my studio practice as much as I possibly can... it creates a higher value on my studio time" (Artist-Leader 3).

Although the time to practice art was harder to come by, these artist-leaders appear to have developed a greater appreciation for that time, and perhaps even became more efficient in how they spent their time creating. These artist-leaders were particularly adamant that practicing art was, and is, central to their wellbeing and that all aspects of their professional work and personal lives were impacted when they were not practicing art. As Artist-Leader 2 said, "To my core, I'm not really functioning properly as a person unless I'm making my work. That's an imbalance in my life right now."

This idea was emphasized repeatedly among the interviewees, leading us to believe that regardless of their leadership positions, they identify first and foremost as artists. When asked if these artist-leaders felt

that their leadership positions took away from their art, interviewees emphatically reported that they had less time to create art and were actively seeking out ways to prioritize their studio time more effectively. Artist-Leader 1 said:

Truthfully yes, [being a leader] does take away from my art because it takes my time. It takes a lot of time to create art. There's a lot of failure involved, a lot of things dead end. You can't always work efficiently as an artist...It's very hard to figure out how to work in half hour or hour segments. I need a whole day, I completely change the whole way that I think.

Evolution to a Leadership Role

The interviewees all viewed their positions as generally enjoyable and more importantly, contributing to the wellbeing of students. Artist-Leader 3 said, “[Leading] is the kind of thing that's very rewarding and also very taxing.” The interviewees also shared the experience of teaching. Each artist-leader reported that their leadership roles evolved from teaching and that they were better able to serve students because of their interaction with the art world as an artist and educator. This connection to students was reported to be a significant aspect of their leadership positions, as is stated by Artist-Leader 3: “And while I'm doing all of this, I'm also teaching... [I am creating] individual study programs for our students, and [there are] specific students I have mentorship relationships with.”

The act of teaching art was related to maintaining a connection with students and these artist-leaders emphasized the importance of teaching throughout the interviews:

I've seen so many administrators lose that connection, so I teach to be reminded of what students are thinking about, and also to know from their point of view how the department is working or their program is working (Artist-Leader 2).

Artist-leaders shared that the pathway to leadership was significantly affected by their experience as an artist and their teaching positions. Artist-Leader 2 stated that he initially had “no interest in teaching or being part of an institution at all” but took a teaching job to fund a piece he was working on at the time. Once there, he realized that he had an opportunity to make a difference for students. “I could make better connections for our students regarding who we invited into the program to teach there. I organized guest speakers...it gave me the sense that I can make a difference” (Artist-Leader 2).

In general, these artist-leaders reported that their positions in upper administration as Deans or Chairs were significantly more demanding of their time than their previous positions. In spite of this, these artist-leaders reported satisfaction in their leadership roles. Artist-Leader 1 states:

I actually really enjoy administration because I approach it just the way I approach making art. What am I trying to accomplish and how am I going to do that, I find it quite intriguing...I would try a lot of different ideas.

These artist-leaders described their administrative positions as extremely busy, even taxing, but generally predictable. The structure of these artist-leaders' leadership roles appeared to provide a sense of structure that resulted in an increase of productivity in general, albeit not necessarily in their practice of art specifically:

I also like the side of my life that is rare in structure, or rather a different type of structure. I think in general, artists can benefit from the structure of a day job. It relates to the idea that the more you have to do, the more you get done. I am forced to be more productive because I am so busy (Artist-Leader 2).

There was also a recurring idea that somehow artists in administrative positions evolve into their role rather than aspire to it purposefully. Artist-Leader 2 stated that “almost everybody says they didn't intend to become an arts administrator.” This thought was echoed by Artist-Leader 3's statement that there was “an evolution in those early years” of growing into a leadership position. Artist-Leader 2 considered that perhaps the evolution to a leadership role as an artist is made more successful because artists possess a “sensitivity to [their] environment, being able to see what is in front of [them] and being sentient.” Artist-Leader 2 also spoke of the “delayed gratification” of creating art and suggested that a leader must “imagine [problems] forwards and backwards in [their] mind.”

Shared Competencies in Art and Leadership

These artist-leaders reported a connection between their success as a leader and their success as an artist. All three of these artist-leaders were currently producing art at the time of the study, although they all stated that they were looking forward to devoting more time to their art in the future. Artist-Leader 3 described leadership as an “innate characteristic” that she possessed, which was more finely honed by her work as an artist in the studio coupled with a leadership role. Artist-Leader 3 also described the importance of trust while making art and how that translates to confidence in leadership:

When you’re making art or even when you’re talking about art, you have to trust yourself. Even though there are moments when you have doubt, something about the self-direction that being an artist requires [instills] the ability to fully trust yourself and simply move forward.

The concept of forward momentum and openness was evident in the other interviewees’ descriptions of their leadership skills and appeared to be associated with being open to change and ideas. Artist-Leader 2 says, “As an administrator and as an artist, you have to realize that the thing you’re after isn’t always the obvious solution. We must be open to something that’s not self-evident.”

The concept of being open to change and new ideas emerged as a common theme among the artists. Artist-Leader 1 referred to his “open door policy” for students and colleagues alike, explaining that he felt a responsibility to stay connected to students and strived to be open to their ideas and suggestions. He went on to say that many of his colleagues were often highly resistant to change. Artist-Leader 1 reported being sensitive to this resistance in conjunction with his effort to maintain openness and said, “[Managing] change is very difficult and as leaders we have to ask, how do you make changes and then bring people along with you?”

Artist-Leader 2 viewed his leadership as very meaningful, conveying that his role in administration was more than menial clerical work. He viewed leading as having its own unique kind of content, much like art. He said that his role as a leader evoked meaning and purpose:

There is a creative element in my administrative [position]...there is content in administration. I think that if I’m able to do things that rely on similar skill sets in my [leadership position], I don’t see it as competing [with my art] but as an extension [of my art].

This positive view of administration was found among all three interviewees. In general, they all believed that their skills as an artist were both transferable to and significantly affected by their leadership roles. Although the interviewees did believe their leadership positions demanded much of their time which could have been spent creating art instead, they also acknowledged that their leadership positions were beneficial to their art in unexpected ways:

In many ways, [you take] the same kind of chances [in a leadership position] that you would take when you’re making your next move in a piece of art. If [the piece] gets too complacent, you want to throw a wrench in the works and challenge yourself a little more. And I think I do a lot of that in administration (Artist-Leader 1).

Discussion

Current research (see Adler, 2006, 2011 and 2015; Antal & Straub, 2013; Antal, 2012; Brenner, 2014; Tawadros, 2015) concerning the relationship between art and leadership reveals that while it is likely that some connection exists between leadership theories, high quality leadership abilities, and artists’ skills, much of it is still uncharted territory. Artist-leaders interviewed in this study held their artist title in high esteem, describing themselves from that vantage point when referencing different positions they had held throughout their lives. As these artist-leaders reflected on their evolution to leadership roles, each with a unique career trajectory, they continued to describe themselves as artists. It is important to note that these artist-leaders continuously identified as artists because it positions leadership within the context of the artistic field and prompts discussion about which, if any, *artists’* qualities transfer to leadership skills and competencies.

Artists have attracted attention from researchers, perhaps in part because initial studies have indicated that when compared to non-artists, artists have more creative thinking styles and different perceptions of reality (Drevdahl & Cattell, 1958). Feist (1998) conducted a comprehensive meta-analytic study comparing artists with non-artists and reported that artists are more open to new experiences, less conventional in their thinking, more motivated and ambitious, and more self-confident. While visual

artists have received far less examination than other artists, such as musicians, the existing research does indicate that visual artist samples obtain higher scores in personality dimensions of openness than non-artist samples (Burch, Pavelis, Hemsley, & Corr, 2006; Feist, 1998). The results of this study show that these artist-leaders considered themselves to be very open to new ideas and experiences. On a similar note, leaders' openness to new experiences has been connected to successful leadership by supporting a climate of trust and resourcefulness (Özbağ, 2016). In a study examining perceived ethical, high quality leadership, Özbağ (2016) analyzed the link between five factor personality traits and leadership behaviors. The study demonstrated a positive association between openness to experience and preferred leadership outcomes. Thus, there is some evidence for the relationship between the openness trait in artist-leaders and openness as a leadership competency, particularly within the framework of transformational leadership which refers directly to openness as one of the four dimensions (Bass, 1985).

Limitations and Future Research

There were several limitations to this pilot study. The small sample size served the purpose of this pilot study but precludes generalizability. Future studies will need to employ a larger and more diverse participant pool. In addition, we did not differentiate between chairs and deans, nor did we target either one type of visual artist or have broad representation of different types of artists (participants included two sculptors and one painter). For these reasons, we need further studies across a larger group of artist-leaders, with the potential for targeting a broader or a more narrowly focused artistic field. The results of this pilot study identify potentially transferrable skills between engagement with the artistic field and effective leadership styles. This is further reinforced by current literature. There are empirical data supporting the view that artists have higher levels of openness when using trait measures (Feist, 1998; Burch, Pavelis, Hemsley, & Corr, 2006; Drevdahl & Cattell, 1958) which may be indicative of transformational leadership behaviors (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). These connections are encouraging about the potential to integrate art into traditional leadership curriculum. The intersection of the artistic field and leadership presents an innovative framework for the future of leadership, calling on artists' abilities to inspire, envision, and transform.

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Academic Factors that Predict Impostor Phenomenon in a
Historically Black University

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Abstract

College students often suffer from stress and feelings of self-doubt at what might arguably be higher rates than the general population. Women and minority students have a heightened level of negative self-beliefs due to issues with stereotypes and discrimination. The present study examined the relationship amongst self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon in order to understand more of what influences student academic performance. Utilizing the Performance Failure Appraisal Inventory (PFAI), the Clance Impostor Phenomenon (CIPS), and the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE), results determined that scales on the PFAI help to predict Impostor phenomenon scores.

Keywords: Self-Efficacy, Fear of Failure, Imposter Phenomenon, Women, Minority

Introduction

“People’s beliefs about their abilities have a profound effect on those abilities. Ability is not a fixed property; there is a huge variability in how you perform”

Albert Bandura (1997)

The above quote suggests that people’s abilities rather than unchanging, are, malleable. Often one’s abilities can be affected merely by their own personal beliefs rather than entirely from environmental factors. The author of the quote, Albert Bandura, is known well for multiple different contributions to Psychology, but one of the concepts he might be known best for is his work on developing social learning theory, later to be renamed to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986). Social cognitive theory posits that learning is dynamic and occurs within a social context (Bandura, 1986). Meaning that, learning is ever changing depending on the environmental and personal contexts.

Much effort is put forth by colleges and universities in order to continually improve student success. Although, it is difficult to account for individual differences. These individual differences amongst the students will always have an influence on their academic performance. There are multiple environmental factors that affect student achievement in college such as family background, residency, attitudes on learning, networks of connection, and quality of teaching received just to name a few (Széll, 2013). These factors are typically thought of as external factors – factors outside the student’s control. In addition to external environmental factors, a student’s performance can also be significantly influenced by internal factors such as their beliefs and motivational drive (Bryde & Milburn, 2000). When these internal factors become disrupted, this often leads to psychological distress. A study done in Australia found that

undergraduate students reported almost three times higher rates of distress when compared to the general population. Even more so, females in this study reported more distress than males (Stallman, 2010). According to Blanco et al. (2008), nearly half of all college-aged individuals met the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th) criteria for a psychiatric disorder – the most common being personality and alcohol use disorders. This raises the question of why do college students experience such high levels of psychological distress? Part of this answer comes in the form of their own internalized beliefs about their selves.

Internalized beliefs and motivational drive can take the form of personal self-confidence and optimism which are known to be significant predictors of academic performance and adjustment (Chemers et al., 2001). Personal self-confidence, or self-efficacy as coined by Bandura (1977a), plays an important role in the development of academic goal commitment. In other words, students who are high on this self-efficacy are then able to develop their own level of academic efficacy through the creation of personal goals and goal attainment (Bean, 1990; Chemers et al., 2001; Tinto, 1993). Self-efficacy can be thought of as “the single strongest predictor of GPA” for college students even when taking in to account prior high school academic performance and other demographic background variables (Zajacova et al., 2015).

Students who have a high sense of self-efficacy display greater levels of effort and persistence in their academics (Schunk, 1984). It has been found that psychological distress, self-esteem, and career decision-making self-efficacy are all interrelated and affect one another (Thompson et al., 2019). Students that are high on self-efficacy also tend to be high on subjective well-being while those who are lower on self-efficacy are

typically lower on well-being (Dave et al., 2011). Self-efficacy has also found to not only affect well-being and academic achievement but also has found its ties with even greater aspects of one's life such as affecting one's beliefs in their purpose in life (Dewitz et al., 2008).

