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**POPULISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE:
THE HUNGARY AND POLAND CASES**

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POPULISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE:

THE HUNGARY AND POLAND CASES

Populism is a growing phenomenon that has disrupted conventional politics around the world. Europe is one region where populism has spread across the north and south and east and west. Much focus has been given to British, French, and Italian populism among others, with less emphasis on Central Europe, although various controversies involving Hungary and Poland merit deeper exploration and analysis. This paper will explore the nature of contemporary populism in Hungary and Poland, including the key populist leaders, Viktor Orban, Hungarian Prime Minister (1998-2002 and 2010-) and leader of the Fidesz party and Jaroslaw Kaczynski, former Prime Minister (2006-2007) and current deputy Prime Minister (2020-) and leader of the Law and Justice party (PiS); notable controversies; and their impact on the European Union (EU).

HUNGARY: RISE OF ORBAN

Populist leaders are often strong, colorful, and charismatic.¹ That description would apply to Viktor Orban. He was politically active near the end of the communist era and led a youth organization, Fidesz, and gave a powerful speech before a crowd of 250,000 that called for free elections and the removal of Soviet troops from Hungary.² Overnight, the 26-year-old Orban became a political celebrity. In those years, Orban was a democratic activist favoring change. In seeking power, Orban broadened Fidesz, the youth organization he co-founded, to not limit itself to youth only and adopted a moderate conservative political ideology. He served as prime minister from 1998-2002 but his party was defeated after one term in office. Based on this disappointing loss and seeing opportunity, he and his party became more nationalistic and right-wing to challenge the Socialist Party amidst increased polarization.³ In time Orban became more and more a populist of a nationalist bent as did the Fidesz party.

Orban became prime minister again in 2010 and has remained in power since. Political opposition in Hungary remains weak and divided and the Socialists on the left have become marginalized. Orban and his Fidesz party (with a junior coalition party ally)⁴ have won three consecutive parliamentary elections with a supermajority of over two-thirds of the seats in parliament. This supermajority allowed the ruling Hungarian populists to enact constitutional changes. Meanwhile, Orban has consolidated his power by weakening various institutional checks and balances on executive power, including constitutional changes, and limiting the independence of the judiciary, media, and non-governmental organizations. Indeed, Orban has proclaimed that he is promoting and building an “illiberal democracy.”⁵ He claims that the liberal democracy model is flawed and problematic and thus needs replacement. Orban declares that Hungary will shun European liberal democratic dogma and praises “international stars” and models provided by Russia, China, Turkey, and Singapore. These moves of democratic backsliding have caused rising tensions and protests within Hungary⁶ and sparked strong criticism from the European Union.

Orban’s government has instituted electoral and constitutional changes that favor the ruling party and disadvantage the opposition.⁷ The ruling government increased the number of parliamentary seats chosen via single-member districts (rather than party lists) and eliminated the requirement of a two-round (runoff) elections in single-member

districts. These changes in electoral law strongly benefited Fidesz and disadvantaged the divided opposition who might have been competitive and united in a second-round runoff. In terms of independent institutions that provide a key check and balance in liberal democracy, Hungary substantially reigned in the judiciary which came under government and Fidesz control. Independent media which could provide a critique of government policies and objective information were closed or were bought out by pro-Orban interests.⁸ Non-government organizations (NGOs), a key component of civil society, were vilified as “foreign agents.”⁹ Academic freedom was also undermined in higher education and the respected Central European University was forced to relocate to Austria.¹⁰

Hungary under Orban was very critical of immigration, particularly from non-Christian countries. During the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015-2016, Hungary erected razor fences to keep out refugees. These desperate refugees and migrants were demonized as “Muslim invaders,” “terrorists” and “a poison” that would burden the state and threaten Hungary’s Christian and ethnic identity.¹¹ Hungary’s strong opposition to taking in a fair share of refugees garnered much international attention. Orban’s restrictive approach to refugees and migration won the political battle on the refugee issue within Hungary and for some even beyond.

George Soros, the Hungarian-born financier and philanthropist, favored a more open approach to immigration and suggested that immigrants would benefit Hungary and Europe by providing young workers.¹² Soros also created an Open Society Foundation that supported democracy and civil society in Eastern and Central Europe and elsewhere and founded Central European University, which included a diverse and highly respected international faculty.¹³ Orban and Hungary’s populists have accused Soros of foreign interference and have personally vilified him.¹⁴ During election campaigns millions of dollars have been spent on campaign posters and billboards with huge photos of Soros smiling with the caption: “Don’t let Soros get the last laugh” and in small letters above “99% of Hungarians oppose illegal immigration.”¹⁵ The opposition and others abroad see the strong anti-Soros campaign as reflecting anti-Semitism.

Orban like many European populists is a Euroskeptic. He is a harsh critic of the European Union (EU), which he claims is undermining Hungary’s national sovereignty and promotes multicultural policies that endanger its national and religious identity.¹⁶ Immigration has certainly been a key divisive issue between Hungary and the EU. In addition, Hungary’s measures to limit judicial, media, and NGOs’ independence and academic freedom have raised questions about its commitment to democracy and rule of law. The European Union has invoked article 7 of its Charter which threatens to punish a state that undermines core EU values via a suspension of voting rights or a reduction in economic transfer funds.¹⁷ Despite Hungary’s critical stance toward the EU, it is a major recipient of EU funding, particularly for development and infrastructure, and ranked as the number 2 net recipient of EU funding among the 28 member states in 2019 receiving a total of 5.1 billion euros.¹⁸ Significantly, much of the EU funding ends up going to oligarchs and other businesses and individuals closely tied to Orban. This raises the twin issues of corruption and hypocrisy: in this case, Orban and Hungary “bite the hand that feeds it.” While the Hungarian economy has done alright over the last decade, partly due to EU funding and support, Orban’s critics suggest he is promoting “crony capitalism.”¹⁹ Orban strongly favors those business interests and magnates that

support his rule. And corruption has become a major and widespread problem. According to Transparency International in 2020, Hungary ranked tied for last among all the EU countries on perceived public corruption.²⁰

Furthermore, under Orbán, Hungary has become more pro-Russia than any other EU member state.²¹ This friendly relationship has included annual meetings between Putin and Orbán despite efforts to politically isolate Russia due to its aggressive actions versus Ukraine, annexing Crimea and sponsoring, funding, and participating in a war in eastern Ukraine.²² Hungary is still dependent on Russia for natural gas and has concluded a nuclear power accord with Russia as well. China is also a major trade partner for Hungary, and in 2019 was the third largest source of imports for Hungary after Germany and Austria.²³ Chinese companies have invested \$4.5 billion²⁴ in Hungary and employ 15,000 Hungarians. In addition, Hungary was the first European country to sign onto China's "One Belt, One Road" project.²⁵ Hungary also has relied on Chinese and Russian COVID-19 vaccines despite the lack of European Union medical approval and Prime Minister Orbán was vaccinated with the Chinese vaccine in 2021.²⁶ Given Orbán's support for illiberal democracy and praise for the Russian and Chinese models, these examples of good relations with authoritarian governments is not surprising.

POLAND: J. KACZYNSKI AND LAW AND JUSTICE

While being a strong leader and strategist, Jarosław Kaczyński is not a dynamic or charismatic personality.²⁷ And unlike most populists, who seek to secure the top governmental posts available to wield power, Kaczyński is willing to let others be the face of his Law and Justice party in government and hold the top post of prime minister, or that of president, so long as he still dominates decision-making and strategy within the Law and Justice party and thus wields the real power in the country. As one commentator put it, he is the "puppet-master."²⁸ His critics suggest that Kaczyński benefits from wielding enormous power within Poland, without real or direct accountability. This unusual circumstance likely reflects a more introverted personality, who does not relish the stage per se, but also reflects his own governing and campaign experiences. Jarosław Kaczyński was appointed as prime minister by his twin brother, Lech Kaczyński, then president, and served in 2006-2007. Law and Justice lost in the 2007 election and thus Jarosław Kaczyński lost his post as prime minister. And then in April 2010, his brother, the president, and 95 major Polish officials died in a plane crash amidst thick fog in Smolensk, Russia.²⁹ Thus, Jarosław Kaczyński stood in for his brother, and ran for president in 2010, but lost in both the first round and second rounds to Bronisław Komorowski of the Civic Platform party (KO). Kaczyński is pragmatic and prioritizes winning, thus he and his party put forth less divisive contenders for prime minister or president than he himself.³⁰ The Law and Justice party won a strong majority in Poland's parliament (Sejm- lower house) in 2015 and a narrow majority in 2019.

Kaczyński's power within the Law and Justice party is immense.³¹ He and his twin brother, Lech, founded the party in 2001 and Jarosław, a former Solidarity activist, is not only its chairman, but also serves on its key committees and dominates personnel decisions. As a result, there is barely any serious dissent to his leadership, strategy, or favored policies. In 2018, the then 69-year-old, did experience some health issues and

was hospitalized for 36 days.³² A badly infected knee required surgery and it caused some disquiet about who might eventually succeed Kaczynski given his advanced age and health. In December 2020, Kaczynski stated that he would run for the chairmanship of the Law and Justice party one last time as there were younger party members who could replace him in the future and that Poland did not have a tradition of gerontocracy.³³ And Kaczynski also declared that Poland had to move fast to achieve various goals, sounding like someone aware of the passage of time.

Poland under Kaczynski and Law and Justice are pursuing illiberal democracy. This populist assault on institutional checks and balances since 2015 owes partly due to their experience in power in 2006-2007. During that time period, the highest courts in Poland struck down controversial legislation and policies pushed by the nationalist-conservative-led Law and Justice government. Thus, upon return to power and adopting a more populist orientation, Kaczynski and Law and Justice prioritized limiting the courts' independence in the name of serving the will of the people-- the majority.³⁴ A key priority for Law and Justice has been to enact judicial reform to block any obstruction to its political agenda. It claims to do so for the sake of efficiency, to root out corruption, and replace those with a communist mentality. Poland's ruling populists have weakened and politicized key institutions such as an independent judiciary.³⁵ The ruling government refused to seat three Constitutional Tribunal judges put forth by the previous government and instead approved three judges favored by Law and Justice. Rulings by the Constitutional Court would be binding only if two-thirds of parliament approved—in violation of separation of powers. They also lowered retirement ages for judges but allowed for exceptions put forth by the president and reduced the terms of the president and vice-president of the Constitutional Court. Furthermore, the government established a Judicial Disciplinary Board to fine and penalize judges for judicial rulings. And the Board of the National Council of the Judiciary which nominates judges was stacked with political appointees. These controversial judicial "reforms"³⁶ have been heavily criticized by Poland's opposition and sparked large protests and have been criticized by the European Union and the European Court of Justice as violations of rule of law and checks and balances.³⁷

Poland's populists have also sought to muzzle the independent media as a key source of information and potential criticism of government policies. Reigning in independent television stations, newspapers, and internet outlets allows pro-government public stations and broadcasters and pro-government private media to dominate and shape the political narrative on the government and the opposition and on life in Poland.³⁸ So too, independent non-government organizations that push for democracy, rule of law, and other causes have by and large been reigned in.³⁹ With the removal of various checks and balances, there is excessive and overcentralized executive dominance and a lack of accountability.

Like Hungary, Poland under Kaczynski and Law and Justice have been critical of immigration from non-Christian and non-European countries.⁴⁰ Kaczynski claimed at an election rally that refugees/migrants "carry parasites and protozoa" and that Poland might be forced to resettle 100,000 Muslims. Poland's moves to limit an independent judiciary, media, and NGOs have met with criticism and protests within Poland and strong condemnation from the European Union and its various bodies. What Poland's populists see as exercising their national sovereignty, domestic and EU critics decry as

erosion of democracy, rule of law, and checks and balances. And various potential sanctions against Poland are being considered based on article 7 of the EU Charter which speaks to recognizing core EU values.⁴¹ Furthermore, Poland was the top net recipient of EU funds and subsidies in 2019 with a total of 12.1 billion euros and EU assistance has been a major driver of Poland's strong economic growth.⁴² Since joining the EU, it is estimated that 600,000 additional jobs were created, and Poland received \$240 billion in foreign investment. In 2020, Poland and Hungary threatened to withhold support for the EU's seven-year budget and post-pandemic aid program unless certain concessions were made on the procedures for penalizing a state under article 7 for violations of core values.⁴³

Poland's ruling populists identify and elevate various internal and external threats. As for internal threats, Law and Justice suggests that the transition to democracy in the early 1990s was "stolen" by communist and democracy activists who created pacts and colluded to enrich and empower themselves at the expense of the Polish population.⁴⁴ That is the rationale for the need to overhaul the political and judicial systems and to replace key officials. Besides the European Union, Russia and Germany are depicted as potential threats to Poland and its well-being.⁴⁵ Russia is a historic and geopolitical threat that Polish nationalism is wary of. In 2010, the president of Poland and dozens of members of the political and military elite were killed in an airplane crash in Smolensk, Russia. The official report suggests that thick fog and pilot error were responsible for the crash.⁴⁶ Jaroslaw Kaczynski and his party have claimed that Russia and elements within Poland were responsible for the deaths.⁴⁷ This conspiracy theory has been pushed by Poland's nationalist-populists.

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

While these two cases of nationalist-populists in power in Central Europe have numerous similarities: strong leaders who founded their populist parties, an orientation toward illiberal democracy, conservative parties that evolved to become nationalist-populists, electoral success, changing electoral law and/or the Constitution, and undermining the independence of the courts, media, and non-governmental organizations to consolidate executive hegemony. These two ruling populist parties have identified and elevated internal and external threats, in the form of immigrants from non-Christian countries, outside powers and the European Union. Each state claims these internal and outside forces pose a threat to national sovereignty and that immigration and EU social policies threaten their national and Christian identity and traditional family values. Both Hungary and Poland are major recipients of EU economic and developmental subsidies, while simultaneously being Euroskeptics and critical of the EU. As is common with populist parties, conspiracy theories are promulgated, in these cases regarding George Soros, a "stolen" transition in Poland and the 2010 air disaster.