While internalized beliefs and motivational drive can help predict a student's academic performance, the amount of motivation, academic achievement, and self-regulation, may depend on one's gender and ethnic group (Hefer, 2007). Bandura (1997) argued that cultural values and beliefs affect how one's self-efficacy is developed. There is evidence that African American children who come from a lower social class have more external locus of control – beliefs that their successes or failures come from external sources rather than from themselves – compared to that of middle-class African American and White children (Battle & Rotter, 1963). Interestingly, African American children who come from a lower social class and possess higher IQs also appear to have more external locus of control compared to middle class White children with lower IQs (Battle & Rotter, 1960). This not only demonstrates self-efficacy ties to IQ, but also racial differences in self-efficacy.

Fast forward almost sixty years, more modern-day research still reports similar results to Battle and Rotter (1963) in terms of looking at race; indicating that not much has happened to resolve differences between the races in the United States. Hutz and Martin's (2007) research demonstrated that minority students report lower levels of academic self-confidence and an overall less positive attitude toward their university than White students – suggesting feelings of marginalization. Additionally, cultural minority groups perceive more barriers, especially when it comes to career attainment,

than the majority group (Hutz & Martin, 2007). Environmental stressors, particularly experiences with racism, may heighten psychological distress and have negative effects for students' perceptions regarding career decision-making self-efficacy (Thompson et al., 2019).

When it is known that minority students are experiencing lower self-efficacy, it comes as no surprise that discrimination has also been found to lead to feelings of lower self-efficacy and negative psychological well-being (Lightsey & Barnes, 2007; Carter & Reynolds, 2011). In order to reverse some of these negative associations, having a strong ethnic identity can serve as a protective factor against the negative effects of microaggressions and promote psychological health for minority students (Forrest-Bank & Cuellar, 2018). This is where attending an HBCU may come as a benefit for African American students. Overall, current research has demonstrated an association between student motivation, academic achievement, and self-regulation depending on gender and students' ethnic group (Hefer, 2007).

Intertwined with the idea of self-efficacy is fear of failure (Martin, 2002). It is proposed that there are two clusters of students. Cluster A are students who reflect what is referred to as the "lethal cocktail" of low self-belief, low control, and high fear of failure. Whereas Cluster B students reflect high self-belief, high control, and low fear of failure that is associated more with success orientation (Martin, 2002). Those who engage in this fear of failure typically feel doubtful about their capacity for success and do not believe themselves capable of avoiding failure (Covington & Omelich, 1991). Students who have higher levels of fear of failure are more likely to generalize their specific failures to their global self rather than an isolated incident (McGregor & Elliot,

2005). Self-regulation self-efficacy can help to mediate this relationship (Zhang et al., 2018) suggesting that self-efficacy and fear of failure may have inverse relationship – as self-efficacy goes up, fear of failure goes down.

Similarly, stemming from fear of failure is Impostor phenomenon whose basis is the fear of being successful (Clance & Imes, 1978). Imposter phenomenon is as it sounds – feelings of being a fraud or an imposter but to a more negative degree such as feeling undeserving. Feelings of being fraudulent come with it a plethora of negative symptoms such as depression, fraudulent ideation, self-criticism, social anxiety, and achievement pressures (Kolligian & Sternberg, 1991).

Those who engage in this Imposter phenomenon often procrastinate and “later become immobilized by deadlines and [their] fear of failure” (Clance et al., 1995) and often experience burnout (Villwock et al., 2016). People who are high on Imposter phenomenon often have lower rates of well-being from the domains of a sense of purpose in life, autonomy, personal growth, and positive relationships with other people (September et al., 2001). To oversimplify, both fear of failure and Imposter phenomenon can be characterized by as a lack of self-confidence (Fried-Buchalter, 1992). With the similarities between fear of failure and Imposter phenomenon, there is quite a bit of overlap between the two. Fear of failure scores have been found to be correlated with Imposter phenomenon’s factor of one’s self-estimated intellectual ability (Fried-Buchalter, 1992).

Quite a bit of research has indicated that there are gender and racial differences in exhibiting Imposter phenomenon. Specifically, women tend to experience Imposter phenomenon at higher rates than men, even as much as double the rates (Cokley et al.,

2015; Cusack et al., 2013; Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008; Villwock et al. 2016) Additionally, socioracial factors have indirect paths to Imposter phenomenon (Stone et al., 2018). Imposter phenomenon appears to be particularly high in ethnic minority groups (Bravata et al., 2019). According to Clance et al. (1995), cultural groups that have been discriminated against in society are especially vulnerable to Imposter phenomenon. Discrimination (Bernard et al., 2017) and ethnic status, particularly awareness of one's ethnic status, have been found to be linked to mental health issues in minority students (Austin et al., 2009; McClain et al., 2015). Therefore, it is important to explore this topic further in order to ensure equal opportunities for success for all student regardless of gender or race.

Self-Efficacy

The term self-efficacy was first proposed by Bandura (1977a) and has related to students' academic success (Zimmerman et al., 1992). The higher the perceived academic self-efficacy, the higher the goal students set for themselves. Students who are higher in academic achievement are also higher in self-efficacy and the vice versa is true for more low academic achievement students (Jagtap, 2018). Additionally, this higher self-efficacy influences the student's abilities to achieve these academic goals. In other words, students who perceive themselves as more capable and in more control of their activities are more confident in their ability to master academic content, which in turn allows them to attain higher academic performance (Zimmerman et al., 1992). This research helps to support the idea that personal goals, and an individual's perception of attaining these goals, can play a key role in students' academic achievement in school.

Parents can contribute a lot to student's self-efficacy. There is some evidence that authoritative parents foster a healthier attachment style with their children which contributes to higher levels of self-efficacy (Llorca et al., 2017). Children who come from a nuclear family are found to be higher on self-efficacy compared to children who do not (Honmore & Jadhav, 2017). Parents' level of education can affect students' self-efficacy in that parents with higher education often have children who are higher on self-efficacy. This may be attributed to these parents being able to help and support their children more academically thereby increasing their feelings of academic self-efficacy (Tiztman & Jugert, 2017).

Self-efficacy plays a supportive role with mastery- and performance-approach goals and protective role by indirectly reducing the negative impact of avoidance goals on students' academic performance (Alhadabi & Karpinski, 2020). In essence, high levels of self-efficacy can help to stifle avoidant-performance behaviors. Individuals who engage in performance avoidance typically have lower GPAs than students who do not (D' Lima et al., 2014). Students who utilize the means of goal pursuit end up procrastinating less despite the aversiveness of the means (Krause & Freund, 2016).

Academic procrastination has also found its link to self-efficacy. Procrastination can be described as a self-regulatory failure in that someone who procrastinates has an inability to regulate and control thoughts, emotions, impulses, and task performance that meet society's standards (Balkis & Duru, 2016; Wolters, 2003). Procrastination is thought to be more dependent on social context rather than intrapersonal context (Onweughuzie, 2000). Procrastination can also be thought of as protecting one's self-esteem (Steel, 2007).

There is further evidence that self-efficacy for one's self-regulation is negatively associated with academic procrastination. This relationship can also be mediated by the relationship between self-esteem and academic procrastination (Zhang et al., 2017). Similar results have been found by Batool et al. (2017) where there was a positive relationship between self-esteem and academic self-efficacy where self-efficacy served as a mediator between self-esteem and academic procrastination. Additionally, from the study, procrastinators were thought to be people with low self-esteem (Batool et al., 2017). Compared to sophomores, freshmen reported lower levels of self-efficacy and higher procrastination (Stuart, 2013). Academic procrastination may very well result in poor academic performance and negatively affect students' satisfaction with their academic life (Balkis & Duru, 2016; Kim & Seo, 2015).

Interestingly, although maybe not surprisingly, when looking at the Big Five personality traits, conscientiousness accounts for much of the variance in academic self-efficacy (Wilcox & Nordstokke, 2019). Since these students who rate high on conscientiousness are more organized and persistent, it fits well that they would believe that they have the skills necessary to complete difficult coursework. Similarly, Akar et al. (2018) found that positive perfectionism has a positive significant effect on one's perceived self-efficacy and academic achievement while having significant negative effect on self-handicapping – which is a behavior used to decrease one's responsibility for their failures and protect one's self-image. Conversely, negative perfectionism was found to be associated positively with self-handicapping and negatively with academic achievement (Akar et al., 2018). In other words, students who are more inclined to be

positive perfectionists experience more self-efficacy and academic achievement while engaging in less self-handicapping behaviors.

Higher levels of stress, both general and academic stresses, are associated with higher levels of external locus of control and lower levels of self-efficacy. The higher the levels of external locus of control leads to higher levels of illness in students. While conversely the higher the levels of self-efficacy lead to lower levels of illness in students. It appears that not only self-efficacy is helpful for attaining academic achievement but also in order to have lower levels of psychological symptoms, it appears best to have higher levels of academic self-efficacy (Roddenberry & Renk, 2010).

Fear of Failure

Fear of failure can either be an incentive to work harder or it can be a source of discouragement in students (Farnsworth & Casper, 1941). Bandura (1982) described fear as inefficacy in dealing with aversive, or potentially aversive, events. The concept of fear of failure is often associated with beliefs of self-efficacy or self-belief (Martin, 2002), self-esteem (Sherman, 1988; Elliot & Sheldon, 1997), and self-doubt (Fox, 1994). More recently, it has been proposed that fear of failure focuses on feelings of anxiety and identification of risk in situations where failure could occur and is less likely to motivate feelings of shame and disgrace (Conroy et al., 2007). This indicates that fear of failure is often associated with more negative consequences.

Lerche et al. (2018) found that individuals who are high on fear of failure had lower drift rates when negative performance feedback was given. These drift rates are attributed to repetitive negative thinking (Lerche et al., 2018) such that these individuals

did not believe that they would succeed. Repeated failures can lead one to set lower goals for themselves compared to someone who has experienced multiple successes (Spieker & Hinsz, 2004). In this instance, self-efficacy and personal goals were positively related with one's performance in addition to being correlated with each other (Spieker & Hinsz, 2004). Experiencing repeated failures may result in feelings of discouragement as the individuals have learned from previous experience that they often fail, and probability tells them they will likely fail again. This may be related to Skinner's (2014) concept of operant conditioning where the individuals have developed a behavior, such as negative thinking, as a result of reinforcements, which in this case is failure. These students are taught that they fail over and over therefore their fear of failure is heightened to almost the point of failure being an expectation.

There are quite a few negative effects that come from fear of failure. These effects are health issues (Fox, 1994), diminished educational functioning (Elliot & Sheldon, 1997; Elliot & Church, 1997), deteriorated self-esteem, beliefs that one has less control of their personal existence, and decreased life satisfaction (Elliot & Sheldon, 1997). Particularly, there seems to be quite a bit of evidence that fear of failure being negatively correlated with self-esteem (Neureiter & Traut-Mattausch, 2016; Wolf et al., 2015). Self-esteem is a partial mediator for fear of failure based on self-worth and self-worth vulnerability (Balkis & Duru, 2012). In other words, people who suffer from fear of failure have diminished self-esteem as self-esteem is "the degree to which the qualities and characteristics contained in one's self-concept are perceived to be positive" (APA Dictionary of Psychology, n.d.). As fear of failure is considered a negative phenomenon and self-esteem positive, it is likely that they are inversely related.

Fear of failure has also been found to positively predict academic cheating, behavioral disaffection (such as disinterest in school), and procrastination in students (MIH & MIH, 2016). Children who are not disaffected exhibit more positive emotions as a result of higher perceived control and autonomy (Patrick et al., 1993). Solomon and Rothblum (1984) claim two main reasons students procrastinate are fear of failure and task aversiveness. Kachgal et al. (2001) found evidence that twenty percent of students reported that items related to fear of failure as their main reasons for procrastination.

Interestingly, test cheating behavior is not only positively associated with peer pressure and but also with the students' fear of failure (Ifeagwazi et al., 2019). Controlled motivation was also found to positively predict high schoolers' fears of failing. In addition to finding evidence that fear of failure can positively predict academic procrastination, Zhang et al. (2018) found evidence for self-esteem being negatively associated with academic procrastination with self-efficacy and fear of failure mediating this relationship. From the above stated research, students may engage in procrastination because their fear of failure inhibits them from engaging in their academic work which in turn may negatively affect their overall grades leading them to cycle with fear of failure and procrastination.

Procrastination from fear of failure is related self-oriented perfectionism (Onwuegbuzie, 2000). Students who fear or have anxiety over a task are likely either to begin the task immediately or procrastinate (Clance et al., 1995; Farnsworth & Casper, 1941). This fear has been found to be rooted in the same low self-image and fear of success a person who has Imposter phenomenon experiences (Conroy et al.; 2007; Clance & Imes, 1978).

Individuals who suffer from fear of failure often may approach academic courses with the focus of task mastery. Although, normally thought of a good thing, these individuals feel a depletion of their energy over time, due to their fear of failure, and redirect that energy to become focused on avoidance of not meeting their goal of task mastery – also known as mastery-avoidance (Bartels & Ryan, 2013). So instead of meeting their intended goal of completing a task, almost the exact opposite occurs, and the student avoids that task due to their fear of failure. In this case, fear of failure almost acts as an inhibitory agent in student performance.

Avoidance techniques not only have harmful effects for one's subjective well-being but also typically these individuals have low perceptions of their life (Elliot et al., 1997). This may attribute to why fear of failure is associated with lower GPA (Alkhazaleh & Mahasneh, 2015). Students with low GPAs are often influenced more by their failures because of experiences with chronic underachievement (Lin et al., 2016). Interestingly, fear of failure appears to be higher in freshmen, or first year, university students (Alkhazaleh & Mahasneh, 2015). This is important implication to consider as this finding can assist colleges with not only understanding retention and dropout rates but also to find methods to prevent dropouts from first-year students.

Imposter Phenomenon

Imposter phenomenon has been exhibited equally across multiple age groups, from adolescents to late-stage professionals (Bravata et al., 2019). Senior medical residents, foreign medical residents, females (Legassie et al., 2016) and even those in their later stages of higher education (Villwock et al., 2016) are more likely to feel like imposters. Students who are in the computer science field also seem exhibit higher

rates of Imposter phenomenon (Rosenstein et al., 2020). If students, particularly in realms of higher education, are experiencing impostor feelings, is concerning.

Those who find themselves in the Imposter phenomenon often compare themselves to others while emphasizing other people's strengths while at the same time emphasizing one's own deficits. These people also minimize the weaknesses found in others and the power in one's self (Clance et al., 1995). Interestingly, Slank (2019) argues that people with Imposter phenomenon are rational in their abilities. Although, there is still quite a bit of evidence that Imposter phenomenon has negative effects on the person (Kolligian & Sternberg, 1991). Perfectionism is an influential factor for Imposter phenomenon (Fraenza, 2016). People with Imposter phenomenon also typically have lower levels of resiliency (Safaryazdi, 2014).

As Imposter phenomenon can be predicted by self-handicapping behaviors (Ross et al., 2001), this is a cause for concern as this may indicate that some people with imposter feelings may very well be self-sabotaging which would inhibit their ability to experience success. Although, Ferrari (2005) found evidence that imposters do not handicap their academic performance through dishonest practices such as cheating on exams and plagiarizing. The study found that non-impostors were more likely to engage in dishonest practices, although this may also be due to imposters unwillingness to report dishonest behavior (Ferrari, 2005).

Imposter phenomenon has been linked to family dynamics. According to Clance et al. (1995), Imposter phenomenon is "brought about by experiences in which the child is only selectively validated and generally unsupported in a family system often rife with conflict but without channels for expression". There is a positive correlation between

childhood parentification - when the child has to act the parent because their parents are unable due to many different circumstances (Castro et al., 2004) - have higher levels of imposter feelings; no gender or racial differences were found either (Castro et al., 2004).

Parental overprotection has a positive relationship with imposter feelings (Li et al., 2014). When a child is lower self-esteem perceives a greater degree of parental control, this child is more likely to have feelings of imposterism. Interestingly, children who have attended private schools also reported higher levels of Imposter phenomenon (Sonnak & Towell, 2001). This may be due to private school culture putting more academic pressure on their students. As greater family achievement orientation is also associated with higher levels of Imposter phenomenon (King & Cooley, 1995), potentially it is parents who send their children to private schools who also put this academic pressure on them.

What most commonly occurs with Imposter phenomenon are feelings of anxiety and depression (Clance et al., 1995; Bravata et al., 2019). In graduate students, online students show significantly lower levels of imposter feelings than traditional students. These traditional students reported higher levels of anxiety which is known as a predictor for Imposter phenomenon (Fraenza, 2016). The pressure to succeed can lead to stress and psychological issues (Henning et al., 1998). This relates to Lin et al. (2017) study that found that social comparisons led to more anxiety in Chinese students.

Imposter phenomenon has associations with lower rates of well-being that comes from self-acceptance and environmental mastery. People who exhibit more Imposter

phenomenon traits may view problems and challenges as an occasion for possible failure while those with less imposterism may view these same problems and challenges as opportunity for success (September et al., 2001). Those high on impostorism report having less well-being from a sense of purpose in life, autonomy, personal growth, and positive relationships with other people (September et al., 2001). These life issues may very well be the stressors that are the precursors to the depression and anxiety a person with Imposter phenomenon feels (Clance et al., 1995; Bravata et al., 2019).

There is a negative correlation between self-esteem and Imposter syndrome (Ghorbanshirodi, 2012). Students who have negative feelings about their own intelligence exhibit more imposter feelings (Kumar & Jagacinski, 2006). Imposter feelings according to Neureiter and Traut-Mattausch (2016) are “most powerfully predicted” by fear of failure and low self-esteem for students. Interestingly, Ghorbanshirodi (2012) proposed emotional intelligence being helpful for those with imposter feelings as there was a correlation between self-esteem and emotional intelligence.

Methods

Participants

Participants were volunteers enrolled in undergraduate courses at an HBCU. The participants were 59 (30.9%) males and 132 (69.1%) females (N = 191). Ages ranged from 18 to 50 years old (M = 22.96, SD = 4.236). Of the participants 1 (0.5%) identified as White, 178 (93.2%) as African American, 1 (0.5%) as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish, and 11 (5.8%) identified as another race or origin (N = 191).

Materials

Demographic Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire consisted of eight items that included questions such as sex/gender, current age, current education level, and ethnicity/race. In addition, test scores from the American College Testing (ACT) and Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT) were asked to be included by each participant. The demographic questionnaire also included questions about the level of self-perceived spirituality and religiosity of the participants.

The Performance Failure Appraisal Inventory

The Performance Failure Appraisal Inventory (PFAI; Conroy, 2001; Conroy et al., 2002) created by David Conroy measures cognitive-emotional-relational appraisals and consists of 25 multidimensional items related to fears of failure (Conroy et al., 2002). Originally, this measure consisted of 41 items but has now been shorted into two versions, including a 25-item and a 5-item version (PFAI-S). The current study utilized the 25-item inventory. The PFAI begins each question with one of two questions (*When I am failing...or When I am not succeeding...*) and is then followed by a perception of a failed outcome to the person (Conroy et al., 2003). The five negative consequences of failure identified by the measure are: Fears of Experiencing Shame and Embarrassment (FSE), Fears of Devaluing One's Self-Estimate (FDSE), Fears of Having an Uncertain Future (FUF), and Fears of Important Others Losing Interest (FIOLI), and Fears of Upsetting Important Others (FUIO) (Conroy et al., 2007; Conroy, 2001). The PFAI utilizes a 5-point Likert-type scale that ranges from *do not believe at all* (-2) to *believe 100% of the time* (+2).

The PFAI has been identified as having good construct validity (Conroy, 2001; Conroy et al., 2002) and a high-degree of cross-validity (Conroy et al., 2003). The Cross-validity is a result of its hierarchical model of scoring from concurrent factorial invariance analyses in distinct samples. External validity for the inventory is considered strong compared to similar yet different constructs (Conroy, 2001; Conroy et al., 2002; Conroy et al., 2003). Latent variable differential stability is considered better than conventional criteria (e.g., .70) and ranges from .80 to .96. The test-retest reliability ranges from .65 to .92 (Conroy et al., 2003). The Cronbach's alphas internal consistency ranges from .74 to .81. Fear of Experiencing Shame and Embarrassment (FSE) and Fear of Having an Uncertain Future (FUF) subscales have a Cronbach's alpha of .80. Fear of Upsetting Important Others (FUIO) subscale has a Cronbach's alpha of .78. The Fear of Important Others Losing Interest (FIOLI) subscale was found to have an alpha of .81. Finally, Fear of Devaluing One's Self-Estimate (FDSE) subscale had the lowest alpha score of .74. The items must be rescaled from one to five for scoring purposes, which adding three to each response. After this, individual scales are average to allow for calculation of the scaled scores. The one item that requires reverse scoring occurs in the FUF scale (Conroy et al., 2003).

Clance Imposter Phenomenon Scale (CIPS)

The Clance Imposter Scale (CIPS; Clance, 1985) was created after a population of individuals who did not perceive themselves as successful even though they had significant external success (typically in the realms of education and their careers) were identified (Clance & Imes, 1978). This scale consists of 20 items that are self-administered. Characteristics, emotions, such as fear of failing, fear of being evaluated

negatively, and fear of the inability to attain the expectations of other individuals are assessed. These individuals often attribute their successes to instances of luck rather than their own abilities and strengths (Clance, 1985). The questionnaire utilizes a 5-point Likert-type scale ($\alpha = .92$; Chrisman, Pieper, Clance, Holland, & Glickauf-Hughes, 1995). Higher scores on the CIPS indicate higher levels of experiencing Imposter phenomenon (Clance, 1985). Total score results range from 20 to 100. There have been clinical and non-clinical population samples validated with CIPS. While the reliability alpha coefficients range from .84 to .96 (Prince, 1989; Holmes, Kertay, Adamson, Holland, & Clance, 1993).

General Self-Efficacy Scale

Originally created in Germany, the General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE; Sherer et al., 1982) has since been adapted into multiple languages (Luszczynska, Scholz, & Schwarzer, 2005). By the year 1995, the scale had been adapted to 28 different languages (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). The scale has been adapted for other foreign languages using German and English versions (Scholz, Gutiérrez-Doña, Sud, & Schwarzer, 2002). Translations utilized a “group consensus model” for back-translating and discussions (Brislin, 1970).

The GSE includes 10 items that has responses that range from 1.) Not at all true, 2.) hardly true, 3.) moderately true, 4.) exactly true. Examples are *Thanks to my resourcefulness, I can handle unforeseen situations* and *I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough* (Sherer et al., 1982). The total scores range is from 10 to 40 (Sherer et al., 1982). Research studies have determined GSE to have good stability, construct validity, and high reliability (Leganger, Kraft, & Reysamb, 2000;

Schwarzer, Mueller, & Greenglass, 1999). It has also been identified as “configurally equivalent” in 28 different countries while forming only one universal and global factorial component (Scholz et al., 2002; Leganger et al., 2000).

Procedure

The questionnaires were given to the volunteer participants in their classrooms. They were informed that the data would be collectively reported in an aggregate format and individual response would not be analyzed was explained by the researcher. Confidentiality and informed consent were also explained by the researcher to the participants. The participants were then asked to complete the survey packet, which consisted of questionnaires for the Imposter Phenomenon scale, Gender Role Conflict Scale, the Performance Failure Appraisal Inventory, the General Self-Efficacy scale, and a measure with demographic questions. The participants were asked to bring their completed packet for retrieval at their next course meeting. At the next class session, the principle investigator was available to gather the completed questionnaires from the students as preplanned.