There are few notable differences, however, between the ruling Hungarian and Polish populist parties that deserve brief discussion. The Hungarian populists have been in power since 2010 thus five years longer than their Polish counterparts. They have enjoyed a supermajority and have been able to enact constitutional changes. The Hungarian opposition is more divided while in Poland Law and Justice does face an opposition party, Civic Platform, that is centrist and more competitive. Thus its presidential candidate, the liberal mayor of Warsaw, only narrowly lost to the incumbent,

Andrzej Duda, of Law and Justice in 2020 51% to 49%⁴⁸ and the ruling populist party even lost control of the Senate in 2019 and only held a modest majority in Poland's lower chamber, Sejm. Lacking a supermajority even in 2015, Poland's populists' constitutional changes are not so direct and formal but more informal and interpretive. While Poland is following Hungary's move toward illiberal democracy, it seems that they have not gone as far-- partly since they have not held power as long. Corruption levels are notably higher in Hungary than in Poland.⁴⁹ Indeed, Hungary ranks lowest (having the highest amount) in perceived government corruption in the European Union. Hungary also had by far the worst record for misappropriation of EU funds during the 2015-2019 period, at a level 10 times higher than the EU average.⁵⁰ Crony capitalism is thus more advanced in Hungary than in Poland. Corruption levels in Poland are however creeping up since Law and Justice have dominated government, including a scandal involving Jaroslaw Kaczynski.⁵¹ Hungary and Poland also exhibit sharp differences on political relations with Russia. Hungary has established strong and friendly political relations with Moscow despite EU concerns, while Poland has seen Russia as posing a serious threat to Poland's national security and has been strongly supportive of Ukraine vis-à-vis Russia.⁵²

The Hungarian and Polish populists-in-power cases are interesting and important examples of illiberal democracy in practice. Many see these cases as representing democratic backsliding and democratic erosion. These developments most directly impact Hungarian and Polish society, however, they also significantly impact Europe as well, given Hungary and Poland's membership in the European Union. The unity and cohesion of the European Union on fundamental values such as democracy, rule of law, separation of powers, and checks and balances is threatened once nationalist-populists undermine those values in the name of protecting national sovereignty, national and religious identity, and traditional family values. Various requirements for unanimity within the EU make it difficult for the bloc to penalize or reign in nationalist-populist outliers.

ENDNOTES

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⁴⁷Stanley and Czesnik, “Populism in Contemporary Poland,” p. 75.

⁴⁸“After Tight Race for Poland Presidency, Andrzej Duda Wins Second Term,” New York Times, July 13, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/13/world/europe/poland-president-elections-Andrzej-Duda.html>.

⁴⁹See Transparency International, “Corruption Perceptions Index,” 2016-2020. For example, see <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/nzl>.

⁵⁰“Poland and Hungary Gamble on funding with EU budget veto,” Deutsche Welle, December 2, 2020. <https://www.dw.com/en/poland-and-hungary-gamble-on-funding-with-eu-budget-veto/a-55795455>.

⁵¹“Kaczynski tapes’ reveal murky business dealings of Poland’s powerful PiS leader,” DeutscheWelle, January 31, 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/kaczynski-tapes-reveal-murky-business-dealings-of-polands-powerful-pis-leader/a-47316459>.

⁵²Kat Devlin, “Anti-Russian views on the rise in Poland,” PEW Research, March 19, 2015. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/19/anti-russian-views-on-the-rise-in-poland/>

**Capitalism and Modern Technology Threaten Humanity: The Sociology of
Humanity the Solution.**

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Abstract This paper focuses on a critical review of capitalism and modern technology and their relationship with absolutely, unnecessary wars, senseless gun violence, hunger, homelessness, and social stratification, focusing especially on social class, race, gender, sex, and age, with the accumulation of money, the accumulation of wealth, the accumulation of property and the emphasis on individualism, greed, and power being the driving forces. As such, capitalism and modern technology are certainly considered to be a serious threat to humanity. The very important question that this threat raises is: So what is the proposed solution from the Sociology of Humanity perspective? According to the Sociology of Humanity, the proposed solution to the threat posed by capitalism and modern technology to humanity, is human beings' recognition of their common humanity as guided by their intellect and their collective use of their intellectual abilities, to create and establish a society which is based on their collective, basic understanding of the reality, which is that they are all human beings, who are all created by God Almighty and given them their brains for critical thinking and intellectual exercise and activity. This new society has its own new ideas, values, norms, and laws, which would eliminate the following: 1) Individualism; 2) selfishness; 3) greed; 4) meaningless accumulation of money, wealth, and property; 5) wars and senseless gun violence; 6) hunger; 7) homelessness; and 8) all forms of discrimination on the basis of class, race, gender, age, or sexual orientation.

Keywords: Sociology of Humanity Perspective, Capitalism, Modern Technology, Threat to humanity, humanity.

Introduction

The horrible life conditions of many fellow human beings in the United States of America in particular and around the world in general suggest that humanity is under serious attack and seriously threatened. The many totally, unnecessary wars, internal conflicts within nations around the world, the senseless gun violence in the United States in particular, the hunger, the homelessness, the conditions and destruction produced by social stratification on the basis of social class, race, gender, age, and sexual orientation are honestly troubling and quite frankly, threatening to humanity to the point of self-destruction. All these raise the challenging question, appropriately, what is wrong with human beings? This question forces all human beings to find honest, fact-based, scientific answers with the hope of finding a lasting solution to this serious threat to humanity.

This paper is really designed to provide some answers and solutions to this threat. It focuses on a critical examination of capitalism, modern technology, wars, the senseless gun violence in the United States in particular, the hunger, the homelessness, the conditions and destruction produced by social stratification on the basis of social class, race, gender, age, and sexual orientation. The Sociology of Humanity is considered to be the answer or solution. Before embarking upon the subject matter of this paper, it is necessary to first of all provide operational definitions of the following key terms as used in the paper: 1) Capitalism; 2) Modern technology; 3) Sociology of Humanity; and 4) Humanity/Humanism

Operational Definitions

Capitalism

A system for organizing the production of goods and services that is based on markets, private property, and the business firm or company (Kornblum, William and Julian, Joseph. 2009:539). According to Kendall, Diana (2017:372), “capitalism is an economic system characterized by private ownership of the means of production, from which personal profits can be derived through market competition without government intervention.” It can be argued that “ideal” capitalism has four distinctive features: 1) private ownership of the means of production; 2) pursuit of personal profit; 3) competition; and 4) lack of government intervention (Kendall, Diana, 2017:372). It is very important to note here that most people in capitalist economic systems mistakenly think that they are capitalists because they live in a country with a capitalist economic system, such as the United States of America and they own things, such as cars. They spent money on the things they own but they do not make money from them. This is one of the reasons why most people in the United States of America have negative views of terms, such as socialism, communism or Karl Marx. According to Karl Marx and his analysis of capitalism, all these people are members of the proletariat class who are brainwashed, are guided by false consciousness in their actions, they lack class consciousness, and are excessively exploited for profits by the bourgeoisie class. For the purpose of this paper, whose main focus is on the threat to humanity posed by capitalism and modern technology, it is important to critically and intellectually examine capitalism and what it does to humanity.

Modern Technology

According to Kendall, Diana (2017:70), “technology refers to the knowledge, techniques, and tools that allow people to transform resources into usable forms, and the knowledge and skills required to use them after they are developed.” New technologies, which are basically modifications of existing technology, “refer to changes that make a significant difference in many people’s lives.” (Kendall, Diana 2017:70). In this paper modern technology will be used instead of new technologies to mean the same as new technologies. The focus will be on social media, online monetary transactions, self-checkout machines in marketing stores, online degree completion programs, credit cards and all forms of transactions involving new technologies, designed to basically replace fellow human beings with machines, thereby creating unemployment for many members of society or basically the proletariat class simply because of their failure to use their critical thinking and intellectual abilities.

Humanity/Humanism

Closely related to the Sociology of humanity is humanism, which is the doctrine that emphasizes the potential and welfare of people through the use of critical thinking and rationality, independent of religious belief or control by supernatural forces (Open Education Dictionary). This is very important

because it highlights the importance of the key to understanding the Sociology of humanity, which is human beings and their intellectual abilities, which produce human social relationships, institutions, and all social realities, good or bad. These intellectual abilities are the guide for all human beings to use and recognize their common humanity and thereby produce human social relationships that are conducive for the survival of all human beings, irrespective of race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, nationality etc.

Sociology and Sociology of Humanity

Sociology is the study of human social relationships and institutions. Unifying the study of these diverse subjects of study is sociology's purpose of understanding how human action and consciousness both shape and are shaped by surrounding cultural and social structures (Open Education Dictionary). According to Diana Kendall (2017), "Sociology is the systematic study of human society and social interaction. It is a systematic study because sociologists apply both theoretical perspectives and research methods or orderly approaches to the examinations of social behavior. Sociologists study societies and social interactions to develop theories of how human behavior is shaped by group life and how, in turn, group life is affected by individuals (Kendall, Diana. 2017:6).

The sociology of humanity, as defined in this paper, focuses on human beings, all human beings and their common humanity as the producers of all human social relationships, the producers of all institutions, and the producers of all social realities. It includes all the human beings on earth and the similar lived experiences of all human beings around the world, regardless of location, socioeconomic status, race, gender, age, religion, or sexual orientation. The Sociology of humanity is based on and driven by the reality that God Almighty created human beings and gave them their brains for critical thinking and intellectual capability and activity, which then produce all social realities (Jilly M. Ngwainmbi, 2015). It focuses on and emphasizes human beings' intellectual abilities, and the basic understanding that all human beings and their lives matter, their lives are equally valuable, their lives must be protected, respected, and their lives must only be taken away naturally, that is by natural illnesses, after all careful medical treatment efforts have failed and, then they experience natural death by the will of God Almighty.

The following illustrates what, according to the Sociology of Humanity, is expected of all fellow human beings. A health care worker with no hesitation performed PCR on a passenger on a United plane even though the man was said to have Covid-19, as reported by Chris Cuomo Prime Time Show on Monday, December 21, 2020. Tony Aldapa, the health care worker said his training kicked in. "Tony Aldapa, an EMT and Navy Veteran, was among three people on the flight who sprang into action when the man who died began having difficulties." He told CNN's Chris Cuomo on Monday night that his training immediately kicked in and that he did not fear the possibility that the man he was treating had Covid-19. "For me, everything just fell back on training," Aldapa explained. "That's what I've done for over a decade now and it's kind of become second nature." "When you see something, you got to do something. That's what happened that night," he added, noting that he was one of three people who performed CPR on the man. Aldapa works in an emergency room in Los Angeles and told CNN that he's been treating every patient as though they have Covid-19 since the pandemic began. "It's unfortunate, but right now we have to treat everybody as if they do have Covid until we know for sure that they don't," he said. "My mindset was this individual needed CPR and, regardless of anything else that he could have had, CPR was the primary thing he needed at that moment in time."

From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, all other actions undertaken by human beings to take away a human life are simply unacceptable and forbidden. Suicide is simply unacceptable as well because it is the result of the action or non-action of fellow human beings. Emile Durkheim (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005) provided his views on suicide. As presented and discussed in the meaning of life section below, he viewed suicide as an act that individuals engaged in fully aware of its potential deadly outcome. He identified integration and regulation as the main independent variables responsible for suicide, which are both consistent with the Sociology of humanity perspective. People who do not feel integrated into the group or community of fellow human beings and those who feel that their lives are over controlled by fellow human beings and they are basically slaves commit suicide. From the Sociology of Humanity Perspective, this raises the following two questions: 1) What is the meaning

and the purpose of life?; and 2) What role do capitalism, modern technology, money, wealth, property, and power play in the lives of fellow human beings? We now turn to a careful, critical examination and discussion of these two questions.

Money, Wealth, Property, Power and the Meaning of Life and the Purpose of life

Closely related and associated with capitalism are the following: Money, wealth, property and power. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, which is more important money, wealth, and property or the human being who produces money, wealth, and property? Based on the definition of the Sociology of Humanity provided in this paper, the human being is much more important than money, wealth, property, and power. Unfortunately, because capitalism promotes individualism and egoism, money and property ownership and minimizes human life, money, wealth, and property, which are the foundation of power, have become more important than the human beings who produce them.

Frank Martela and Michael F. Steger (2016: 531-545) in “The three meanings of meaning in life: Distinguishing coherence, purpose, and significance” published in *The Journal of Positive Psychology Online*, pages 531-545, point out the following: “Despite growing interest in meaning in life, many have voiced their concern over the conceptual refinement of the construct itself. Researchers seem to have two main ways to understand what meaning in life means: coherence and purpose, with a third way, significance, gaining increasing attention. Coherence means a sense of comprehensibility and one’s life making sense. Purpose means a sense of core goals, aims, and direction in life. Significance is about a sense of life’s inherent value and having a life worth living. Although some researchers have already noted this trichotomy, the present article provides the first comprehensible theoretical overview that aims to define and pinpoint the differences and connections between these three facets of meaning. By arguing that the time is ripe to move from indiscriminate understanding of meaning into looking at these three facets separately, the article points toward a new future for research on meaning in life.”

What really is Human Life?