Results

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS. The primary focus of this study is to see if scales from PFAI and GSE can help predict IP. As this is mainly a correlational study, analysis consisted of running correlations for significance. Pearson Correlations, Multiple Regressions, and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were utilized. The majority of the analysis focuses on various aspects reported by the participants taken from their responses on the PFAI and GSE and compared against their CIPS scores. Secondary analysis tests for differences in gender with self-efficacy, fear of failure, fear of failure

scales, and Imposter phenomenon as purely exploratory analysis. Race/ethnicity were not run for correlations as there was not enough representation of different races from the sample nor were any other demographic data explored with the dependent variables.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics were run for the measures of GFOF, GSE, IP, and the FOF scales and the following means and standard deviations are listed below in Table 1. FIOLI had the lowest mean score ($m = -.75$, $sd = 1.15$) indicating that participants had higher fears of important others losing interest, although this measure also had the largest standard deviation of the PFAI scales which may indicate higher levels of variance in participant responses. Mean scores for GSE ($m = 32.65$, $sd = 4.25$) indicate moderate-high levels of self-efficacy reported by the participants. GFOF scores ($m = -.35$, $sd = .76$) indicate moderate levels of fear of failure. The mean score for IP ($m = 57.06$, $sd = 13.34$) indicates moderate imposter feelings from the participants.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Self-Reported Measures of Fear of Failure, Self-Efficacy, and Imposter Phenomenon

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Fear of Experiencing Shame and Embarrassment FSE	191	-.07	1.022
Fear of Devaluing One's Self Estimate FDSE	191	-.65	.92

Form A FUF A	191	-.04	1.01
Fear of Important Others Losing Interest FIOLI	191	-.75	1.15
Fear of Upsetting Important Others FUIO	191	-.26	.91
General Fear of Failure GFOF	191	-.35	.76
General Self-Efficacy GSE	191	32.65	4.25
Imposter Phenomenon IP	191	57.06	13.34

Correlations for FOF, GSE, and IP

Correlations were used to determine if a relationship between variables needed to be pursued further. Many significant results were found among the dependent variables. Results (Table 2) of the Pearson correlation indicated significant positive correlations between the following variables: FSE and FDSE ($r = .53, p < .01$), FSE and FUF A ($r = .52, p < .01$), FSE and FIOLI ($r = .52, p < .01$), FSE and FUIO ($r = .61, p < .01$), FSE and IP ($r = .40, p < .01$), FDSE and FUF A ($r = .51, p < .01$), FDSE and FIOLI ($r = .32, p < .01$), FDSE and FUIO ($r = .49, p < .01$), FDSE and GFOF ($r = .74, p < .01$), FDSE and IP ($r = .41, p < .01$), FUF A ($r = .30, p < .01$), FUF A and FUIO ($r = .54, p < .01$), FUF A and GFOF ($r = .75, p < .01$), FUF A and IP ($r = .22, p < .01$), FIOLI and FUIO ($r = .38, p < .01$), FIOLI and GFOF ($r = .69, p < .01$), FIOLI and IP ($r = .31, p < .01$), FUIO and GFOF ($r = .78, p < .01$), FUIO and IP ($r = .16, p < .05$), GFOF and IP ($r = .40, p < .01$), Sex and GFOF ($r = .18, p < .05$).

In addition to many positive results, the Pearson Correlation (Table 2) indicated significant negative relationships between the following variables: FDSE and GSE ($r = -.28, p < .01$), FUF A and GSE ($r = -.19, p < .01$), GFOF and GSE ($r = -.21, p < .01$), GSE and IP ($r = -.17, p < .05$), Sex and FSE ($r = -.23, p < .01$), Sex and FDSE ($r = -.19, p < .05$), Sex and FUF A ($r = -.21, p < .01$).

Table 2

Correlations for Fear of Failure, Self-Efficacy, and Imposter Phenomenon

Measure	Sex	FSE	FDSE	FUF A	FIOLI	FUIO	GFOF	GSE	IP
Sex	1	-.229**	-.185*	-.211**	.062	-.149	-.18*	-.015	-.103
FSE	-.229**	1	.530**	.516**	.520**	.610**	.839**	-.099	.395**
FDSE	-.185*	.530**	1	.511**	.319**	.485**	.735**	-.281**	.410**
FUF A	-.211**	.516**	.511**	1	.298**	.540**	.748**	-.191**	.215**
FIOLI	.062	.520**	.319**	.298**	1	.383**	.691**	-.132	.309**
FUIO	-.149*	.610**	.485**	.540**	.383**	1	.781**	-.088	.162*
GFOF	-.18*	.839**	.735**	.748**	.691**	.781**	1	-.207**	.396**
GSE	-.015	-.099	-.281**	-.191**	-.132	-.088	-.207**	1	-.168*
IP	-.103	.395**	.410**	.215**	.309**	.162*	.396**	-.168*	1

** Correlation is significant at 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*Correlation is significant at 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Multiple Regression

Multiple regression analysis (Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5) was used to test if the self-report measures (FSE, FDSE, FUF A, FIOI, FUIO, GFOF, and GSE) significantly predicted participants' self-reported measure of Imposter Phenomenon (IP). The results of the regression indicated that the predictors explained approximately 26%

of the variance ($R^2 = .26$, $F(6, 184) = 10.58$, $p < .01$). The regression analysis also indicated that FSE ($\beta = .3$, $p < .05$), FDSE ($\beta = .31$, $p < .01$), and FUIO ($\beta = -.21$, $p < .05$) predicted self-reported measures of IP with FIOLI ($\beta = .14$, $p < .1$) being a moderate predictor.

Table 3

Model Summary 1

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.506 ^a	.256	.232	11.687

a. Predictors: (Constant), GSE, FUIO, FIOLI, FDSE, FUF A, FSE

Table 4

ANOVA for Imposter Phenomenon

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8668.871	6	1444.812	10.578	.000 ^b
	Residual	25132.375	184	136.589		
	Total	33801.246	190			

a. Dependent Variable: IP

b. Predictors: (Constant), GSE, FUIO, FIOLI, FDSE, FUF A, FSE

Table 5

Coefficients for Imposter Phenomenon

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		

1	(Constant)	66.614	6.763		9.849	.000
	FSE	3.895	1.216	.298	3.202	.002
	FDSE	4.533	1.199	.312	3.782	.000
	FUF A	-.489	1.087	-.037	-.450	.653
	FIOLI	1.610	.874	.138	1.842	.067
	FUIO	-3.092	1.274	-.210	-2.426	.016
	GSE	-.181	.210	-.058	-.863	.389

FSE, FDSE, and FUIO are significant at the $p < .05$ while FIOI is moderately significant at $p < .1$.

Discussion

The present study sought to find evidence of how aspects self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon differ and interrelated. Additionally, the study attempted to expand on current literature and look further into how these factors manifest themselves in students attending an HBCU and look into more differences between the genders. Multiple results were found to be consistent with previous literature in addition to contributing to current literature.

The results of the present study indicated that there were multiple positive correlations between self-efficacy, fear of failure scales, general fear of failure and Imposter phenomenon in addition to a few negative correlations. Consistent with Ross et al. (2001), Imposter phenomenon is best predicted by fear of failure. The results demonstrated that fear of experiencing shame and embarrassment (FSE), fear of devaluing one's self-estimate (FDSE), and fear of upsetting important others (FUIO) were predictors of Imposter Phenomenon (IP) with fear of important others losing interest (FIOI) being a moderate predictor. This is consistent with previous literature where there are overlaps between the measures for fear of failure and Imposter

phenomenon (Fried-Buchalter, 1992). The results of this study also have similarities to Bartels and Ryan's (2013) research on fear of failure where the scales FSE, FDSE, FUIO, and FIOI were significant contributors to the overall fear of failure variable further indicating the overlap between Imposter phenomenon and fear of failure.

Fear of devaluing one's self-estimate and fear of shame and embarrassment are consistent with literature on Imposter phenomenon where those with impostorism exhibit lower self-esteem, self-concept (Cusack et al., 2013; Peteet et al., 2015), and self-confidence (Fried-Butchalter, 1992). Additionally, fear of failure is associated with shame and guilt (Averill et al., 1994; Barrett, 1995; Stuart, 2013; Chae et al., 1995). With the FSE scale significantly correlating with IP, this provides further evidence that those experiencing Imposter phenomenon will also be accompanied with feelings of shame and embarrassment for not only their failures, but potentially for their successes.

Related, general fear of failure is associated with lowered self-esteem and self-concept (Martin, 2002; Sherman, 1988; Elliot & Sheldon, 1997; Neureiter & Traut-Mattaush, 2016; Wolf et al., 2018) As FDSE is characterized by feelings of a lower self-value, the results of this study are consistent with previous literature. If students are experiencing diminished sense of selves, it is likely that they not only have this an internalized fear but may also be experiencing Imposter phenomenon. Since self-efficacy also shares associations with self-esteem, it may be probable that students who score low on FDSE also struggle with self-esteem and finding their purpose in life(Dewitz et al., 2008).

Fear of upsetting important others may be related to McGregor and Elliot's (2005) research that demonstrated that students who fall higher on the fear of failure

spectrum often report having relational problems. In particular, these students have feelings of being less close to their mother. As extended family households are more prevalent in minority families (Angel & Tienda, 1982), this may help to explain the fear of upsetting important others in this sample. Kamo (2000) found further evidence that African Americans, Asian, and Hispanic families are more like to live in an extended family household when they come from areas that are more highly concentrated as the same ethnicity as that household. Similarly, Arana et al. (2011) looked at factors that lead to Hispanic student success in college and found that family members either served as a source of strength, such as the family encouraging them to work hard, and also as an obstacle if that support is not present.

These results may relate to Bui's (2002) finding that first-generation college students were more likely to be from a minority and come from low socioeconomic classes. While we do not know the current study's participants' college generation-status nor their socioeconomic status, we do know that the majority are minority students. If Bui's (2002) findings remain true, then these students may feel more of a need to prove themselves in an academic setting. Although, this is purely speculation and does not necessarily explain the gender differences. Another social reasoning may be that with the higher rates of poverty in minority communities (CDC, 2017). Females who grew up in these communities may feel the need to work harder in order to defy stereotypes and to prove to themselves and others that they can succeed.

Strengths and Implications

This study expands on literature for more ethnically diverse study populations in terms of self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon. Other research has

focused on minority students at PWIs; therefore, this study expands research to look at students from an HBCU. As there is a push to increase minority representation in higher education, implications of the study include understanding internalized factors that affect minority students' success.

Understanding the internalized factors involved in student performance can assist college counseling centers to provide better support for minority students to not only promote their psychological health, but also strengthen the channel for advanced degrees and successful careers. According to Haskins et al. (2013), graduate programs that promote multiculturalism and social justice values still, despite their efforts, have marginalized African American graduate students. Additionally, African American doctoral students with White faculty advisors both see race as an important part of the doctoral experience, and both have different views on the matter. The African American students saw their race as a liability whereas their faculty advisor saw race as both a liability and leverage for future careers (Barker, 2011). With the disparities that are still present in the United States, stronger paths for students of color to succeed could help alleviate the many social issues these populations face.

As the results demonstrated, fear of upsetting important others and fear of imposter others losing interest were predictors of Imposter phenomenon. These results indicate that minority students may very well have a different familial structure than White students, thereby these factors were important contributors to imposter feelings. If this is assumed to be true, or at least feasible, it demonstrates further cultural differences amongst the races and ethnicities. Understanding these cultural differences

will assist those in higher education to be better able to support minority students and ensure their success.

Overall, this study contributes to present literature on students' self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon. The results obtained from this study can help colleges and universities further understand and promote identity development in females and minority students while also being aware of the impact these factors have on students' academic achievements. The more we understand these differences and factors, the better institutions can become at creating equal opportunity for all students to succeed.

Future Directions

Future studies should not only investigate gender differences, but also racial differences. While this paper explored correlations in self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon at a racially diverse university, it would be interesting to see if there are differences in minority students at diverse universities compared with minority students who attend Predominately White Universities. Additionally, comparison of minority students to White students may also be beneficial at either diverse universities or predominately White universities. What may also be beneficial to investigate would be if White students experience different levels of impostorism depending on if they attend an ethnically diverse university or a predominately White university. Would White students begin to feel like a minority on campus at an HBCU or are the societal biases towards White people so strong they provide a buffer for feelings of impostorism and fear of failure?

The present study and much of the literature found in this paper referred to African Americans. Future studies are also encouraged to investigate the Imposter phenomenon in other races or ethnicities, such as Hispanic/ Latino, Asian, and Native American. As Chong (2007) found evidence that Chinese students are not necessarily inhibited by their fears of failure, it is important to look at other ethnic differences when it comes to how self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon affect student success. In the case of Chong (2007), fear of failure could be interpreted as a motivational force for students to work harder. Is this the case for only Asian students, or only Chinese? More generally, does fear of failure have some benefits to it rather than mainly negative influences?

While there is some research on international students and Imposter phenomenon, it is recommended that more be done. As international students are more likely to feel marginalized at institutions of higher education due to a multitude of different reasons (Klomegal, 2006; Kwon, 2009; Hansassab & Tidwell, 2002), studying their reports of self-efficacy, fear of failure, and imposter feelings will contribute to the understanding of different cultural implications for these different motivational drives.

In addition to gender and racial differences, there does not appear to be much current literature on LGBTQ feelings of self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon. Since the LGBTQ population is considered to be a minority group, it would be insightful to find any correlations between this population and fear of failure and Imposter phenomenon. Particularly since, similar to African Americans, LGBTQ community have had a history of prejudice and discrimination. According to Blashill and Powlishta (2009), sexual orientation stereotypes have not changed much in the past few

decades. Gay men are still viewed as more feminine than heterosexual men and lesbians are still seen as more masculine compared to heterosexual women, which demonstrates that stereotypes are still alive and well which may indicate that LGBTQ individuals may differ from the majority population in areas of self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon.

As mentioned in the limitations section, this study did not measure students' current academic success (i.e. GPA). Future research should continue to explore the impact self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon have on student achievements. Particularly in terms of racial and gender differences. If possible, it would be interesting to see if race or gender have more of an influence on self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon. The more we understand about all the factors that go into students' achievement, the more inclusive and equal the educational environment will become.