We start by recognizing the existence, the importance, and relevance of the creationism versus evolution debate. For the purpose of this paper, we clearly acknowledge the truth and the fact that God Almighty, created the universe, heaven, earth and human beings and gave human beings their brain for critical thinking and intellectual abilities that they have used or not used to produce all the social realities which exist in the world today. However, because religion, closely associated with creationism, has been and continues to be greatly misused by some fellow human beings, such as Osama Bin Laden on September 11, 2002, for their personal, selfish interests, thereby threatening humanity, we shall focus mainly on evolution and human beings' intellectual abilities, *Homo sapiens* and Human evolution. That is why Karl Marx referred to religion as the opiate of the masses (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005). Capitalism has certainly promoted individualism, the individual drive to acquire and accumulate money, wealth, property and power through the excessive exploitation of fellow human beings, thereby threatening humanity.

Human evolution refers to the process by which human beings developed on Earth from now-extinct primates. Viewed zoologically, we humans are *Homo sapiens*, a culture-bearing upright-walking species that lives on the ground and very likely first evolved in Africa about 315,000 years ago. We are now the only living members of what many zoologists refer to as the human tribe (Tattersall, Ian 2020). A human being refers to any individual of the genus *Homo*, especially a member of the species *Homo sapiens* (Collins English Dictionary).

Human life can be defined as personal life, the course of an individual's life, especially when viewed as the sum of personal choices contributing to one's personal identity. In sociology, everyday life, in medicine or statistics, the human lifespan, in jurisprudence, a value protected by human rights (the "right to life" (Collins English Dictionary). In this paper, human life is defined simply as the biological product of a fellow human being mother and a fellow human being father. It is important to note that embedded in this definition are the following three important assumptions: 1) that the biological mother and the biological father assume the humble responsibility of raising this new born fellow human being; 2) the local community of fellow human beings will humbly take on the responsibility of raising this new born fellow human being; and 3) the global society of fellow human beings will humbly take on the

responsibility of ensuring the wellbeing of this fellow human being until this fellow human's natural death.

This takes us to another important aspect of human life, which is suicide. Why do some fellow human beings commit suicide instead of living their lives and waiting for their natural death? This is a very important, relevant and challenging question because it goes to the heart of the Sociology of Humanity. It must be very difficult for a fellow human being to decide to take away her or his own life. Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1897/1951) provides us some answers. He viewed suicide as an act that individuals engage in fully aware of its potential deadly outcome. He identified integration and regulation as the two main independent variables responsible for suicide, which are both consistent with the Sociology of Humanity perspective. According to Durkheim, people who do not feel integrated into the group or community of fellow human beings, are basically isolated and abandoned to themselves, and those who feel that their lives are over controlled by fellow human beings and they are basically slaves, commit suicide. This suggests that fellow human beings are responsible for the suicide or elimination of their fellow human beings' lives. Durkheim identified the following types of suicide and their causes:

1) Egoistic Suicide, according to Emile Durkheim, is caused by low integration, where fellow human beings feel they are abandoned by their fellow human beings. Sociologists such as Karl Marx (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005) would argue that forces unleashed by capitalism tend to create horrible conditions for fellow human beings, especially within the bourgeoisie class, which produce isolation, hopelessness, and alienation, resulting in egoistic suicide. In the United States of America, we find many examples such as the opioid crisis/opiate crisis. It is obvious that the production and promotion of those drugs are driven by the desire to make money.

2) Altruistic suicide, which according to Emile Durkheim, is caused by high integration, such as those responsible for the September 11th, 2001 Attack, who high jacked planes and flew them into the World Trade Center, killing themselves and many other fellow human beings. As a global community of fellow human beings with common humanity, according to the Sociology of Humanity, this should not have happened and is not justifiable, because Karl Marx, Bunde Thorstein Veblen, and C. Wright Mills, (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005) would argue that it was planned, spearheaded, and directed by one person, Osama Bin Laden, a member of Karl Marx's bourgeoisie class, Bunde Thorstein Veblen's predatory class or C. Wright Mills's power elite. Those members of the proletariat, according to the Sociology of Humanity and Karl Marx, who committed this act, are also to blame for their failure to use their intellectual abilities to reject Osama Bin Ladin's brainwashing ideas or propaganda.

3) Anomic suicide, which according to Emile Durkheim, is caused by low regulation, such as the senseless gun violence in the United States of America, which Karl Marx (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005) would argue that it is promoted by capitalism, through the craving of gun manufacturers, who are basically members of the bourgeoisie class, for money at the expense of the lives of fellow human beings. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, no amount of money is worth more than and more important than the lives of fellow human beings. It raises the important, challenging intellectual question: What is the purpose of so many guns in a society of fellow human beings, such as the United States of America?

4) Fatalistic suicide, which according to Emile Durkheim, is caused by high regulation, such as those among African Americans during slavery and those in many prisons today. Again, Karl Marx (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005), would argue that it is promoted by capitalism, through the craving for money, which the bourgeoisie class achieves through the exploitation of slaves during the slavery period and prisoners, promoted by the Prison-Industrial Complex Strategy in the United States of America. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, there would be no need to enslave or imprison fellow human beings in the first place since the craving for money and criminal drives will be eliminated through the socialization processes guided by common values and norms produced by common human intellectual abilities of all fellow human beings.

Closely related to the Sociology of humanity is humanism, which is the doctrine that emphasizes the potential and welfare of people through the use of critical thinking and rationality, independent of religious belief or control by supernatural forces (Open Education Dictionary). This is very important

because it highlights the importance of the key to understanding the Sociology of humanity, which is human beings and their intellectual abilities, which produce human social relationships, institutions, and all social realities, good or bad. These intellectual abilities are the guide for all human beings to use and recognize their common humanity and thereby produce human social relationships that are conducive for the survival of all human beings, irrespective of race, ethnicity, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, nationality etc. This Sociology of Humanity perspective is demonstrated by Michael Fonone, DC Metropolitan police officer, who was beaten and almost killed by rioters on Wednesday, January 6, 2021, who said he thought of starting to shoot them and he decided it was better to instead start appealing to their humanity when they started saying “kill him with his own gun.” He said when he started shouting out loudly “I have children”, then some of the rioters in the cloud started to protect him and that is how and why he was not killed.

It is important to emphasize the fact that even though the Sociology of humanity appears to be grounded at the micro level, that is at the individual human being and the individual’s intellectual ability level, it is really a macro level perspective because two individuals are needed to produce the human being and human beings collectively are needed to develop the collective and mutual intellectual abilities through communicative action and interaction. It is really what Habermas (1985, Vol. II: 139) refers to as communicative action which “is not only a process of reaching understanding; ...actors are at the same time taking part in interactions through which they develop, confirm and renew their membership in social groups and their own identities. Communicative actions are not only processes of interpretation in which cultural knowledge is ‘tested against the world’; they are at the same time processes of social integration and of socialization.” This definition recognizes, acknowledges, and takes into account the differences in standpoint not only between men and women but also among women, as well as, among men, at the local, community, state, national and international levels, hence the need for communicative action which ensures meaningful socialization and subsequently meaningful, substantive recognition of our common humanity. Implicit in this definition is the sharing of ideas and knowledge that requires and is dictated by a true intellectual revolution brought about by sound scholarship and intellectual discourse, involving the following three levels, all contingent upon and facilitated by Habermas’s communicative action: 1) intellectual revolution among all scholars and intellectuals, both female and male; 2) intellectual revolution among all females and males, facilitated by female and male scholars and intellectuals; and 3) intellectual revolution among all fellow human beings, guided by their recognition and acknowledgment of their common humanity.

Intellectual Revolution, Modern Technology, the Industrial Revolution and the Rise of Capitalism

It is the intellectual revolution which produced modern technology. Modern technology led to the industrial revolution which gave birth to capitalism. The following are forms of threats to humanity produced by capitalism: Wars; gun violence; hunger; homelessness; Social stratification by class; race; gender; age, and sexual orientation. Why is each one of these a threat to humanity? In order to answer this question, a careful and critical examination of each one of these follows.

Wars

The sociology of humanity focuses much more on human beings and their common humanity as the producers of all human social relationships and the producers of institutions and all social realities through the guidance of their intellect and intellectual abilities. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, wars are clearly and obviously the product of human intellect and they are clearly and obviously a threat to humanity, since they result in the death of our fellow human beings. What happened to Jews in Germany is unthinkable, unimaginable, and unacceptable intellectually and practically. What happened to fellow human soldiers during World War I and World War II is unthinkable, unimaginable, and unacceptable intellectually and practically. What happened and is happening to our fellow human beings during the following wars is unthinkable, unimaginable, and unacceptable intellectually and practically: The Vietnam War; the Korean war; the Japanese War; the Iraq War; the American Civil War; the ongoing war in Syria; the ongoing battles between Israel and Palestine; Apartheid in South Africa; Rwandan Civil War; Biafran War; Chadian Civil War; the ongoing International war (some mistakenly

refer to it as Civil War) in Cameroon etc. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, the following troubling and challenging question is worth raising and finding answers to it: Why do human beings start and fight wars?

In order to respond to this question, we turn to a critical analysis of social class, its relationship to capitalism, and power. Although social class is viewed by many sociologists, especially in the United States, as made up of, at least, four class levels, the upper class, the middle class, the working class, and the lower class, realistically and practically, there are only two classes. According to Karl Marx, social class is made up of two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat where the bourgeoisie class basically exploits and controls the proletariat. Bunde Thorstein Veblen viewed social class as made up of two classes as well, the predatory class and the industrious class and the predatory class also basically exploits and controls the industrious class (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005). In his book titled “The Power Elite” published in 1956, sociologist C. Wright Mills in his analysis of social class, calls attention to the interwoven interests of the leaders of the military, corporate, and political elements of society and suggests that the ordinary citizen is a relatively powerless subject of manipulation by those entities. (Mills, C. Wright. 1956).

The works of these three sociologists clearly suggests that the bourgeoisie or predatory class or the power elite are those who start wars for the proletariat, industrious class or the powerless to fight them. If the bourgeoisie or predatory class or the power elite had to be the very first in the forefront of each war they started, would they really start these wars? Are they more humans than other human beings who actually fight these wars? This following current and recent example in the United States is very illustrative of this unfortunate fact. On January 6, 2021, President Donald J. Trump said the following: “I would love to have if those tens of thousands of people would be allowed the military, the Secret Service and we want to thank you and the police and law enforcement great you’re doing a great job, but I would love it if they could be allowed to come up with us.” He directs them to the Capitol: “We’re going to walk down to the Capitol– and we’re going to cheer on our brave senators and congressmen and women and we’re probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them.” “You’ll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be strong.” “Something is wrong here, something is really wrong, can’t have happened and we fight, we fight like hell, and if you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.” “So we are going to—we are going to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue, I love Pennsylvania Avenue, and we are going to the Capitol, and we are going to try and give—the Democrats are hopeless, they are never voting for anything, not even one vote but we are going to try—give our Republicans, the weak ones because the strong ones don’t need any of our help, we’re try—going to try and give them the kind of pride and boldness that they need to take back our country. So let’s walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.” Jose Luis Magana/AP ABC News.

The President did not walk down Pennsylvania Avenue with them, these his supporters went and stumped the Capitol all by themselves without the President. Some of them died and many are going to be found, arrested, tried, and imprisoned for many years. This is very consistent with the views of Karl Marx, Bunde Veblen, and C. Wright Mills on social class which clearly suggests that the bourgeoisie or predatory class or the power elite are those who are very quick to start wars for the proletariat, industrious class or the powerless to fight them. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, this will not continue to happen since we are all human beings who are created by God Almighty and given a brain to be used for critical thinking, intellectual abilities and activities, and the production of social relationships, social institutions, and all social realities using our intellectual abilities.

Senseless Gun violence

Closely related to wars and their relation to capitalism is the senseless gun violence around the world in general and in the United States of America in particular, some of it involving law enforcement agents. Most of this senseless violence results in the deaths of fellow human beings, such as: George Floyd, 46 years old May 25, 2020; Daniel Prude, 41 years old; Rayshard Brooks, 27 years old; Breonna Taylor, 26 years old; Atatiana Jefferson, 28 years old; Aura Rosser, 40 years old; Stephon Clark, 22 years old;

Botham Jean, 26 years old; Phillando Castille, 32 years old; Alton Sterling, 37 years old; Michelle Cusseaux, 50 years old; Freddie Gray, 23 years old; Janisha Fonville, 20 years old; Eric Garner, 43 years old; Akai Gurley, 28 years old; Gabrilla Nevarez, 22 years old; Tamir Rice, 12 years old and many more (Jazeera News). Understandably, all human beings in all human societies need security and safety, which is supposed to be provided by law enforcement agents, whose jobs are truly challenging and do threaten their lives as well. However, from the Sociology of Humanity perspective, the lives of all fellow human beings matter and must not be taken away senselessly, non-reflectively, and unnecessarily. In the case of George Floyd, 46 years old who was killed on May 25, 2020, twenty dollars triggered the telephone call which led to his death from a police officer's knee placed on his neck while he was on the ground yelling "I can't breathe" many times. Are twenty dollars really worth more than a fellow human being's life?

Obviously, the connection of senseless gun violence to capitalism is clear and real. Do human beings need all these guns? What is the use of them? Why do the gun manufacturing companies produce these guns? The desire to make money, accumulate wealth and property are the driving forces behind the production of these guns. The gun production companies argue that guns do not kill people, people kill people. Yes people kill people. But the most important question is guns for what purpose? From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, the answer to this question is very simple, intellectually human beings do not need these guns because they have no purpose or use for them since their recognition of their common humanity is their common guidance.

Hunger

Another serious threat to humanity with connections to capitalism is hunger. Hunger defines a short-term physical discomfort as a result of chronic food shortage, or in severe cases, a life-threatening lack of food. (National Research Council, 2006). Hunger, a product of capitalism as we will demonstrate below, is a serious threat to humanity. Many fellow human beings around the globe today do not have food to eat and they die of hunger. Why does this happen? There are many reasons for this apparent shortage of food. Poverty is the principal cause of hunger. The causes of poverty include lack of resources, unequal income distribution in the world and within specific countries, conflict and hunger itself. It is important to note here that the unequal income distribution is clearly the product of capitalism. As of 2013, when the most recent comprehensive data on global poverty was collected, about 767 million people are living below the international poverty line of less than \$1.90 per person per day (The World Bank, 2016). This was a decrease of about 1 billion people below the poverty line from 1990 (The World Bank, 2016). However, although the number of people living in extreme poverty globally has been declining, in lower-middle-income regions, such as sub-Saharan Africa, the number is actually growing (FAO, 2017).