Conclusions

“Self-belief does not necessarily ensure success, but self-disbelief assuredly spawns failure”

Albert Bandura (1997)

This current study not only supported previous literature, but also contribute new information and brought about many other questions regarding self-efficacy, fear of failure, and Imposter phenomenon. We now have more evidence for how these factors manifest themselves in students of color. Uniquely, the study was able to look not only look at students from an HBCU but also look at gender differences – two different social factors that have societal implications. The present study not only comes up with many

different explanations for the study's group differences, but also raises many more questions that await answers from future research. According to Slank (2019), if there are indeed many environmental factors that lead one to engage in imposter feelings, we much look closer.

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The 1811 Election in New York

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During the Fourth of July celebrations in 1810, the Republicans and Federalists continued their war of resolutions. Republicans complained that Federalists in Setauket, Suffolk County, spiked the cannon, reversed the American flag, and stole the liberty poles that the Republicans planned to use in their celebration. On Long Island, "a few Federalists of wealth," incensed by the Federalist defeat in the 1810 elections, began to prosecute Republican debtors, especially those who had worked actively in the 1810 campaign. To the editor of the Suffolk Gazette this reflected the sad reality that partisanship had intruded "into almost all the intercourse of social life," even destroying personal friendships.¹

Republicans assailed the Federalists and rejoiced at their victory in the 1810 elections. They drank to New York, "cured of federal insanity, tory leprosy and Jacksonian poison." Republicans considered the Fourth of July as the anniversary of man's liberation from the "triple curse of the world – the tyranny of Kings, Lords and Priests." While Republicans saw no hope for republicanism in Europe – plagued by tyranny and continuous warfare – they anticipated a new age of republicanism south of the American border. May the "fire of Freedom, lighted up at Caracas," an Irish American Tammany orator prayed, "spread throughout Latin America." This orator, Dr. George Cuming, predicted Latin Americans would imitate American republicanism. Soon Americans would travel up the Amazon and South Americans would stand on the banks of the Mississippi.²

"The independence we extorted from a king," Federalists declared at their Fourth of July festivities, "we will not tamely surrender to an Emperor," and denounced Napoleon, the Republican Party, Jefferson, and Madison. Looking to the 1812 Presidential election they drank to Charles C. Pinckney, "may he soon supply the place of Mr. Madison." Federalists praised the struggle of the Spanish and Portuguese against the French and expressed their desire for peace with England. They drank to the Administration, "May they soon learn that the path of honor is the path of peace." In viewing the outside world, Republicans looked toward the Latin American wars for national liberation while the Federalists rejoiced at French defeats on the Iberian Peninsula.³

Soon after the Fourth of July, former British Minister Francis Jackson left the United States for Canada. On the evening of July 13th, he stopped in an Albany tavern. Republicans gathered and prepared to burn the former British Minister in effigy. When the tavern owner tried to prevent it, the Republicans attacked the tavern owner with stones and clubs. The Federalist city government of Albany arrested the ringleaders. Republicans denounced the arrests as political persecution, but the Federalists assailed the rioters as "true blue liberty and equality boys, who would arm justice with a bludgeon and brick-bat and use the freedom of knocking you down with as little ceremony as a highwayman."⁴

While Republicans and Federalists continued their war of words, American foreign relations abruptly changed in late September when news arrived of French qualified acceptance of American neutral rights. This qualification, incorporated in the note of the French Foreign Minister, the Due de Cadore to the American Minister, John Armstrong meant that Napoleon would not really respect American neutral rights until the United States persuaded the British to do so. While Madison decided to accept this piece of Napoleonic cunning at face value as a diplomatic lever to use against the British, Federalists attacked the Administration for simplicity in accepting this Cadore letter at face value. Richard Harison considered it a very clumsy effort "to fool us... Yet our Democrats are rapt in admiration and overflowing with Gratitude for such Goodness and Condescension." To Rufus King, American policymakers should not base American foreign policy upon the promises of foreign government officials. Madison erred, he

believed, in accepting Cadore's promise that the French would repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees just as he had made a mistake in accepting Erskine's promise of a British repeal of the Orders-in-Council. Unimpressed by the French declaration, New York merchants reacted in a restrained manner to the news. Merchant Gilbert Aspinwall expected prices to rise at the news, "but it has not turned out so." The cautious reaction of New York merchants proved justified. Napoleon continued to seize American property and secretly ordered the sale of all American cargoes and ships in French possession.⁵

Initially Republicans voiced their satisfaction with Napoleonic promises in the Cadore letter. For example, John Rodman, who later served as a district attorney in New York City, believed the United States had no right "to object to the condition annexed to the repeal... being the very terms offered by ourselves" in Macon's Bill #2. In his opinion, "France has taken us at our word," but, "England has refused to..." Even after it became obvious that the French continued to confiscate American property, Republicans hesitated to criticize France, because it meant criticism of the Administration's acceptance of the Cadore letter. As late as the end of March 1811 a Republican editor observed that "we have no evidence that France will not rescind her decrees; and yet the American government are vilified... for placing the necessary faith in the promise of a nation which they had no reason to mistrust." Republicans refrained from criticizing France in late 1810 and early 1811 not out of any sympathy toward Napoleon but because as long as Madison accepted the fiction of the Cadore letter, New York Republicans had to justify the Administration by denying French duplicity and by downplaying French seizures of American property.⁶

On November 2nd, the President declared that the French had repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees. Federalists attacked the President's message because of his assumption of French agreement to rescind the decrees and because the President had refrained from criticizing the French for their continued seizures of American property. Dr. Alexander Coventry, a Utica Federalist believed, "it would have been sensible thing to have mentioned... the property he [Napoleon] has confiscated." As it stood, Coventry argued, the President's message contained "the language of Napoleon." Federalist editors charged that the Administration lied about the state of Franco-American relations to influence the upcoming Massachusetts election.⁷

With the apparent improvement in Franco-American relations produced by the Cadore letter and the President's message of November 2nd, Federalists became concerned that Anglo-American relations would further deteriorate. Fearing the consequences, Robert Morris wrote, "a serious apprehension" existed "that we shall be" led "into a war with England." Morris predicted if the Administration declared war, it would prove so unpopular "that a Civil War will break out at home." Concerned about the sorry state of Anglo-American relations, Rufus King lamented the "prejudices and temper towards England suffers no change." King blamed the "disaffected persons" from the British Isles, mainly Irish, who ran a number of Republican newspapers. They bore the responsibility for the continued "jealousy and ill humor against" England.⁸

In an effort to prod the British into accepting the Cadore letter as a French repeal of their decrees, the Republicans decided to pressure the British through a revival of non-intercourse, as provided for in Macon's Bill #2. John W. Eppes introduced a bill for its revival against England. Congressman Gurdon S. Mumford, a Republican from New York City, spoke in the House in favor of Eppes' bill. Renewal of non-intercourse had become necessary, Mumford argued, because "we are... reduced to a worse situation than in a state of colonization; we have now all the disadvantages of being plundered by" the British and none of the advantages of British naval protection.⁹

Incensed at the Republicans for desiring to resume commercial restrictions against England, four New York Federalists, Barent Gardenier, Thomas R. Gold, Herman Knickerbacker and James Emott, denounced the proposed legislation. Hammering away at the continued French violations of American neutral rights Gardenier concluded that "every gentleman must now be convinced that" the French decrees "were not so modified, because new seizures took place in December." Emott emphasized that, "the revocation, if any, was not only future, but was also conditional." No evidence existed, he argued, that Napoleon had revoked the Berlin and Milan decrees. "Before the embargo, the Canadas," Emott observed, "were in a sickly state; they are now healthy and flourishing." When news of the bill's passage

reached New York, Federalist editors launched an editorial war against it. "We are again embargoed," wrote editor Paraclete Potter. It seemed foolish to Federalist editors to renew non-intercourse while the French continued to violate our rights. Attempting to arouse public opinion against the law, Federalist editors warned that "if this law is patiently submitted to, we shall consider the nation infatuated; and ready to... accept the protection of Bonaparte and settle down quietly into the calm of despotism." Correspondence from the Collector of Customs at Sackett's Harbor, Hart Massey, indicated renewal of non-intercourse proved as difficult to enforce as the embargo. Northern New Yorkers violated it. Profit proved more persuasive than patriotism.¹⁰

Confused as to what stand to take on American expansion into West Florida, New York Federalists leaned toward opposing it. John Jay provided Timothy Pickering with the details of Spanish aid to the United States during the Revolution for the latter to use in anti-annexation speeches in the Senate. Gouverneur Morris claimed that "we have no title... to West Florida... our claim to West Florida... has never been made evident to me." While the Republicans sought to take advantage of the Napoleonic wars, the Federalists, opposed any action which might weaken the nations fighting against the Corsican. Besides expansion might benefit the Republicans politically.¹¹

Congress also debated whether to extend the charter of the Bank of the United States, New York Republicans, both Clintonians and Tammany, attacked the BUS. Republicans favored "ridding the community of such a monster." When George Clinton cast the deciding vote in the Senate against the bank, Federalists described his action as "casting the country into an abyss of ruin." While Congress debated the bank issue, New Yorkers began a special election for Lieutenant-Governor. Federalists nominated Nicholas Fish, a New York City alderman and President of the New York Society of Cincinnati. While Republicans united in opposition to the BUS, they split over the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. Clintonians chose De Witt Clinton as their candidate. A coalition of Lewisites and Tammany backed Marinus Willett, a Revolutionary War veteran and Tammany leader.¹²

Republicans recaptured control of the Council of Appointment, as a result of their 1810 victory, but fought over the state's patronage. Tammany sought the removal of Clinton as Mayor of New York. Since Clintonians controlled the Republican majority in the state legislature, Tammany's drive to oust Clinton failed. In an effort to obtain public and Presidential support, the Lewisite-Tammany coalition described themselves as Madisonians. They attacked De Witt Clinton for not supporting Madison in 1808. They dragged up Clinton's initial opposition to the embargo and claimed he sacrificed "the best interests of the nation." Clinton's opposition to the embargo encouraged "the obstinacy of foreign powers in their aggressions." Republican Party politicians used foreign policy against Federalists and as a weapon against fellow Republicans. The Tammany-Lewisite coalition used the Madisonian label and foreign policy as their chief campaign issues against Clinton. This coalition hoped to "convince the Inhabitants of the interior" of New York not to support Clinton.¹³

Trying to obtain Presidential support for this anti-Clinton coalition, Morgan Lewis charged Clinton conspired with the Federalists who "would support the Devil, were he hostile to your administration." Speculating on Clinton's ulterior motives, Lewis informed Madison that Governor Tompkins would resign his post once De Witt Clinton won the election to Lieutenant-Governor. Clinton could challenge Madison's reelection in 1812. Lewis warned, "considerable dissatisfaction" existed among the President's friends in New York City, because Clintonians filled virtually "all the Offices of Government." The Tammany-Lewisite coalition wanted President Madison to remove the Clintonians from federal posts and wanted his backing in their fight with Clinton. Madison refused to intervene in the 1811 race for Lieutenant-Governor.¹⁴

During the 1811 campaign there were two major efforts to change the state's election laws. Republicans unable to vote because of the property qualifications tried to extend the franchise while Republican legislators restricted the voting rights of blacks. In an appeal to the Republicans of the state, Rensselaer County Republicans noted that one-fifth to one-fourth of the free citizens above the age of twenty-one could not vote. Raising the Revolutionary War argument of no taxation without representation, Rensselaer Republicans asked if all free citizens shall have the right to vote "or be circumscribed by the qualification of property." A year later, a convention of Republican delegates from

the towns of Ontario County petitioned the state legislature to enlarge the franchise. Ontario County delegates complained that men "who pay taxes and who are compelled to serve in the militia" could not vote. It described this segment of the community as "composed of young men and of mechanics and labourers" without families. They also called for the elimination of the different property qualifications between Senate and Assembly voters. As they argued, "your petitioners cannot believe that property is any proof of superior virtue, discernment or patriotism."¹⁵

After the Assembly debated the issue of franchise extension, they voted to put the question to a committee for further study. By a vote of forty-six to thirty-seven, the Assembly tabled the call for a constitutional convention to amend the state's constitution to change the franchise. The Republican controlled state legislature ignored the wishes of their constituents. They did pass a new law requiring free blacks carry certificates proving their freedom if they wished to vote. Since most free blacks voted Federalist, the Republicans passed this new law in an effort to harass and restrict their ability to vote. Federalist Assemblymen Cady, Grosvenor, Jutsen R. Van Rensselaer and Mercein denounced the bill as "derogatory... humiliating." Due to the lack of records, Mercein argued, blacks would have a difficult time proving their freedom. Besides the bill put too much arbitrary power in the hands of election inspectors. After the 1810 election, Republicans blamed the blacks for giving the Federalists sufficient votes to elect six of the eleven Assemblymen from New York City. In an effort to prevent a further erosion of Republican strength in New York City, the state legislature passed this law.¹⁶

During the campaign, De Witt Clinton's political power emerged as the major issue for opposition Republicans and Federalists. Both Madisonian Republicans and Federalists stimulated and profited from voter hostility toward Clinton. Madisonian Republicans raised foreign policy and loyalty to Madison against Clinton. Supporters of Clinton charged apostasy and factionalism against the Madisonians. Clintonians proclaimed their loyalty to Governor Tompkins and President Madison. Western District Clintonian Republicans emphasized the "impartiality and correctness" of Madisonian foreign policy. Once again, Republican factions used foreign policy issues in their internecine conflict for political power.¹⁷

Easily winning the election, Clinton received 50.4 percent (32,746) of the vote. Federalist Nicholas Fish won 44.6 percent (28,980) of the vote. Republican opponent Marinus Willett could only muster 5 percent (3,194) of the votes statewide. In the Southern District Clinton did not carry one county. Willett carried Suffolk, the only county he won. Fish achieved victory in Kings, Queens, New York, Richmond, and Westchester counties. Upstate he carried Columbia, Dutchess, Greene, Ulster, Albany, Rensselaer, Franklin, Steuben, Oneida, and St. Lawrence. Clinton obtained majorities everywhere else. The three-way race did not create much voter interest. Only about 65,000 voters went to the polls, a drop of 14,500 votes (-18%) from 1810.¹⁸

Even though Fish received a majority of votes in the Southern District, he had no political coattails. Voters split their ballots for the Lieutenant-Governor and the State Senate. Clintonians voted en-masse for Martlingman Nathan Sanford for Senator. Republicans won all the Senate races. While Madisonians and Federalists made a deal before the election in the Middle District this proved ineffective because the Clintonian challenger, Erastus Root defeated both Federalist Elisha Williams and Madisonian Samuel G. Verbruyck. In the Southern District, Federalist John Vanderbilt, Jr. lost to Sanford. Republican Casper M. Rouse won in the Western District against Federalist Jared Sanford. In the Eastern District, with four Senators up for election, Federalists hoped for victory, but Republicans John Tayler, Kitchel Bishop, Ruggles Hubbard and Elisha Arnold defeated Federalists Stephen VanRensselaer, David Allen, Zebulon Shipherd and William Bailey. In the Middle District, while Republicans fought it out between Root and Verbruyck, they united to elect William Taber as the second Senator from the district.¹⁹

The Assembly races resulted in approximately the same results as in 1810. Divisions in Republican Party did not threaten Republican control of the Assembly. They retained about seventy seats to forty for the Federalists. Since 1808, the Federalists controlled Madison County, but in 1811 it returned to the Republican column. After the 1810 election, they retained one seat of the five in Montgomery, but in 1811 the Republicans made a clean sweep. Surprisingly, they lost in Greene, a Federalist county. In exchange, they picked up one seat from Ontario and unexpectedly swept the New York City contest,

taking all eleven seats as compared to six in 1810. Federalists retained control of Dutchess, Rensselaer, Albany, Oneida, Columbia, Clinton-Franklin, Queens, St. Lawrence, and Broome counties. Both Federalists and Republicans viewed the returns from New York City as the most surprising. In the gubernatorial race, Federalist Nicholas Fish made a clean sweep carrying every ward in the city. Results for the Assembly election indicated that the Republicans only won two wards--the Eighth and Tenth--losing the normally Republican Seventh, Sixth and Fifth wards.²⁰

Clintonians rejoiced. Solomon Southwick considered the victory of Clinton over the Federalists and "disaffected republicanism... a splendid triumph, viewed either as a state or national question." As in 1807, efforts by opposition Republicans to destroy De Witt Clinton's political power in the state backfired, proving disastrous for the Republicans who challenged his power. Of the total Republican vote cast, Willett received only 9 percent. In New York City and in the counties near the city, opposition to Clinton within the Republican Party emerged as a major political force but upstate it proved negligible. The unexpected Federalist victory in the Assembly election in the city led Clintonian Charles Holt to speculate that Republicans had either stayed home or voted Federalist. He blamed the Martlingmen for defecting to the Federalists. Actually, since the Martlingmen had nominated the Assembly ticket, Holt's analysis appears inaccurate. Most likely some Republicans turned off by the split stayed away from the poll.²¹

Viewing the results, Federalists wondered why the Federalist vote for Fish in 1811 declined from the vote gubernatorial candidate Jonas Platt received in 1810. Speculating on the decline, Harry Crosswell blamed the Albany Federalist Committee for failing to effectively distribute campaign material and information to county committees in the Western District. A Federalist editor in Goshen warned, if the people "are so infatuated, as to choose their known enemies for their Rulers, no hope remains for the cause of Republicanism, or for the safety of the Commonwealth." Clinton's victory, the editor added, meant "we are nearly ripe for becoming the pliant tools of an ambitious Cromwell."²²

The Goshen editor's alarmist rhetoric reflected the frustration Federalists felt at their inability to win public support and resume the leadership roles they held in the 1790's. Federalists assailed the gradual shift of the government from a republic to a democracy. Morris criticized the Senate because it ineffectively checked democracy. "Passions, as low and vulgar as ever governed a town meeting," Congressman Thomas R. Gold felt, "usurp the place of... enlightened sentiments" in the Senate. Expressing the same fears for the fate of the nation as the Goshen editor, Charles Foote believed, "the crisis... foreseen by... Hamilton is near... the efficacy of our band of Union must ere long undergo severe trial."²³

A mood of frustration and discontent predominated in the writings of New York's Federalists. They became men set adrift, out of place both psychologically and politically in the world of Jefferson, Madison, and the Clintons. The election of 1800 produced a chasm dividing the Federalists from the reality of early Nineteenth Century New York and the United States. Federalists saw themselves as a class of "better men" interested in the "general good" of American society. They expected the people to defer to their leadership. Unfortunately, New Yorkers rejected the Federalist concept of republicanism--they refused to show deference to their elected officials, and they refused to elect men who expected deference. This feeling of equality affected even servants. "Uncle Peter has a great deal of trouble with his Servants," Peter Jay informed his father, "they become more and more ungovernable." Federalists could not accept a society based on equality. Republicans glorified the equality of men. As John T. Irving noted a year before in American society even men of superior merit or virtue were "still only considered as equals." Federalist adherence to Eighteenth Century America and a deferential society placed them in political isolation from the main currents of American society.²⁴

They seemed incapable and unwilling to adjust to Republican rule. Federalists could not accept this decline of a deferential society. They believed Republican rule threatened the very foundations of society. "The leaders of that faction which includes the lower class of Citizens," Gouverneur Morris observed, "may commit the greatest Excesses with Impunity." To the Federalists their political opponents were unprincipled demagogues misleading the public into electing men who put private interests and personal gain above the public good. Federalist frustration stemmed from their inability to convince New

Yorkers of their vision of the Republicans. The public appeared content to elect charlatans and rogues to office and the Federalists were unable to end this rule by rogues.²⁵

The 1811 election suggested that without the discontent arising from foreign policy issues Federalists could not muster a serious challenge to Republican rule. They even lost strength in some of their ostensibly hardcore areas of political loyalists-- Madison and Greene counties. Republican divisions did not threaten Republican control of the state any more than they did in 1804 or 1807. While Republican internecine warfare may have aided the Federalists carry their New York City Assembly slate, De Witt Clinton easily won the office of Lieutenant-Governor in spite of the challenge from Marinus Willett. In a direct challenge to Clintonian control of the state, the Tammany-Lewisite coalition proved totally ineffective. Willett only captured an insignificant percentage of the total vote and the Lewisite-Federalist deal in the Middle District Senatorial contest failed as Clintonians won both seats. Efforts to enlist the support of the President against Clinton failed. Election results suggested a disregard for property requirements for voting in western and northern New York, a de facto democratization of New York's politics.

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Cybersecurity Breach: What Went Wrong with the Unemployment Insurance Program CARES Rollout?

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Expanded unemployment insurance benefits offered under pandemic era stimulus bills, such as the CARES and ARPA, resulted in major changes to the existing system that ultimately led to billions of dollars being lost to fraud. This article surveys these events and explores key audit findings.

From the onset of the pandemic in late winter of 2020, the coronavirus pandemic fundamentally altered all aspects of our life. In response to the staggering public health toll and subsequent lockdowns imposed on many businesses, Congress approved an unprecedented stimulus plan in an attempt to stabilize the economy. The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act of 2020ⁱ and the Coronavirus Response and Relief Supplemental Appropriations Act (CRRSAA) of 2021ⁱⁱ were designed to stabilize the millions of Americans left unemployed in the wake of the crisis. One of the more notable provisions of these stimulus bills, including the more recent \$1.9 trillion dollar American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) that newly elected President Biden championed in 2021,ⁱⁱⁱ is the expansion of unemployment insurance (UI) benefits.

The UI program was established as part of the New Deal in 1935 in part with the goal of helping unemployed workers by providing them with a portion of their previous wages while the individual found a new job. The federal and state governments fund these unemployment compensation payments in part through an unemployment tax assessed on employers. The tax rate is 6.0% of employee wages up to \$7,000. Employers get a credit for state unemployment taxes paid up to 5.4% (so the effective federal tax rate is about 0.6%). While the federal government oversees the system, the UI program is fundamentally funded and managed by state governments. Traditionally, the program has supported former employees by replacing about half of previous wages earned for a period of 26 weeks; however, wage replacement rates do vary by state.^{iv}

In an effort to enhance traditional UI benefits, the CARES and ARPA Acts established six new programs. Among the more notable changes included providing an additional 13 weeks of unemployment compensation to individuals who exhaust their benefits, as well as a supplemental payment of \$600 per week in 2020 through July 31, 2020 or \$300 per week in 2021 through September 4.^v The latter provision was controversial in that roughly 40% of individuals ultimately earned more on unemployment than if they had been working during that same period of time.^{vi} While most states set their own eligibility criteria and benefit levels, the CARES Act required states to waive the one-week waiting period traditionally used to determine claimant eligibility. Further, states were required to extend UI benefits to individuals who are not traditionally eligible. For instance, the Pandemic Unemployment Assistance (PUA) program extended benefits to self-employed workers, independent contractors, those with limited work history, and others.^{vii} Figure 1 highlights distinctions across UI programs.

While well intentioned, the unprecedented expansion in unemployment insurance benefits and easing of eligibility standards invited criminals to exploit the system. In May 2020, the Office of Inspector General (OIG) for the U.S. Department of Labor issued an alert memorandum that the Employment and Training Administration (ETA) failed to sufficiently address the risk of fraud, waste, or abuse as the guidance

relied exclusively on “self-certification” as opposed to requiring claimants to provide documentation to support their employment.^{viii} In subsequent reports, the OIG warned that over \$260 billion dollars could be paid improperly, roughly 10% of all UI benefits.^{ix} As reflected in Figure 4, the actual improper payment rate ultimately exceeded this rate in over 40% of states administering benefits.^x Especially hard hit by UI fraud were agencies administering benefits within Michigan, California, and Washington

At an 35% improper payment rate, Michigan experienced the highest improper payment rates with respect to Unemployment Insurance claims. According to a system review performed by Deloitte, Michigan’s problems resulted in part due to rapid changes in the internal control structure and policies, as well as reliance on external third-party contractors. In fact, the report noted “multiple instances of potential internal fraud by UIA personnel and contractors” exploiting their IT access rights and privileges (p. 9-12). Further, the auditors found major deficiencies and programming errors in the software used to detect instances in fraud (p. 17-20). The report concluded that weaknesses in policy, deficiencies in technological controls, and organizational changes contributed to significant exposure to the fraud.^{xi}

California was plagued by similar challenges with respect to the administration of unemployment benefits due to “inefficient processes” and “lack of advanced planning” according to State Audit report. Being the largest state, California paid about \$10.4 billion in claims that it has since determined may be fraudulent. Nearly \$810 million dollars was believed to be paid out to incarnated individuals (p. 23-32). Similar to Michigan, the auditors noted that the California Employment Development Department (EDD) eased critical anti-fraud measures or safeguards against improper payments at the height of the pandemic. For instance, agency officials “decision to remove a key safeguard against payment to claimants whose identities it had not confirmed” (p. 17). Further, finance officials failed to use numerous fraud prevention and detection tools at their disposal (p. 33-38).^{xii}