Hunger is also a cause of poverty, and thus of hunger, in a cyclical relationship. By causing poor health, small body size, low levels of energy and reductions in mental functioning, hunger can lead to even greater poverty by reducing people's ability to work and learn, thus leading to even greater hunger. (Moran, Victoria Hall and Pérez-Escamilla, Rafael. 2018).

Conflict is also responsible for hunger. More than half (489 million) of the 815 million hungry people in the world live in countries affected by conflict (FAO et al., 2017). Ranging from non-state and state-based violence to one-sided violence, some of the conflicts that result in internal or international displacement have occurred in Syria, Yemen, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Myanmar, among many other countries throughout the world. In addition, most of the 19 countries listed by FAO as countries in complex, prolonged conflict are located in Africa (FAO et al., 2017). In 2016, the average prevalence of undernourishment in countries undergoing conflict was about four percentage points greater than the prevalence in non-conflict countries (FAO et al., 2017). About 75 percent of children in the world who are stunted live in conflict areas (FAO et al., 2017).

Conflict in rural areas interferes with food and agriculture production, when transportation or market infrastructure are affected, land is seized or resources are destroyed, or the violence forces displacement from home (FAO, 2017). In addition to impacting food systems, conflict can also impact the economy, driving up food prices and making it difficult to buy necessary foods (FAO et al., 2017). In areas of severe violence, it may be difficult to deliver humanitarian assistance to address undernutrition (FAO, World Food Programme [WFP], & European Union [EU], 2018).

In many countries, farmers are paid by their governments to destroy their crops so that the prices of some food items rise and the rich and powerful make more money. In the case of the United States, government involvement is very obvious and well documented (Olson, Allen H. 200). The worse part of this inhumanity has to do with land ownership by the rich and powerful and governments. In the United States, for example, local governments, state governments, and the federal government own so much land which is basically not used for anything while so many people have no piece of land to cultivate food crops for their own consumption. From the Sociology of humanity perspective, intellectually no fellow human being should experience hunger since all human beings will recognize their common humanity as their common guide for all their actions.

Homelessness

According to the Oxford Encyclopedia of Social Work (June, 5, 2018), homelessness is formally defined by the United States government as when a person “lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, and if they sleep in a shelter designated for temporary living accommodations or in places not designated for human habitation. According to Kendall, Diana, “At least 610,000 people are officially identified as homeless in the United States” (Kendall, Diana, 2017: 43).

A growing body of evidence points to a disturbing fact: A substantial number of people in the United States are without homes. A national study estimated that in 31 medium-sized and large cities, an average of more than 7,000 people are homeless, including 60,000 people in New York City. Current nationwide estimates are controversial; figures range from 250,000 to 3 million homeless people, with 2 million the most frequently cited figure. Although these estimates are imprecise, far more people are homeless today than in the 1960s and early 1970s (Caplow T, Bahr HM, Sternberg D.1968). According to Shinn, M. and Weitzman, BC (1990), the scope of homelessness and the history of society's responses, individual problems are considered as both consequences and causes of homelessness. The dynamics of entry to and exits from homelessness and pertinent social policy at both micro- and macro-levels should be considered.

For the purpose of this paper, whose focus is on the Sociology of Humanity, it is important to focus on the reasons fellow human beings are homeless. This takes us to capitalism and its impact. The Enclosure Act of 1801 is closely associated with capitalism. The Act of 1801 was one of many parliamentary enclosures that consolidated strips in the open fields into more compact units and enclosed much of the remaining pasture commons or wastes. How did it help the rise of the Industrial Revolution? This boosted agricultural exports that led farmers to invest their profits in industries. Those poor people who had no common land to farm were forced to move to cities and had no choice but to work in industries for little or no pay (Ritzer 2000). This obviously resulted in joblessness, poverty, and homelessness.

Today fellow human beings find themselves in places not designated for human habitation as determined by the power elite or government. It is clearly inhumane for any human society to have massive pieces of unoccupied land owned by fellow human beings and the state or government where poor fellow human beings are restricted from occupying or farming to feed themselves. In many local communities and cities, there are many empty, abandoned buildings while fellow human beings sleep on the streets. In some cases and some places, there are buildings that can be occupied by our fellow homeless human beings but they are instead demolished and grass is planted there instead. These are obviously the main reasons for homelessness. For example, Keith Sandy and Dominique Perez were accused of killing James Boyd in March 2014 in Albuquerque, New Mexico. The 38-year-old homeless man spent the night before his shooting in a shelter, but when the shelter closed for the winter, Boyd tried to camp in the hills above the city, officials said (Fitzpatrick, David, 2015). These hills are considered to be state property. This clearly suggests or indicates that property is worth more than human life.

Social Stratification/Social Class

Why is social stratification, the type produced by capitalism, a threat to humanity? Social stratification existed in all human societies prior to capitalism. But it was a different version of social stratification, such as the one involving chiefs or kings in most pre-colonial Africa whose main focus and responsibility was to serve and protect their people and provide food for their people in times of need. According to

their tradition, all their farmers had the responsibility of providing them certain quantities of food after each harvest so that they will be able to preserve and then redistribute it to their people in case of bad harvest seasons. The chiefs and kings were not there to enrich themselves and project power and use the power to exploit and oppress their people. The social stratification produced by capitalism is different and clearly a threat to humanity as described by David Newman M. (2017:19), “inequality is woven into the fabric of all societies through a structured system of stratification, the ranking of entire groups of people that perpetuates unequal rewards and life chances.” C. Wright Mills (1956) examines the power elite and calls attention to the interwoven interests of the leaders of the military, corporate, and political elements of society and suggests that the ordinary citizen is a relatively powerless subject of manipulation by those entities. Bunde Thorstein Veblen viewed social class as made up of two classes, predatory class and the industrious class, where the predatory class basically threatens the humane existence of the industrious class. For Karl Marx, social class is made up of two classes, the bourgeoisie class, which is powerful, owns the means of production, and engages in excessive exploitation of the proletariat class and the proletariat class which owns nothing and is powerless (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005).

To expand on why capitalism is a threat to humanity, we turn to Karl Marx’s components of alienation as produced by the interaction between the two classes, the bourgeoisie class and the proletariat class.

The first component is the productive activity component in which workers are alienated from the work process, which is supposed to provide meaning for fellow human being workers. Workers are supposed to be so excited about work that they are looking forward to coming to work every day, such that they are not able to sleep as from 4:00 AM. But because of what is going on at work, they are not looking forward to going to work since they find no meaning in their work.

The second component is the product component. In this component workers are alienated from the product which is supposed to provide for self-actualization. This, according to Karl Marx, is very important because it simply provides fellow human being workers with the opportunity to see and appreciate who they are in what they have produced. The product is considered to be their mirror through which the workers see and appreciate themselves. It grants them the opportunity for self appreciation and dignity.

The third component is fellow workers. In this component the workers are alienated from their fellow human being workers. There is no room for meaningful social interaction among workers, hence no room for meaningful socialization. It takes away the opportunity for workers to understand and appreciate one another as fellow human beings. It is considered to be what takes away the humanity of fellow workers and therefore fully explains why capitalism is a threat to humanity. A very good example is what happens on the Assembly Line in factories.

The fourth component is human potential. This form of alienation, according to Karl Marx, eliminates the opportunity for human creativity. The work of Max Weber (1904-1905/1958), which examines bureaucracy and how it tends to take away the ability of fellow human beings to engage in creative ways of solving problems, highlights this component of alienation. It simply takes away human beings’ intellectual ability. It is the intellectual ability of human beings that is at the core of the Sociology of Humanity, so without it, there is no humanity.

To further illustrate why capitalism is a threat to humanity, we turn to Karl Marx’s views on the social organization of production. It is composed of the following three components:

The first component is productive or material forces of production, such as capital, equipment, factories etc. According to Karl Marx (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael 2005), the bourgeoisie are those responsible for providing these. These are not as important as the social relations of production, which actually produce money and wealth for the bourgeoisie class through the excessive exploitation of the proletariat class.

The second component is the social relations of production. This, according to Karl Marx, is the most important of these three. It deals with the nature of the social relationship between the Bourgeoisie class and the Proletariat class, which is basically an exploitative relationship, which provides the financial source for the first component and the third component. It is really this component that explains why

capitalism is a threat to humanity. The humanity of the fellow human being worker is taken away through excessive exploitation and money, property, and wealth are much more important and the driving force, not the humanity of the fellow human being worker.

The third component is the legal and political superstructures and ideas. This, according to Karl Marx, is where legal and political support for the exploitative activities of bourgeoisie class come from and where their brainwashing ideas and strategies reside. It is here that false consciousness, the notion that members of the proletariat class unwittingly misperceive their real position in society and systematically misunderstand their genuine interests within the social relations of production, (George Ritzer. 2000), is generated and promoted.

Bunde Thorstein Veblen (Ashley, David, and Orenstein, David Michael. 2005) was also concerned about the social stratification by class, produced by capitalism and he examined its impact on society. He identified the following two classes: 1) the predatory class; and 2) the industrious class. He argued that the predatory class inhibits or restrains society's evolutionary progress. He viewed this class as the cultural, political, and economic conservative force in society. The industrious class, he argued, was responsible for the actual production of wealth and that the actions of this class provide the impetus for further social evolutionary change.

Race

The impact of capitalism on human beings and its threat to humanity extend to social stratification on the basis of race, usually referred to as racism. According to Kornblum, William and Julian, Joseph (2009 :541), "Racism is behavior in word or deed, that is motivated by the belief that human races have distinctive characteristics that determine abilities and cultures." In this paper we are making the argument that capitalism is a threat to humanity because of the following: It produced and promoted; 1) the emphasis on money; 2) the emphasis on the meaningless accumulation of wealth and property; and 3) the emphasis on the individual and individual selfish interest and greed. We also argue that capitalism succeeded in converting fellow human beings into the property of other fellow human beings, converting them into commodities to be sold and bought by other fellow human beings. The damage and destruction of slavery are unimaginable and the impact of slavery continues to be felt around the world today in general and in the United States in particular. There is structural, systemic racism within the educational system, within the economic system, within the political system, and the legal system in the United States, Africa, and globally. These have devastating effects on our fellow human beings, African Americans and Africans. Here below are two direct quotes from Youtube video presentations which clearly illustrate the destructive and deathly impact of racism on our fellow human beings African Americans and Africans.

This first direct quote is that of Treasure Richards, a 16-year-old African American and Nina Treasure's sister, who says she truly believes she is white, she is Caucasian. "Dr. Phil" recently featured her and she said she's a white supremacist and believes she's white herself. Her direct quote is as follows: "I know a lot of people take issue with my beliefs. I am white. I am a Caucasian because everything about me is different from African Americans. I have naturally straight hair. My hair isn't nappy, it doesn't require wigs. My nose is not giant like African Americans. My lips are perfect, they are not too big and they are not too small. They are just perfect. My ears I don't have black people ears because they are really giant. Most African Americans speak ghetto. But when it comes to black people, I think they are ugly. I have nothing in common with them. I am different from African Americans because I am white. My figure is just like Ken Kardashian's and she is a wonderful role model. I act and think like a white person, instead of a black person. I believe that I am completely and utterly better than them, like we are on two different levels.....African Americans are here (low) and I am here (high). White people think and act just way more mature than African Americans. Black people, they think in a criminal way. When I think of African Americans, I feel like asking them what is wrong with them? They are really dangerous. If African American is on the same street as I am, I cross the street to avoid their chaotic and thuggish ways....." (https://youtu.be/sN_aukMagnk).

It should be noted that Nina Richards, Treasure Richards' sister, told INSIDER the whole thing was a hoax and said her sister is just trying to go viral and that she Nina Richards, was prompted to speak out because the show implicated her white father as being an inspiration for her racist beliefs (Shamsian, Jacob, November 1, 2018:10:25 PM <https://www.insider.com/black-teen-dr-phil-white-supremacist-2018-10>).

The second direct quote is that of Dr. Robert O. Young who suggests that Africans are worthless and not really human beings:

“For the purpose of sterilization and population control, there is too many people on the planet we need to get rid of, in the words of Bill Gates, at least three billion people, need to die, so we just start off in Africa, we just start our research there, and we eliminate most of the Africans because they are deplorable, they are worthless, they are not part of this world economy, so they have their rights taken away and they are suppressed and experimented and...”

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kckhzSOXOEc>).

As presented and discussed in the Senseless Gun Violence Section above, the lives of fellow African Americans are thoughtlessly taken away by police officers and so from the Sociology of Humanity perspective, the question is how did we get here as human beings?

From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, God Almighty created all human beings and gave all of them their brains for critical thinking and intellectual activities, which are designed for these human beings to produce all social realities, as guided and directed by their common humanity. Based on this basic understanding and more importantly, on the power of human beings' intellectual capability, a fellow human being's race should not matter or determine how the human being is viewed, defined or treated. In other words, there should not be racism in any way, shape or form since human beings' intellect is the defining guide and intellectually racism has no place in human being's intellectual realm.

Gender Discrimination and Sexism

According to Kornblum, William and Julian, Joseph (2009), gender discrimination deals with inequalities based on gender, which refers to being male or female and it produces unequal access to health care, and wage gap by gender. Sexism refers to “Behaviors and beliefs that discriminate against women or men on the basis of gender” (Kornblum, William and Julian, Joseph, 2009: 541 and 266-267). This has also extended to sexual orientation and sexual identity, which is “A sense of one's attractiveness to others and of comfort with one's body and with feelings of sexual arousal.” (Kornblum, William and Julian, Joseph, 2009: 541). These are all unnecessary and serious threats to humanity, driven and spearheaded by capitalism through its emphasis on and promotion of individualism, accumulation of money, wealth, and property by the inhumane exploitation of impoverished fellow human beings referred to as the proletariat by Karl Marx, or the industrious class by Bunde Thorstein Veblen, in order to gain power.

Gender discrimination, produced by capitalism, threatens the family which is humanity's basic foundation. Arlie Hochschild (1989) used the term second shift to describe the unpaid labor performed at home, especially by women, in addition to the paid work performed in the formal sector. From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, why is it that the very foundational tasks for humanity performed by females in the family are not recognized, rewarded, and paid substantially? This clearly is a very challenging and insulting question to the human intellect, because it should not be happening intellectually. In the formal sector, we also find serious challenging questions with respect to gender discrimination. In this sector females make 62 cents of every dollar a male makes (Kendall, Diana. 2017). This translates into male power and males' control of educational establishments, the workplace, the economy, and society in general. This illustrates Karl Marx's components of alienation, especially self-actualization for males but not for females. Females' struggles for self-actualization within the educational system and the workplace, especially are obstructed by patriarchy, which results in the intellectual struggles for women's liberation in society in general. As a matter of historical fact, according to Marx and Engels, women were not always viewed as inferior to men. Historical records indicate that ancient societies were matriarchal and women's ability to procreate was revered as possessing supernatural power (Ritzer 2000).

From the Sociology of Humanity perspective, it is important to note that since all social realities, such as gender discrimination, sexism, patriarchy, capitalism, are all the products of human intellect, they can all be changed or eliminated by the same human intellect. Gender discrimination, therefore, has no place in human society intellectually since new intellectually created ideas will produce new values, the new values will produce new norms, and the new norms would produce new laws, new legal and political system.

Capitalism and Modern Technology

Modern technology refers to methods, systems, and devices which are the result of scientific knowledge being used for practical purposes during present centuries (Collins CoBuild). It is the product of human intellect or understanding which is the capability of a human mind to generalize experiences, to work with abstract terms, and to make conclusions from assumptions. The basic relationship that we start from is the relationship between individuals, data, information, and knowledge. Intellect simply means the power of knowing as distinguished from the power to feel and to will. It is simply the capacity for knowledge (Collins English Dictionary).

For the purpose of this paper, we argue that there is a dialectical relation between capitalism and modern technology. Modern technology led to the rise of capitalism and capitalism is promoting and making use of modern technology with the main objective of generating money for the power elite, predatory class or bourgeoisie class by replacing the workers, or the industrious class or the proletariat class with technology or machines, thereby threatening humanity. For example, the increasing self-checkout machines at marketing stores or online monetary transactions using credit cards or increasing online degree completion programs, which are beginning to completely eliminate face-to-face human interaction, not to mention social media, which is now turning human beings into machines incapable of critical thinking and the use of their intellect and creating unnecessary divisions and conflicts among fellow human beings. The challenging question is: Are members of the proletariat class not able to distinguish between what Karl Marx refers to as class consciousness and false consciousness (Ashley, David and Orentstein David Michael. 2005:199)?

It is obvious that all these are driven by the uncritical craving for materialism and material consumption. The individual intellectually enslaved and the enslaver are both responsible for the enslavement. However, I argue, the intellectually slaved individual is more responsible and more to be blamed for the intellectual enslavement than the intellectual enslaver because the individual intellectually enslaved has the ability to engage in advanced, sophisticated critical thinking but she or he refuses to do so. In a way, the intellectually enslaved are actively engaged in the process of their own intellectual enslavement due to false consciousness. This is illustrated by the use of: 1) credit cards by many members of the lower class to purchase services or take vacations simply because they want to unreflectively and uncritically embrace the life styles of the predatory class or powerful, elite class who actually write checks or use earned income to pay for these services or vacations (Veblen 1979); and 2) self-checkout technological equipment which lead to the reduction of employment opportunities for themselves (Jilly, 2015).

Buckley, Frank (December 2, 2020) Interviews Tristan Harris, Center for Humane Technology. Tristan Harris's views on modern technology clearly point to its threat to humanity. He attempts to explain the "Capitol Riot" of January 6, 2021, linking the actions of the rioters to the impact of social media. Tristan Harris is a former Google Design Ethicist who was featured in the Netflix Original Documentary "The Social Dilemma." Tristan is the co-founder and president of the Center for Humane Technology "whose mission is to reverse 'human downgrading' and re-align technology with humanity," according to its website. The Atlantic Magazine once described Tristan as "the closest thing Silicon Valley has to a conscience." (<https://ktla.com/podcasts/frank-buckley-interviews/the-social-dilemma-with-tristan-harris-frank-buckley-interviews/> Dec 2, 2020 / 06:48 AM PST / Updated: Dec 2, 2020 / 06:48 AM PST.

Discussion and Conclusion

Based on our critical review of capitalism and modern technology, it is obvious that they contribute to unnecessary wars, senseless gun violence, hunger, homelessness, and social stratification on the basis of

social class, race, gender, sex, and age with money, accumulation of wealth, property ownership, individualism, greed, and power being the driving forces. As such, capitalism and modern technology are certainly a serious threat to humanity. The very important question that this threat raises is: So what is the proposed solution from the Sociology of Humanity perspective?

According to the Sociology of Humanity, the proposed solution to the threat posed by capitalism and modern technology to humanity, is human beings' recognition of their common humanity as guided by their intellect and their collective use of their intellectual abilities, to create and establish a society which is based on their collective basic understanding of the reality, which is that they are all human beings, who are all created by God Almighty and given them their brains for critical thinking and intellectual exercise and activity. This new society has its own new ideas, values, norms, and laws, which would eliminate the following: 1) Individualism; 2) selfishness; 3) greed; 4) meaningless accumulation of money, wealth, and property; 5) wars and senseless gun violence; 6) hunger; 7) homelessness; and 8) all forms of discrimination on the basis of class, race, gender, age, or sexual orientation.

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How About a Little Romance?
An Analysis of Romance Novels

by

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Abstract

The worldwide pandemic of 2020-2021 saw millions of people around the globe confined to their homes. Social scientists noted reports of depression and domestic violence and an increase in the use of alcohol and marijuana, as people tried to cope with social isolation. A *Washington Post* article indicated more people were reading, an increase of 33% in the United States, was a bright spot amid this litany of negative findings (Reading Trends, 2020, para 1). American's favorite subject matter included dystopias, social justice, and romance (Merry & Johnson, 2020. Para 1). Sales of romance novels rose 17% (Graham, 2020, para 1). A research question devolved from a thoughtful consideration of what caused this increase in sales. This approach concentrated on a history of the genesis of romances. Statistical data confirmed the hypothesis that readers chose romances because these books gave people a chance to escape the boredom of sheltering in place. An analysis of thirty-five romances focused on a paratextual analysis, an examination of characters, humor, signals for sex scenes, as well as, problems and excellence in writing. The data gained from these analyses confirms romances are sought-after despite their relegation by literary elites to popular or low culture. Publishers use research data and authors maintain close personal contact with their readers to ensure a profitable business. Finally, readers purchase romances online as a means of escape from the horrors of the pandemic. The 2020-21 coronavirus was an unrelenting global enemy. No one was safe. Some sought solace in prayer, many in hatred. Others threw themselves into action striving to defeat this invisible, vicious adversary that demanded a Herculean effort to endure. Regardless, a few moments of respite reading a romance novel to amuse and calm anxious survivors proved a welcome, legal, and inexpensive distraction.

Key Words: romance novels, popular culture, consumerism, romances, pandemic, statistical analysis, literary analysis, paperbacks, haut ton, penny dreadfuls, Western, English historical, suspense, paranormal, sex signals.

A current plaintive cry of, “I need a book!” is not unusual, yet fulfilling that need in the deadly 2020 coronavirus pandemic is often a godsend. Though audiovisual devices inform and entertain, for many there is nothing like a good book. For most, the new normal is unfamiliar territory. Employment is questionable or non-existent. Even when people do find work, it is dramatically altered. Schools are often a peculiar apparatus vying for room on a kitchen table and the teacher is a figure on a flat screen imparting knowledge to a frustrated, distracted group of students, he or she has never met. However, human beings are adaptable, and amazingly creative in crises. Confusion often produces a need for a distraction that provides a few moments of respite. Apparently for many in this difficult time, it is the romance novel.

Romance novels form a cornerstone of popular culture. It is what is left after the literati decree what books belong to the canon, and what books are not worth reading. The marketing of romance novels represents a new level of consumerism. Publishers supply what readers want, a story about loving relationships with a happy ending. While adhering to this framework, publishers observe the changing tastes of their customers. This three-part inter-disciplinary approach seeks to promote understanding of a much-maligned category through a history of the genre, a survey of the literature on the statistics about romances, and an analysis of thirty-five romances including novels, novellas, and short stories.

Romance History

America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash”
(Hawthorne, Letter to his publisher, 1853).

Modern romances have their origin in Jane Austin’s *Pride and Prejudice* (1812) and Charlotte Bronte’s *Jane Eyre* (1847). Women wrote these novels about their concerns. Heroines overcame social conventions and personal difficulties to achieve happiness. They found the love of their lives and the books ended with an emotional, satisfying, happy ending. These novels brought hope and inspiration to women debased by the norms and conventions of a patriarchal society and established conventions still followed by the romances of today.

The Industrial Revolution saw the development of steam and rotary printing presses, which facilitated the production of inexpensive literature for the newly educated population of the United Kingdom. One of the most widely read publications in the 1830’s was the “penny dreadful.” This popular culture offering of sixty-four small pages cost a tuppence (Summerscale, 2016, para 1). It was published weekly on cheap pulp paper, and sold at railway stations and other convenient outlets. Penny dreadfuls featured sensationalistic and daring stories written for boys and working men. Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, and English highwayman, Dick Turpin, became household names. Social elites condemned these tracts, especially when they appeared in the pockets of almost every schoolboy in Britain. Moral commentators linked them to violence, robbery, suicide, and social unrest.

Dime novels replaced penny dreadfuls during the 1860’s in America. Titles such as *Secret Service*, *Pluck and Luck*, *Fame and Fortune* and *Wild West Weekly* were immediately popular among young working class readers. Highbrow critics derided them as cheap sensationalistic fiction. Nonetheless, these exciting stories about the West,

railways, the Gold Rush, and other adventures in unknown territories were a phenomenal success.

Rebecca (1938) by Daphne Du Maurier blended horror and romance to create a thrilling dramatic novel. It featured a female heroine, battling through a terrifying ordeal, while struggling to be with her true love (Pagan, 2019 para.1). Margaret Mitchell's Civil War and Reconstruction epic, *Gone with the Wind* (1936), revitalized readers' interest in historical romances, especially when the film adaptation of the book turned into an instant box office success. Professor Pamela Regis (2003) does not consider either work a true romance novel because neither heroine resolves her love relationship and both stand alone on the last page (p.50).

Harlequin Publishers, a Canadian firm, started publishing romance novels in 1948. These novels were generally 55,000 to 65,000 words and aimed at youthful female readers. They became known for their stunning covers, usually featuring lovers posed in a tight embrace. Italian-American model Fabio Lanzoni posed for hundreds of Harlequin book covers. These blatant covers had much to do with the low esteem in which critics hold romance novels.

Kathleen Woodiwiss' *Flame and the Flower* (1972) was the first romance novel published directly in paperback for mass-market distribution. It also introduced a trend toward more explicit sex in romance novels. Authors such as Jackie Collins, Danielle Steel, and Norah Roberts continued in the "bodice ripper" style earning their place on numerous bestseller lists. In 1999, 55.9% of the mass-market paperbacks sold in North America were romance novels (Regis, 2003, p. xi). The advent of e-book romances resulted in lower prices for mass-produced paperbacks, a change in the market that forced Harlequin to accept HarperCollins' buyout offer of \$415 million (Raphel, 2014, para. 3). British author, E. L. James' novel *Shades of Grey* (2011) ushered in a new era of self-publishing. The provenance of the modern mass-produced romance novel demonstrates the importance of technology and consequent development of consumerism to propel this genre to its place as a vibrant part of popular culture.

Survey of the Literature

*What has made the romance genre so successful
is also what has contributed to its bad reputation.*

(Rodale, p. 182).

The main tool of evaluation for this survey of the literature on statistics about romances is the total number of subjects in the survey sample. Jane Krentz (1992) in *Gorgeous Men and Adventurous Women*, Maya Rodale, (2015) in *Dangerous Books for Girls* and the Romance Writers of America rely on data generated by Nielsen with N=2000. Markinblog (2019) utilizes statistics culled from publishing industry reports. Janice Radway samples 20 novels for her doctoral dissertation on which she based her pioneering work *Reading Romance* (1984). Dana Menard (2013) surveys twenty contemporary romance novels in her dissertation "Insert Tab A Into Slot B" (2011).

Professor John Storey (1997), a British media specialist, explains "there is always a dialog between the process of production and the activities of consumption" (p. 259). It is not so much that romance novels are predictable and formulaic. Women who read them expect familiar and accessible language, and plot elements like a happy ending. If women do not get what they want, they will not buy or read the book.

Publishers rely on statistics to understand the demographics of their target audience. They wish to know the subgenres preferred by their customers. It is just good practice if they wish to continue a profitable business.

The Readers

A survey by the Romance Writers of America (2017) indicates readers of romance novels are 82% women and 18% men and that men reading romances increased 9% from 2014 to 2019 (About the Romance Genre, p.1). Perhaps, more men read romances because they seek to understand the emotional and sexual needs of women. Most romances provide a well-written story with strong characters. Men appreciate a novel featuring a conversation between a woman and a man, especially when they encounter all the danger and adventure one finds in male oriented fiction in a romance novel, plus an engaging story of intimacy.