Due to generous wage replacement rate offered to claimants, Washington state became an early target for fraud at the onset of the pandemic. By June 30th 2020, state auditors estimate that over \$600 million had been fraudulently siphoned off from the trust fund (p. 4). In fact, the scope of the fraud forced state auditors to issue a modified opinion on the internal control structure for the entire state government. According to the 2020 state audit, there existed “a reasonable possibility that a material misstatement of the State’s financial statements will not be prevented, detected or corrected on a timely basis” (p. 19). Auditors cited the waiver of the waiting week, lack of verification of claimant’s employment information prior to payment, and a failure to perform a discovery process to identify claims as high risk of identity theft as conditions that allowed the fraud to occur (p. 4-5).^{xiii} Consequently, the auditors would become part of the problem. In February 2021, the state auditor would have to issue a public apology for allowing the compromise of personally identifiable information, such as social security numbers and bank data, of all 1.4 million Washington unemployment claimants from 2020 due to a data breach involving a third-party data management provider, Accellion, relied upon by the state audit office.^{xiv}

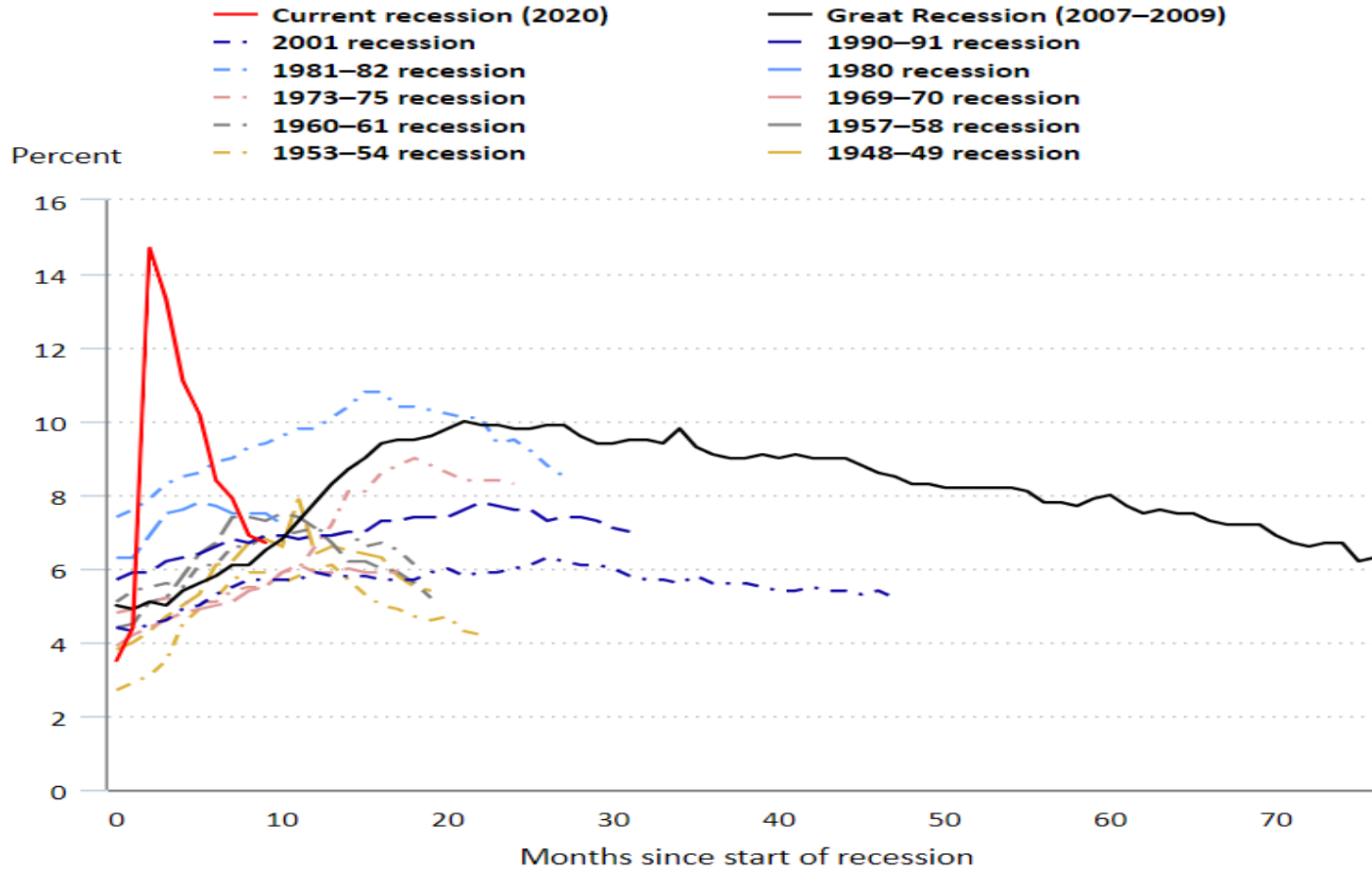
The coronavirus pandemic’s impact on the U.S. labor market has been extraordinary (see Figures 2 & 3). This article examines the unprecedented level of fraud that arose as cybercriminals attempted to exploit the pandemic-related job losses in the United States. Massive temporary layoffs drove a spike in unemployment filings that left many state employment agencies scrambling to stabilize the lives of millions of Americans. Notable observations from audit reports suggest that these agencies were exploited due to insufficient staffing levels, outdated data management systems, and lack of training and preparedness to combat sophisticated cyberattacks.

Figure 1: Notable Unemployment Programs

	<i>Traditional</i>		<i>Pandemic Era Legislation</i>		
Program	Unemployment Insurance (UI)	Extended Benefits (EB)	Federal Pandemic Unemployment Compensation (FPUC)	Pandemic Emergency Unemployment Compensation (PEUC)	Pandemic Unemployment Assistance (PUA)
<i>Eligibility</i>	<i>Unemployed workers through no fault of their own (prohibits individuals with no earnings history)</i>	<i>Extended Benefits start after a recipient exhausts other UI benefits</i>	<i>Individuals receiving regular UI, EB, PUA, or PEUC</i>	<i>Individuals who remain unemployed after UI is no longer available</i>	<i>Self-employed or independent contractors. Individuals not eligible for regular, extended benefits, or PEUC</i>
<i>Benefit</i>	<i>Benefits are based on a percentage of earnings over the past four fiscal quarters.</i>	<i>Same as the UI benefit</i>	<i>\$600 per week (2020) and \$300 per week (2021) added to existing UI benefits</i>	<i>Same as the previous year UI benefit</i>	<i>Minimum is 50% of the average weekly payment of regular compensation in the state</i>
<i>Period</i>	<i>Up to 26 weeks</i>	<i>Between 13 to 20 weeks</i>	<i>Approx. 79 weeks ending September 4, 2021</i>	<i>Up to 53 weeks</i>	<i>Up to 79 weeks including UI & EB</i>
<i>Funding</i>	<i>Benefits: State Funds Admin: Federal Funds</i>	<i>Federal Funds – Emergency Authorization</i>	<i>Federal Funds</i>	<i>Federal Funds</i>	<i>Federal Funds</i>

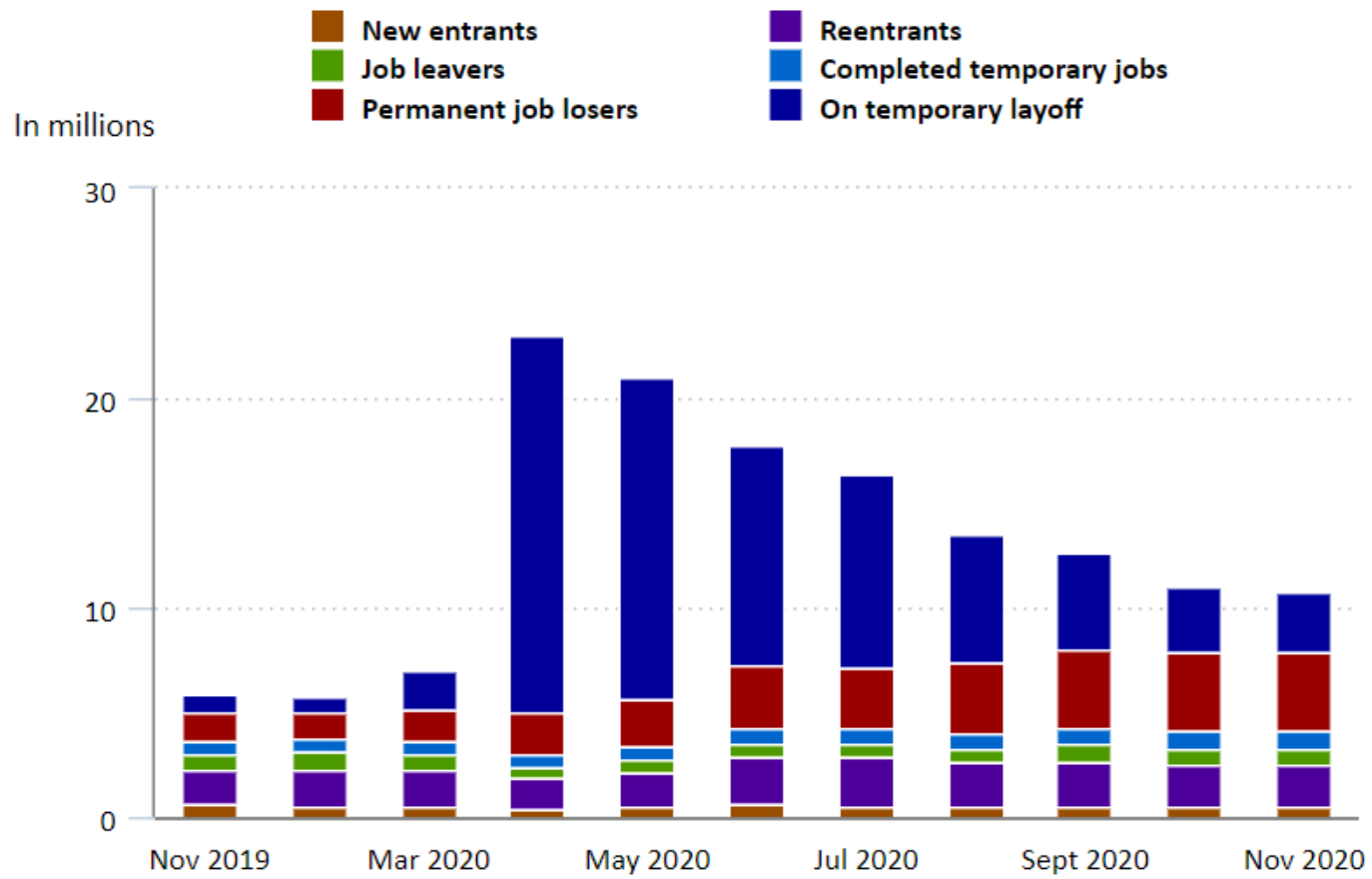
Source: NASWA (2020)^{xv}

Figure 2: Unemployment rates in post-World War II recessions and subsequent recoveries