People read romance novels to relieve stress (See Appendix A). The idea women read romance novels to “escape the boredom” of everyday life needs parsing. During this pandemic, women do not have a lot of boredom to contend with. Even with modern conveniences that certainly help women cope, “everyday life” isn’t the same either! There are still meals to plan and cook, living quarters to keep clean and maintained, laundry washed, dried and sorted. In addition, women must budget, pay bills, disinfect the home, as well as care for children, homeschool, and...often contribute as a member of the out-of-home workforce! In describing why women read romance novels, it is more accurate to use the word “escape” in its real sense, i.e. “breaking free” even for a few minutes!

Romance readers often experience the scorn of others for their favorite reading material. Many disguise their reading choice with a cloth or paper cover. However, a survey by Nielsen indicated 44% attended college, 51% work outside the home, and 68% read the newspaper every day (Krentz, 1992, p. 12). Critics who stereotype romance readers as uneducated are wrong. According to Krentz (1992), women from age 30-45 buy romances, although Harlequin novels attract a slightly younger group. The number of readers currently in a relationship with a man is 79%, and 61% consider themselves feminists (Krentz, 1992, p. 12). Women include romance novel purchases on their shopping list. The story is the #1 factor in their decision to purchase a romance. Publishers cannot afford to alienate such discerning and committed consumers.

Radway (1984) indicates what characteristics readers prefer in main characters: humor (37%), honesty (34%), and kindness (29%) (p. 84). Her findings indicate readers like heroines with intelligence (36%), humor ((36%), and independence (28%) (p. 84). Rodale (2015) notes only 6% thought the heroine has to be beautiful (p. 156). Would-be romance writers should appreciate the importance of humor in principal characters. Well-developed secondary characters are essential, especially in bringing out the comedy found in the predicaments of the principals.

Subgenres

Romance readers sample different categories, but generally they have a specific type of book in mind. They’ll look first for a book by their favorite author. Book covers help them recognize the type of novel they wish to read. They all expect a happy ending, but authors have many ways to achieve this goal. Rodale (2015) notes there

were 9,000 romance novels published in 2013, something for nearly every taste (p. 164). The percentages listed in Appendix B indicate what subgenres readers prefer.

Suspense (25%), the most popular subgenre, features a romance coupled with a mysterious plot. Many from this group showcase police or a Private Investigator such as found in Kat Martin's works. The hero must solve the mystery and save his love interest from assorted villains. Historical Romance novels employ backgrounds prior to 1950. Not only does this subgenre take place in different centuries, but also in different countries and cultures. In time-travel romances, the heroine somehow travels back in time to meet the hero of her dreams.

Every English historical romance is set within the values and mores of the haut ton or British high society in the 19th century. The ton was a rigid class system determined by social acceptance. The pinnacle of social life lay in London's most exclusive mixed-sex social club, Almack's. This establishment acted as a "marriage mart." Families with marriageable children sought hard to get vouchers to admit their daughters to Almack's. The club organized a ball and a supper once a week for twelve weeks during "the season," March to early June (Murray, 1998, p. 50). Marriageable girls could "come out" for only three seasons. If they failed to find a match, they were labeled "blue stockings" and consigned to spinsterhood. Seven patronesses determined those admitted to Almack's. They set strict standards of acceptable social behavior.

Paranormal romance (11%) is a broad subgenre consisting of categories like fantasy worlds and alien lovers, vampires and shape-shifters. Erotic romance novels (9%) embrace strong, explicit, sexual interaction as an inherent part of the love story. Smaller sub-categories include bad boys, taboo romance, BDSM, and fetish stories. Young adult life, 12-18 years, is the fundamental context of teen Romance novels (7%). These novels have only hints of sex. New Adult novels have sex scenes appropriate for the 18-21 age group.

Contemporary romance novels (21%) have settings from 1950 to the present, including a plethora of sub-categories. Religious beliefs (7%), sports romances, and multi-cultural romances highlight popular contemporary themes. Some explore PTSD, single parenting, and financial difficulty. This pandemic will undoubtedly produce novels explaining coping mechanisms for current problems like unemployment, and quarantining. Romance novels have favorable endings, but they may also provide examples of how to cope with real-world situations.

The Novels

Publishers sell romances in several different formats. Hardcover books have a protective cover, large size, good paper, and are purchased in bookstores. Trade books feature a thin cardboard cover, larger size, and are also sold in brick and mortar establishments. Mass produced books are small in size, printed on lower quality paper, and sold in mass-market outlets. E-books are available in digital form, readable on computers or other electronic devices. Supermarkets and pharmacies pioneered the sale of affordable romance novels in the 50s and 60s. Today, consumers purchase 60% of this genre in electronic or print versions through the internet (Graham, 2020, para 1). Romances decrease in quality of material and size according to price.

Romance novels are big business – \$1.6 billion in 2019, and this genre, according to Markinblog (2019), comprises 29% of all fiction (p.1). They are a perfect

example of consumerism in popular culture. Publishers know they will profit as long as their product stays within the parameters of what avid consumers want and can afford. The trend for romances is self-publishing. E. L. James used a local on-demand publisher for her controversial novel, *Fifty Shades of Grey* (2011). She sold 150 million copies and made 95 million dollars in its first year of publication.

Authors can publish a romance novel in print form for around \$2000 (Bingham, 2015, para 27). Amazon-Kindle will put it on line. Many writers negotiate the right to republish their former works. Authors gain control of the profits from their work, but they must become small business owners assuming the burden of selling their book. They often write a paragraph touting upcoming works at the end of the current offering or create a website linked to Amazon.com. This website can also feature a newsletter. It is not uncommon for romance writers to send their newsletter to 16,000 people or more. The voracious readers who buy romances delight in a tasty narrative.

Romance novels are randomly displayed in supermarkets, unlike bookstores where they are alphabetized by author. According to Rodale (2015), 70% of readers buy at least one romance a month, 47% think one can judge a book by its cover and 28% buy romance novels on impulse (p. 67). Covers offer powerful evocative codes, replete with symbols, images, and allusions helping busy shoppers gravitate to their favorite authors and sub-genre. The back cover and spine of the book include additional information. A recent innovation provides the reader with a genre designating cover, plus a more enticing image on the following page. Visual cover art is equally important for readers shopping for E-books.

Radway's survey (1984) indicates several things readers dislike in romance novels: 89% abhor rape scenes, 80% explicit sex scenes, and 70% sad endings (p. 74). She presents evidence that when readers discover offensive scenes, 55% toss the offending book into the trashcan. Twenty-one percent read the ending to see, if the book is worth finishing (Radway, 1984, p. 70). A well-written sex scene flows from the emotions of the characters. It is not the minute description of a sexual encounter, it is the tension within a relationship of two people as they struggle with desire, deny it, and then surrender to it.

Menard (2013) shows 86% of heroines and 77% of heroes are consistently attractive, Caucasian, heterosexual, single, and young. Few of the sex scenes (17%) include "romantic" scene-setting elements. Sixty-five percent take place in a private location or bedroom. Seventy-two percent occur in the evening or at night (Menard, 2013, p. 4). Menard discovers no significant difference between books published between 1989 and 1999 and those published between 2000 and 2009 in terms of protagonist or relationship characterization. The only finding of statistical significance during this period was an increased use of contraception from 18% of the scenes in the first group to 58% in the second (Menard, 2013, p. 5).

This review of the statistical literature demonstrated that readership of romance novels has increased. This fairly inexpensive and available activity proves a distraction and relieves some of the tension people have experienced during the pandemic. It is wonderful that they find respite in the art of reading the written word once again. The readers of this genre are primarily women, educated and savvy, than critics admit. The many sub-genres of romance provide subjects of interest to almost anyone. Publishers pay attention to the preferences of their target audience to maintain the profitability of

their businesses. The data also suggests factors of analysis for a survey sample of individual romance novels.

Literary Analysis

Judge Me by the Joy I Bring.
(Giles, quoted in Krentz, p. 159).

The data cited in the first section of this paper led to the development of the factors needed for a literary analysis of romances. The researchers sought a quantitative overview of several romance sub-genres. They believe unlocking the codes, puzzles, and allusions of romantic novels would promote understanding of this much-maligned genre. The researchers strove for a balance between historical and contemporary romances, as well as, pivotal works that influenced the writing and publishing of romances. During the conceptual phase, the researchers determined seven factors derived from the statistical survey. The first consisted of a paratextual interpretation of how publishers surround the author's story with a framework designed to inform readers and entice customers to buy the book. Subsequent factors included: the personality traits of main and secondary characters, the role of humor in romances, who and how authors signaled the reader an intimate scene was imminent, as well as, problems and excellence in writing.

Study Sample

Critics of love stories usually peruse eight or nine books before making their pronouncements. The researchers of this paper read, coded, and analyzed 35 romances. These works were mass-market paperbacks purchased or read on line. The number of romance sub-genres continues to expand as trends develop into sub-genres and categories. Analyzing them all represented an almost impossible task. However, a smaller set of data based on factors of analysis of romances provided insights applicable to the entire population.

The researchers started their analysis with four amusing Western historical novels by Tess LeSue (Appendix C). In all, they savored ten works in the romance humor category. They subsequently read English historical novels, five in the Georgian period (1714-1830), and nine in the Victorian period (1837-1901). Like most romance readers, once they found a writer they enjoyed, they read more of her works. The six novels by Victoria Alexander included witty tales of the Lady Travelers Society. Stephanie Laurens' sparkling Christmas Chronicle series encouraged the reading of six of her romances. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick's tersely written *Highland Crown* (2019) rounded out this sub-genre.

The study sample contained three transitional works that reflected the development of modern romances. It highlights a small pamphlet or "octavo" published by a Hearst tabloid, the *New York Daily Mirror*, entitled *Driven, The Exciting Romance of a Night Club Dancer* (1929) by Alberta Stedman Egan (See Appendix D). This pamphlet popularized the serialization of romances. *The Flame and the Flower* (1972), by Kathleen Woodiwiss changed the nature of the genre with its explicit sex scenes. E. L. James' *Shades of Grey* (2011) ushered in a new era of self-publishing.

The researchers analyzed sixteen contemporary novels (46%) in an effort to broaden the scope of the survey sample. This subgenre included suspense romances

and those dealing with modern problems. The seven novels in Lindsay McKenna's Wind River series and Sandra Hill's *A Hero Comes Home* (2020) deserve recognition for helping readers understand the psychological effects and treatment options for those suffering from PTSD. Dailey's *Hart's Hollow Farm* (2019) explores the brain disorder of dementia. Brown's *Cowboy Courage* provides a humorous respite. The development of the factors of analysis proved a most difficult process. The solution came from close examination of the results of the statistical analysis.

Covers

An integrated advertising package sells books. This includes the front cover, perhaps a second cover, the spine, back cover, and sometimes an enticing preview from the author. The front cover contains the title, the author, a tagline, and an engaging image. Rodale (2015) quotes one book designer's observation about covers, "Anything hot and sexy, does well, as long as it is tastefully done" and states that one can still find covers in which "a busty young woman clings" to a "hulking muscle-bound man," as "her breasts spill out of her bodice" (p.11). Supermarkets are family places and do have standards. Current covers are more sedate and consumer oriented.

Ten of the romances analyzed in this paper featured women on the front cover. The cover of Alberta Egan's *Driven* (1929) presents a line drawing of a Jazz Age dancer. The cover of Woodiwiss' *Flame and the Flower* (1972) is modest compared to the violent sex described in her novel. It portrays a seated woman in a ruby dress and dark cloak. The image on the front cover for Alexander's *Happily Ever After* (2019) depicts a red-haired woman wearing a rose-colored ball gown. An insert shows the woman in a turquoise gown. Images in the background of Alexander's covers give clues to the location of the story: a pyramid or a wintry English country scene.

Laurens, a best-selling Australian novelist, prefers covers that let her readers know unequivocally, explicit sex scenes await them. Her novel, *What Price Love* (2006) entices buyers with a close up of a gorgeous woman wearing a crimson dress. The same image appears on the spine. A second cover depicts a scantily clad woman and a man, legs entangled, lying on scarlet satin sheets. Laurens uses the same techniques in *Temptation and Surrender* (2009). The cover exposes the naked back of a seated woman with a golden satin gown barely clinging to her.

Contemporary Western romance covers show cowboys with Stetsons, chambray shirts, and boots. Lariats and chaps, signs of a working wrangler, often appear as accessories. An image of a Belgian Malinois graces the front cover of McKenna's novel, *High Country Rebel* (2013). The dog, named Zeke, saves the heroine from a Grizzly bear, catches the villain, and merits the last line in the book. The covers of her subsequent novels, *Wind River Protector* (2019) and *Silver Creek Fire* (2020) include images of a dog, but she does not mention dogs in these books. A disclaimer explains images on the cover may not necessarily reflect the characters in the story.

Five covers present sedate couples, modestly hugging. In the dark, brooding cover of Kat Martin's, *The Conspiracy* (2019), two indistinct individuals walk on a beach. Lauren's *Lady Osbaldestone's Christmas Intrigue* (2020) presents a snow scene on the cover. Two limited hypotheses result from this analysis. First, readers respond to the hidden messages in the covers and select books they want to read. Second, present-day covers are more conservative and sophisticated than in the 50s.

While the images on the front cover attract, prose on the back cover prompts readers to buy the book. LeSue on the back cover of *Bound for Eden* (2018), playfully declares, “Alexandra Barratt has found the perfect man – It’s a shame he thinks she is a boy.” In *The Proper Way to Stop a Wedding* (2017). Laurens promises “fiery passion, soaring love, and spellbinding intrigue” on the back cover of *The Beguilement of Lady Eustacia Cavanaugh* (2019). Linda Miller in *Big Sky Secrets* (2019), sums up the entire storyline in a sentence. “He’s traded his suit for cowboy boots – and she’s walked away with his heart...” (Back Cover). Consumers find some of the best writing on the back cover of romances. If they like the writer’s style and the gist of the story, they purchase the book and enjoy a few hours of relaxation immersed in the personal lives of people with whom they can relate.

Main Characters

Literary first impressions are important in determining the compatibility of individuals in a love relationship. Romance writers describe heroes in exquisite detail because they are writing for a predominately female audience. Blue and grey are preferred male eye colors. Heroes generally are at least six feet tall and have athletic bodies. Clothing choices indicate status and apparently enhance men’s masculinity (Fisher, 2010, p. 1). Modern male principals are handsome and exhibit intelligence, wit, and kindness. Sandra Hill in *A Hero Comes Home* (2020) characterizes Jake Dawson as a tortured hero with a dark sense of humor that “might be all right for a romance novel hero, but not for a real-life hero” (p.150). Widower Logan Anderson, hero of McKenna’s *Silver Creek Fire* (2020), is a “dream cowboy” (p. 222). His most attractive features are his inherited sensibility to his community and his employees. He builds his relationship with his fragile love, Lea Ryan, slowly, with openness and honesty. He is the prototype for the male lead in romance novels of the 21st century.

With the notable exception of Laurens, most romance writers generally describe their heroines in less detail than the heroes. In *The Obsessions of Lord Godfrey Cavanaugh* (2020), the delirious hero opens his eyes and realizes he is dreaming. “Her heart-shaped face had been sculpted by a master” (Laurens, *Obsessions*, p.14). Eye color is also important in descriptions of heroines. In her 1929 pamphlet, *Driven*, Egan describes Cecilia as possessing “saucy eyes that changed from blue to violet in a twinkling” (p. 3). In *Bound for Sin* (2018), LeSue’s heroine, Georgiana, has “eyes the color of a June sky, the color of prairie flax in summer” (p. 53).

Red hair is another common feature of heroines. Perhaps, it is an indication of feistiness. McKenna’s heroine in *Wind River Protector* (2019) has “red, gold, and light brown hair” (p. 38). Kat Martin in *Wait Until Dark* (2019), depicts April Vale as a “tall leggy red head” (416) and a few pages later observes, “all that fiery red hair just ramped up the warning signs flashing in her big blue eyes” (p. 418). Brown’s heroine in *Cowboy Courage* (2020), Cactus Rose, has “light red hair that took his breath away” (p. 50). Lea, heroine of McKenna’s *Silver Creek Fire*, “has short red hair that gleamed with copper, gold, and sienna highlights” (p. 45).

Female principal heroines do not have to be incredibly beautiful, but as Radway (1984) indicates, readers prefer women who are intelligent, humorous, and independent (p. 125). Alexander’s Fiona Fairchild in *Let It Be Love* (2005) is “far too intelligent for her own good” (17). She portrays Violet in *Happily Ever After* (2019) as shy and retiring,

“kind and generous, smart, and funny” (Alexander, *Happily*, p. 320). Ava Archer, Le Sue’s heroine in *Bound for Sin* (2018) is “stubborn as all hell” (p. 53). Ava reappears in another of her series, *Bound for Glory* (2019). Le Sue describes her as a professional in a man’s world, a writer of dime novels. She is stubborn, impulsive, determined, tall, strong, and a terrible cook (Le Sue, *Bound for Glory*, p. 29). Her ability to laugh is a sign of her strength and placed her squarely at the center of the story.

Secondary characters

The seven Harlequin novels included in this survey were generally too short, around 50,000 words, to invest much space in secondary characters. Longer English romances can reach 100,000 words and feature a host of interesting people. Laurens wrote several series based on the members of extended families, a clever way to introduce characters that appear in other works. Butlers, maids, and cooks, occasionally advise and even influence the principals. The simple choice of appropriate clothing, food, drinks, cordiality, relaying messages, and spreading gossip is a powerful tool. Miller’s *Big Sky Secrets* (2019) contains a number of engaging secondary characters. Highbridge, Landry Sutton’s butler, plays the role of matchmaker, prodding and encouraging the relationship between the principals. The incongruity of a British butler on a Montana ranch is humorous in itself.

Secondary characters manage the tempo. In *A Hero Comes Home* (2020), author Sandra Hill explores a scenario fraught with difficulties. Jake, a military hero, returns home to his wife and family from an Afghan prison. He must deal with renewing intimacy with his wife, as well as how and when his PTSD symptoms will subside, and the fear of jeopardizing the safety of his family with his unpredictability. At this point, Hill introduces Izzy in a sidekick role. This long-time, civilian, and military friend serves as a confidant and sounding board. Unfortunately, this situation is all too common. Hopefully, the coping mechanisms and patience in this story are helpful to many readers.

The members of the Ladies Travelers Society provide young women with the tools necessary to travel abroad by themselves, something unheard of in the early 1800s. More importantly, they help heroes and heroines to grow, change, and find love. In fact, they meddle! Several of Alexander’s books and a novella feature the trio of elderly women. In *Deception with an Unlikely Earl* (2018), the Ladies set out to defend their protégée from the negative reviews of her book by Lord Harry Armstrong. When they first meet the mean-spirited Earl, they do a wonderful job of puncturing his ego.

The best romances have good villains. This character type confronts the hero and heroine at every turn. They force the main characters to overcome their weaknesses and prove they are worthy of each other. Antagonists like drug traffickers, corrupt politicians, sexual abusers, and disorders like PTSD, create conflict. A nasty villain threatens violence. The miserable scoundrels in the survey sample include ex-boyfriends, abusive husbands, and M-16 gang members. Perhaps the most perfidious are those known and trusted by the principals i.e. fathers, cousins, and family friends. Laurens describes a malefactor in *What Price Love?* (2006). The hero and the heroine expose the mastermind of a criminal horse racing scam. The villain seeks revenge by kidnapping the heroine, taking her to a bordello, and deserting her. Providently, the hero crashes through the door and saves her (Laurens, *What Price*, p. 443).

Humor

Received wisdom privileges tragedy over comedy. However anyone can make an audience cry, but only a talented writer can make people laugh. Romances are comedies in the broadest sense of term. Comedic heroines gain freedom through a happy ending (2003). Regis describes this autonomy, however provisional, as a victory of love over life (p. 16). Eleven of the romances in our literary survey feature humor. Their authors rely on plot, characters, and incidents, to create a comic synergy allowing readers to rise above the miasma of the pandemic on peals of laughter.

The plots of LeSue's four historic westerns facilitate humor. They are exaggerated, but believable and internally consistent with LeSue's fast-paced narrative. In the first, the hero thinks the heroine is a boy. In the second, the heroine advertises for a husband in the newspaper. In the third, a naïve man falls in love with a prostitute. In the fourth, the hero begins a relationship with a writer who, unknown to him, writes the very stories that make his life miserable. What makes these plots amusing is the constant bombardment with unexpected outcomes, especially a romance.

A most hilarious plot occurs in Loretta Chase's Victorian short story, "Lord Lovedon's Duel," in the anthology *Royal Bridesmaids* (2012). Chloe, a bridesmaid, drinks too much champagne at her sister's wedding and challenges Lord Lovedon to a duel after she overhears him making insulting remarks about her future brother-in-law. Unfortunately, to her surprise, he accepts and offers to provide the weapons. Not only is such prearranged formal combat illegal, but also it is totally incongruous between a man and a woman! They secure seconds and appear on the dueling grounds. On the command, they raise their pistols, fire, and out pops a blue and green mechanical bird, tweeting merrily. They both burst into gales of laughter, and with this momentous introduction, start dating, fall in love, and eventually marry. The author informs readers that such a pair of ancient pistols exists and are for sale for \$2.8 million at Christie's art auction house (The only known, 2013).

The two main characters in Brown's *Cowboy Courage* (2020), blunder around a glass shop like slapstick panto actors. "Hud Baker felt like a rodeo bull in a lingerie shop" (Brown 1). Readers expect the unexpected as their romance heats up amidst many starts and stops. Aunt Luna, an octogenarian, sums up the whole plot with her statement, "God is great, beer is good, and people are crazy" (Brown 70). Humor is difficult to write because much of what people think is comical is parochial and topical. However, children, dogs, and cross-dressing are always amusing. Pointed or poignant, humor helps people through difficult times. One of the women interviewed by Radway (1984) declares what she wanted was "a little humor" and something light, "because we want to get away from our problems" (p. 159).

Sex Signal

It is helpful to know when an intimate scene is about to happen and who initiates it. A comparison of a 2011 survey by Menard of a sample composed of 20 Rita award winners and a 2021 survey by the researchers of this analysis indicates that sex signals by men declined from 54% in the 2011 survey to 10% in the 2021 survey. The brutal hero in the *Flame and the Flower* (1972), Brandon, is a "punisher," supposedly he hurts the heroine, Heather, only because he loves her so much (Wendell and Tan, 2019, p. 13). In actuality, he rapes the heroine three times in the first forty-one pages and

justifies his actions based on his belief she is a prostitute (Woodiwiss, 1972, pgs. 29, 35, 41). Incredibly, they fall in love, a completely improbable outcome. What attracted attention in 1972 is no longer acceptable in the #MeToo era.

E. L. James' *Shades of Grey* (2011), famous for the amount of money it generated and its influence on self-publishing, bears further literary analysis even though technically it is not a romance novel. The Amazon.com reviews are sharply divided, ranging from liking it to "fifty shades of awful" (Customer Reviews). James uses the term "provocative romance" to describe her novel, but it is not a romance. The first book does not have a positive ending, or any ending actually, perhaps because the author wishes readers to continue reading her trilogy. Ana states unequivocally in the last chapter of the first book that Christian is not capable of love or a relationship (pgs. 472 & 519). A review of the last book in the series reveals there is still nothing close to a positive resolution or closure to their relationship, such as required in a romance novel.

Affirmative signals of intimacy confirm consent. The lack thereof may indicate rape. The hero in *Fifty Shades of Grey*, (2013) grooms the heroine to accept domination with techniques like anger, fear, and intimidation. Amy E. Bonomi, Lauren E. Altenburger and Nicole L. Walton in "Double Crap!: Abuse and Harmed Identity in *Fifty Shades of Grey*," (2013) in *The Journal of Woman's Health*, concludes Ana's inability to give informed consent led to intimate personal violence, a condition affecting 25% of women in the US. These co-authors condemn the literature of popular culture that perpetrates such violent and debasing standards.

The closest modern example of male initiated consensual sex in the 2021 survey occurs in Laurens, *Temptation and Surrender* (2009). Laurens, renowned for plentiful and robust sex scenes, describes the hero thusly, "Lips curving, he shrugged out of his coat, and carefully set it over the back of a chair. It's time for bed" (p. 253). The taste for this type of prose is also changing, and Laurens is a good enough writer and smart enough businessperson to realize it. She is more discrete in her latest novels.

Sex signals by women dropped from 33% in Menard's 2011 survey to 29% in the 2021 survey. In Sandra Hills, *A Hero Comes Home* (2020), Sally tells Jake "I want to be in your bed with you" (p.262). Couples mutually agreeing to have sex increased from 13% in 2011 to 51% in 2021. Sex scenes allow authors to alter the timing of the narrative. The hero and heroine may have an intimate relationship anywhere from the first page to the epilogue, or not at all. Surprisingly, there were no sex scenes and therefore no sex signals in 13% of the works in the 2021 survey. Notably, there was not a comparable category in 2011.

Narrative Structure

A romance novel must involve a love relationship and have an uplifting ending. All the works in this sample follow the standard romance narrative consisting of three acts: the set-up, the confrontation, and the resolution (2020, p. 1). The first act accounts for 25% of the story. The second act represents 50% of the narrative, and the third act embodies 25% of the story. Would-be novelists can find detailed models of how to write a romance. Alexander's *Happily Ever After* (2019) reverses the usual order of the romance narrative. The hero and heroine marry at the beginning of the book. Due to a misunderstanding they immediately separate. However, a dilemma of inheritance requires a reunion allowing them to recognize their marriage as one of true love. In an

amusing concluding moment in Alexander's novel, Violet and James agree, "We've wasted a lot of time" before going to bed after 6 years apart (p. 337).

Act I – the author introduces the two main characters and brings them together with a narrative hook that gains the readers' attention. Often this provides the opportunity for a detailed description of both. In Alexander's *Let it Be Love* (2005), Fiona declares, "I'm talking about a proposal of marriage between you and me" (p.41). There is often conflict and attraction at the beginning of a relationship. However, something always intervenes forcing the main characters to work together.

Act II – the author binds the principals together in a situation and they begin to fall in love. LeSue's historical Western novels provide excellent examples. Her four novels, set within the context of a journey, give the hero and heroine time to get to know each other, build relationships, consider their destinies, and confront obstacles to their relationships. Whatever is the worst thing that can ruin the relationship, happens. According to Radway (1984), "the hero and the heroine are physically and or emotionally separated" (p. 134). This is the high point of the story, where the hero and heroine are seriously challenged. As an example, in Gaelen Foley's short story "Imposter Bride" in *Royal Bridesmaids* (2012), Prince Tor commands, Minerva, the woman who married him under false pretenses, "I want you gone from here, and don't come back" (206). All the romances surveyed followed this pattern, but the intensity of the antagonism ranges from loathing, to irritation, to not ready for a relationship.

Act III - Tor reconsiders his actions after a three-month separation. He arrives at Minerva's home, declares his undying love, and performs "the grand gesture." He drops to one knee, asks her to marry him, and slips a diamond ring on her finger. This act confirms the growth necessary to achieve a lasting relationship. Act III shows how wonderful life is when the two lovers are finally together. In the epilogue to Alexander's *Happily After* (2019), the members of the Ladies Travelers Society muse on what fun they had in reuniting the main characters. Effie notes, "happily ever after is never the end...it's only, always, just the beginning" (Alexander, *Happily*, p. 378).