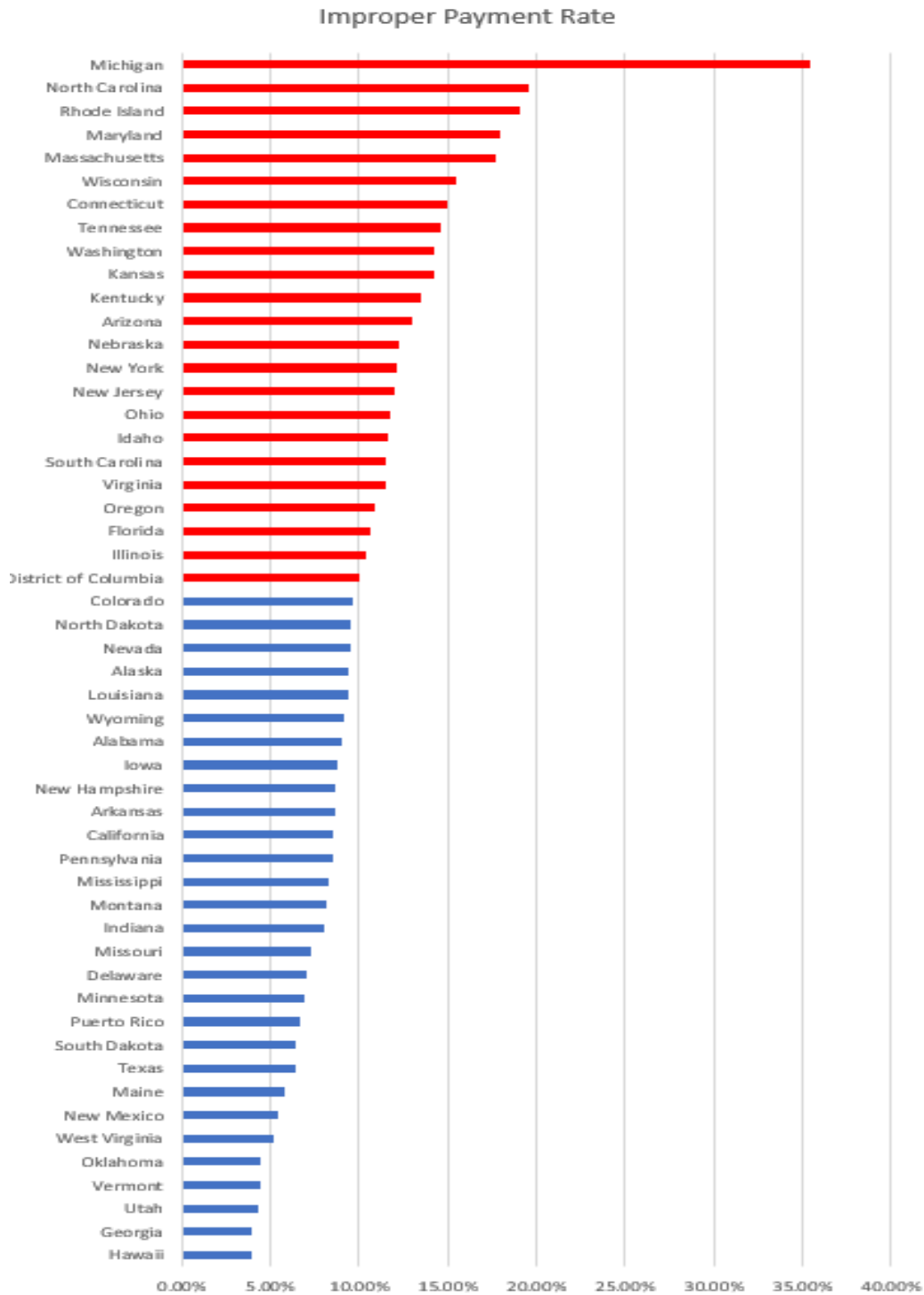
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (2021)

Figure 3: Unemployed People by Reason for Unemployment



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey (2021)

Figure 4: Improper Payment Rate by State



Source: USDOL Improper Payment Rates (2021)

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Time, Money and Health Educational Model during the Pandemic

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Abstract

Time, Money and Health are important resources in our lives. This project was designed during pandemic to help people to make rational decisions for success.

Key words: Time, Money, Health, and Life

I. Introduction

Time, Money and Health are important resources in our lives. Supported by the University of Akron during pandemic of 2020, this project designed an educational decision model for the university community to help people to make rational decisions on their daily basis. It helps people understand how to consider and compare their options, and then to make a decision that will balance the resources of time, money and health without future regrets, it will boost one's future success in finance, career and health.

The key objective of this model is to educate people to form a good habit for a healthy lifestyle when one makes decisions on daily life. When we make decisions, we should ask ourselves questions regarding our resources of time, money, and health. The 2nd objective of this model is to self-evaluate one's decision making pattern and make improvement with this model to optimize time, money and health.

II. Reasons of this model

Time, money and health are the precious resource in our daily life. In this project, we address the follow 3 perspectives:

1. Why this model?

Money is important in our daily life, but it is not the only important factor in our life. (Glencoe, 2010) We make decisions everyday; however, by learning this model, we will consider other factors that help us to make better decisions that will improve our chances for a successful life in the future (Zhao, 2014).

Money is one of the most important resources in our life. It can be used to exchange for satisfactions in our life, but we do need to know the characteristics: Money is exclusive---when you use it, it is gone. Money has opportunity cost, so we should compare the choices on which we may spend it in order to make better decisions. Money is a resource--- resources are limited, and rational people use the limited resources to their highest satisfaction, which requires rational thinking in our decision making.

Everything you do may or may not cost you money, but everything you do will take certain amount of **time**. In the United States, we say that "Time is money," but, as the Chinese saying goes "An inch of gold cannot buy an inch of time." We can see how important a factor time is, which is why we need to include this factor into our decision model.

Throughout the history, many have sought the key to extending life and perhaps even avoid infirmity and death altogether. Is there anyone who has been successful in using money to buy eternal life? No, not even a single case. But our choices do affect our well-being and potentially extend our lifespan (Heady & Young, 2019; Heller et. al, 2011; Kern, Martin, Reynolds, & Luong, 2009). One's long life is closely related to one's health. **Health** is the foundation for our life and future---without good health, many things will be ruled out in our modern life. Good health will also bring happiness to life, not only to ourselves, but also to our family and friends.

2. How to apply this model?

This model is used during seminars by professionals, peer discussions and community dialogues.

When we make decisions, we should ask ourselves the following questions regarding time, money, and health. Questions about happiness are assessed using a 5-point Likert-type scale, with one meaning extremely unhappy and 5 meaning extremely happy:

Time— What is my day's priority? Will my decision have a positive or negative effect on my priority? What is this week's or this month's due dates? How will my today's decision help get things done before the due dates?

How happy would I be if I spend time on it? (Rate using a scale of 1 – 5.) Is there any other choice for using the time?

Money—Is this item a need or a want? Do I really have to have it now? Can I wait for a week, a month or six months to have it? Can I afford it at this moment?

How happy would I be if I can have it? (Rate using a scale of 1 – 5.) Is there any other choice for a lower cost?

Health— Do I have health plan for this week/month? Will this decision be in accord with my health plan? Will my decision help my health and the health of my family and friends?

How happy would I be if I do it? (Rate using a scale of 1 – 5.) Are there any other choices to improve my health? Are there any new activities to try to improve the health of my family and friends?

With the above sets of questions, we form our decision-making styles. And last, but not the least, is to evaluate.

Evaluation—After applying the model and collecting the participant data, we may evaluate the three factors: time (is it worth the time?), money (was it worth the money?), and health (did it benefit my health, my family's, and my friends' health?). The answers will facilitate your future decisions and help make you wiser and healthier (Kelly-Plate & Eubanks, 2004).

3. What is the result of this model?

With the above set of factors and questions, we can develop our style of decision making, which will lead us to form healthy lifestyles (Zhao, 2007). And through the evaluation process, people can form positive/negative enforcement of using time, money and health in a more matured or stable style, which may have higher possibility of reach our life goals. Examples of what we can expect with this model are as follows: building financial security; mental and physical healthiness; and daily success leading to life fulfillment--in a word, success!

III. Practice Result and Discussion

This project was designed in pedagogical methods to reach to the university community. The researchers used a mixed method of quantitative and qualitative analysis that can be used in prevention, intervention, evaluation and prediction. The project was conducted in a year, and the results could be used among inter-professional groups like educators, counselors, social workers, etc.

The seminars were offered to the university community. Questionnaires were given in four parts during the seminars; the respondents were voluntary. There were between 48 and 79 voluntary respondents for the questionnaires (the number of respondents differed among questionnaires).

Descriptive findings helped follow-up education and discussions. See Tables 1-4.

Table 1. Time Related Questions and Responses (%) reflected that 60% of the participants have confidence in managing time, 96% understood the concept of “Multitasking”; 86% had short-term plans, while 64% had long-term plans. For future program design, 40% of participants still need more training on time management with a focus on professional development with long-term plans. (See Table 1.)

Table 2. Money Related Questions and Responses (%) reflected that while 55% of the participants have confidence in managing money, 66% have an emergency saving habit, 63% had student loans, only 15% knew their individual net worth. 80% knew someone of a low-income group. Only 15% had taken any class on money management in the university, although 61% stated that they knew someone or an agent that could help them manage money better. For future program design, at least 45% of participants expressed need more training on money management with more focus on net worth, which will line up with the first step of understanding needs and wants, tracking income and expenses, and managing assets and debts. In addition, the university could provide more seminars/courses to promote financial wellbeing. (See Table 2.)

Table 3. Health Related Questions and Responses (%) reflected that 54% of the participants have confidence in managing their health. 54% reported that they were impacted by the coronavirus, while 24% reported that someone in the household was impacted by the coronavirus. 73% reported it was more stressful than prior to the pandemic, and 66% reported that the pandemic caused them to pay more attention to health. 46% reported eating healthy daily, 93% reported no addiction to alcohol, drugs or smoking, but 52% reported not knowing their body mass index(BMI).

For future program design, there could be more seminars/training on health management, specifically on the prevention of the coronavirus and stress management for individuals and families impacted directly by coronavirus. Secondly, we should use the concept of BMI to educate participants and their families to understand eating healthy daily to control their weight to prevent overweight or obesity. Thirdly, we should use health seminars/training to promote healthy life styles for physical and mental healthiness. (See Table 3.)

Table 4: Model Related Questions and Responses (%) explained the rating of importance of the participants. Time, Money, and Health were rated in this order with small differences. When the participants were asked to consider their own life situation and add one more concept into the decision model, 50% expressed to add Relationships (e.g., family relationships), 35% expressed to add Mental Health (e.g., mental health awareness) and 15% expressed to add Needs over Wants / Success / Knowledge / Stable life into the model. For future program design, Relationships, and Mental Health will be added as examples in this educational model. The university also can offer more activities and programs to increase social/peer interactions. (See Table 4.)

In conclusion, this Time, Money and Health Educational Model was conducted in a year during the coronavirus pandemic. It was an interdisciplinary collaboration with university faculty, health specialists, financial planners and community leaders. This is a case of the success of collaboration. This project focused on individuals’ or families’ resources and helped promote rational decision-making process for a healthy life style leading to life success. For future research and practice, program implementation (modified to include the new categories discussed above) should continue. Larger samples and longitudinal data process will predict more accurately to help design programs to benefit individuals and the community.

Table 1. Time Related Questions and Responses (%)

Questions	Response (%)
Do you think you are good at managing your time?	60% --Yes 30% --No 10% -- Would like to learn more
Do you know the concept of "Multitasking"?	96% -- Yes 2% -- No 2% -- Would like to learn more
Do you have short-term (a few weeks to a few months) plan(s) for your life?	86% -- Yes 12% -- No 2% -- Would like to learn more
Do you have long-term (3-5 year or longer) plans for your life?	64% -- Yes 22% -- No 12% -- Prefer not to answer this question 2% -- Would like to learn more

Table 2. Money Related Questions and Responses (%)

Questions	Response (%)
Do you think you are good at managing your money?	55% -- Yes 19% --No 26% -- Would like to learn more
Do you have emergency saving habit?	66% -- Yes 22% -- No 5% -- Prefer not to answer this question 7% -- Would like to learn more
Do you know your net worth?	15% -- Yes 83% -- No 2% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you have student loan?	63% -- Yes 34% -- No 2% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Have you taken any classes on money management in the university?	15% -- Yes 80% -- No 5% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you know anyone of low income group?	80% -- Yes 13% -- No 7% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you know anyone / any agents that can help you manage money better?	61% -- Yes 29% -- No 2% -- Prefer not to answer this question 8% -- Would like to learn more

Table 3. Health Related Questions and Responses (%)

Questions	Response (%)
Do you think you are good at managing your health?	54% -- Yes 20% -- No 26% -- Would like to learn more
Did the coronavirus disease pandemic have changed yours or your household lives?	54% reported oneself was impacted by the coronavirus 24% reported someone in the household was impacted by the coronavirus. 20% reported not impacted themselves or anyone in the household. 2% expressed preference not to answer the question.
Do you know your BMI (Body Mass Index)?	41% -- Yes 52% -- No 7% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you think it is more stressful for yourself than prior pandemic time?	73% -- Yes 23% -- No 4% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you eat healthy daily?	46% -- Yes 41% -- No 10% -- Prefer not to answer this question 3% -- Would like to learn more
Did the pandemic cause you pay more attention to your health?	66% -- Yes 27% -- No 7% -- Prefer not to answer this question
Do you have any addiction to alcohol, drugs or smoking?	7% -- Yes 93% -- No
Do you like to participate in more seminars or discussions on health issues?	42% -- Yes 46% -- No 12% -- Prefer not to answer this question

Table 4: Model Related Questions and Responses (%)

Questions	Response (%)
Rating Time, Money and Health (1-5 rating with 5 being the most important factor.)	Time (4.03) (rated 1) Money (4.0) (rated 2) Health (3.83) (rated 3)
In this discussion, we used "Time, Money and Health Decision Model", if you are to add one more concept to this model, what would you add?	50% -- Relationship (Family relationships) 35% -- Mental health (Mental health awareness) 15% -- Needs over wants / Success/ Knowledge/ stable life

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