Problem Writing

Radway divides romances into two groups, ideal and failed. Ideal romances impart a certain amount of emotional nurturance and reassurance to their readers. Failed romances do not adequately expiate the reader's anger at the actions of the hero, an activity essential to the final rapprochement between the hero and the heroine (Radway, 1984, p.157). None of the works in the 2021 survey sample merit the label failed. However, a few have major or minor flaws in their structure or style that diminish the enjoyment of romance readers.

Statistics showed women react negatively to rape, violence, and gratuitous sex. The two leads in Laurens' *What Price Love?* (2006), are beautiful, narcissistic, and selfish. Even so, the plot drives them toward intimacy. He wishes to gain her trust. She seeks information about her brother who has disappeared. They achieve intimacy in ten elaborately scripted scenes. Laurens uses words, like "brazen, flagrant, primitive, and demanding" to create an aura of sensuality for these encounters (*What Price*, 2006, p. 137). The hero and heroine decide to marry, not so much out of love, but the realization they are like one another. This lessens the approval of her audience and strains the credulity of the most steadfast reader.

Sexist language is a type of bias implying ownership of women, once common in patriarchal societies. In Martin's *The Conspiracy* (2019), the protagonist consistently uses sexist nicknames to refer to the principal female like "Angel" (p. 333), "honey" (p. 336) or "baby" (p. 349). The same sexist language occurs in her novella *Wait Until Dark* (2019) wherein the hero addresses his love interest as "baby" three times in the last six pages (pgs. 501, 506, 507). Many would find this extremely irritating.

Authors often complicate their narrative with unnecessary details and plot twists. In *The Conspiracy* (2019), Martin carefully describes the weaponry beloved by male mystery writers: automatic weapons, tactical shot guns, sniper rifles, and combat knives (106). She details two brawls, two gun battles, and two kidnappings. She recounts a repelling voyeuristic sex scene. For no apparent reason, the author reveals the heroine's brother is the hero's stepbrother. As a result, Martin must include two statements to clarify the appearance that the main characters have different mothers and fathers (pg. 285 & 338). This is distracting and confusing, forcing the reader to reread the previous text.

Minor errors detract from the reader's experience. Laurens always uses the phrase "curving lips" to describe her characters. Janet Dailey in *Hart's Hollow Farm* (2019), reminds readers too many times Georgia dirt is red. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick in *Highland Crown* portray their heroine as entering a room covered with dust, not what one would expect in a village on the wet English coast. Tes LeSue makes the mistake of calling the Golden City by the Bay, "Frisco," risking a stern rebuke from San Franciscans. Certainly, a genre as vast as romance includes some flawed works. However, on the whole, the romances in this sample included turns of phrase that uplifted the readers' spirits, eliciting hearty chuckles, and providing solace.

Excellence in Writing

The writing of this paper provided much divertimento, and more than a few "Oh No" exclamations in the course of examining the romances in the survey sample. Maisey Yates, a romance writer from Jacksonville, OR notes romances are "An infusion of joy and it shows you over and over again that you can fix things" (Zavala, 2021, A1). LeSue's willingness to share copyright material made this paper more appealing. She demonstrates great use of humor in her sharp snappy repartee in the four novels of her *Frontiers of the Heart* series.

The readings in the English historical sub-genre (54%) provide stories of the appalling social mores of the aristocratic ton. Alexander gives us six wonderful novels, a novella, and the welcome gift of the Lady Travelers Society. Laurens proves why she is a best-selling writer in four novels and a short story. Readers learn much from her meticulously researched works featuring English social life. Her charming and endlessly amusing stocking-stuffer Christmas novels offer more proof of her writing and marketing prowess. Laurens, Foley, and Chase in their sparkling work, *Royal Bridesmaid, An Anthology* (2012) provide entrancing stories of royal weddings, chicanery in a magical kingdom, and an astonishing duel. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick render a historical background impeccably and the Sir Walter Scott quotes at the beginning of each chapter make a fine literary touch.

Contemporary novels dealing with real life challenges offer more than fantasy. They give guidance to overcome problems touching human lives. Dailey's treatment of

present-day difficulties, like dementia, is laudable. Similarly, Brown, Hill, McKenna, and Miller, provide remarkable insight into post-traumatic stress syndrome, especially in former service people. Nineteen percent of the romances in the sample deal with PTSD. Miller's *Big Sky Secrets* (2019) and Brown's *Cowboy Courage* (2020) are just plain fun to read. Martin's contemporary detective novel and novella, include thrilling adventures with evil kidnapers, desperate criminals, vicious gangs, and steadfast private investigators. They present strong engaging heroines and well-written love scenes, not found in the male counterpart of this sub-genre. Their story lines are complicated, compelling, and hard to put down.

Conclusion

Romance writers are exceptionally good at maintaining suspense & characterization [in romances] or no one would read them!

(Flood 1).

This paper investigates the reasons behind the increase in the sales of romances during the pandemic. The authors researched women writing for women within the purview of popular culture. John Storey (1997) describes romances as "hopelessly commercial, mass produced for mass production" (p. 8). Consumers are demanding participants. They inform publishers what they want through what they buy. Romances appear in all different sizes and shapes. The trend toward self-publishing and on-line sales reduced the price of romances and put economic pressure on publishers and bookstores. Romance readers are educated, informed, and dedicated readers.

This paper presents an inclusive and esoteric literary analysis of romances novels, novellas, short stories, and a pamphlet. The evidence shows publishers develop a sales package made up of cover, back cover, and spine to catch the eye of prospective readers and influence them to buy the book. Analysis determined the type of primary and secondary characters that readers want. Significant in the findings is the importance of humor. Likewise, research shows the type of sex scenes readers dislike. Authors usually alert readers such a scene is coming so they can take appropriate action. A few writing problems arose, especially with sexist prose, but all in all, these negatives are minor.

The depth and breadth of the romance genre is amazing. There is something for everyone and, in some cases, something offensive to most. Scholars should be wary of overgeneralization even from larger samples such as found in this paper. At a minimum, the statistical and literary hypotheses are valid across the major sub-genres of romance literature. However, the most important thing, according to Heroine Sidney Honeywell in Alexander's *Deception with an Unlikely Earl* (2018) is, "All that matters is that people who read my stories forget the tedium of everyday life and lose themselves for an hour or an afternoon in another world" (72). The time spent reading and analyzing romances provides a number of useful hypotheses, but most of all, offers a welcome respite from the grim realities of the 2020-2021 pandemic.

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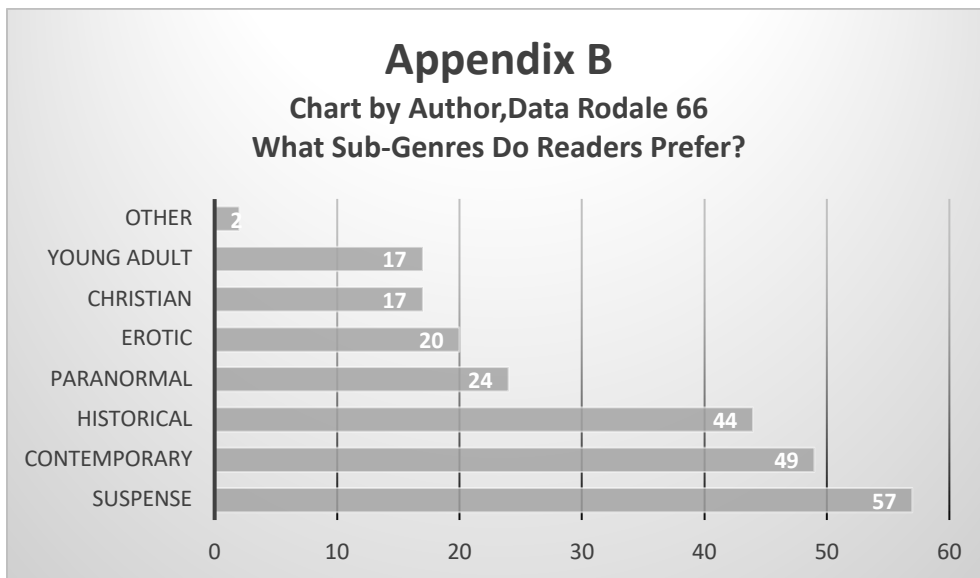
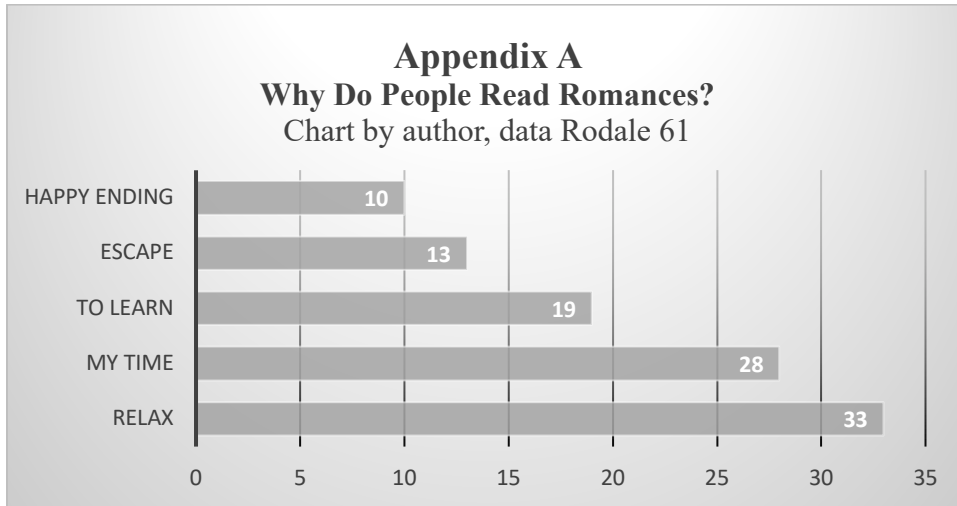
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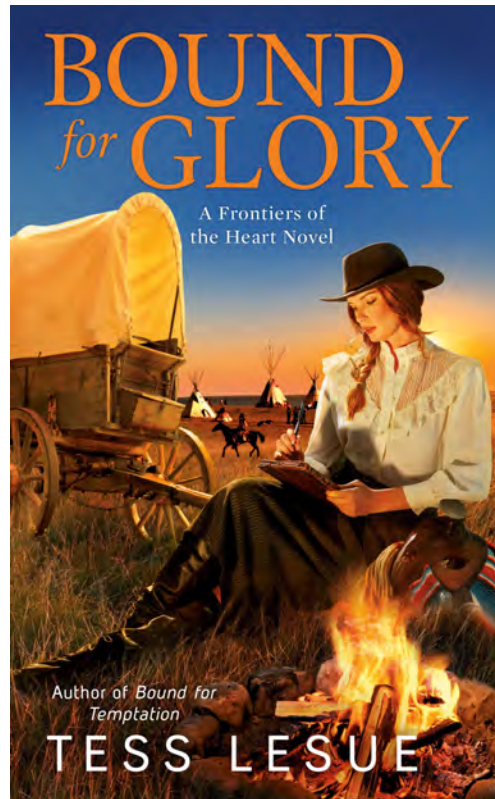
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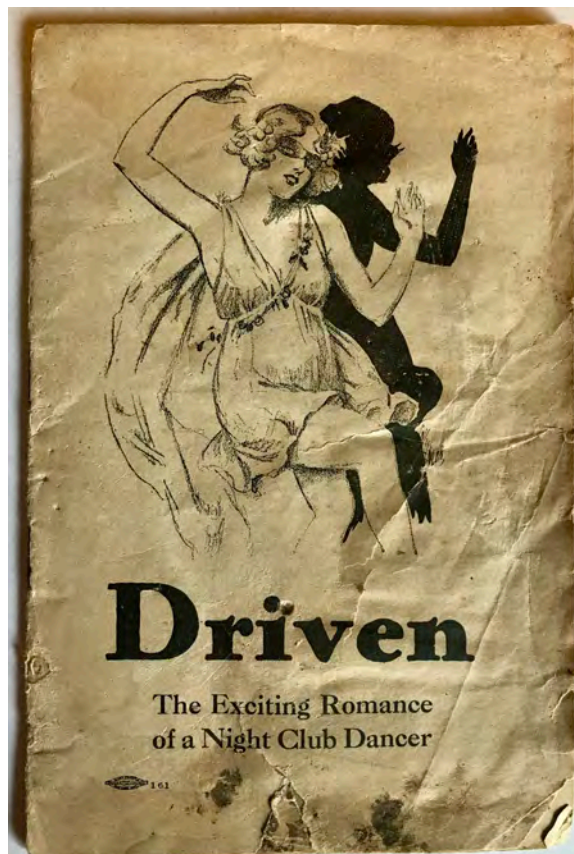
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Appendix C



Appendix D
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Colleen



Key Components and Critical Steps when using Restorative practices in the Schools: Lack of Cited Research within the Special Education Population

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Are school-aged students taught at their instructional or frustration level? Does this manifest in maladaptive behavior? Do they get in trouble because of low academic performance/achievement? What happens when school-aged children get in trouble and continue to get in trouble? How do schoolteachers, school administration administrators (i.e., school-specific leadership team), and school districts (i.e., whole district administration/upper leadership team) approach discipline? What happens when those children are identified as having special needs (e.g., Autism (AU), Emotional Disturbance, Other Health Impairment (i.e., attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)), or a Specific Learning Disability (SLD)? With the surplus of research on restorative practices within school districts, one would assume that the same approach is being studied within the special education population. Research continually cites the implementation of Punitive Justice that takes the form of Exclusionary Discipline within the special education community. To the offender, both approaches raise a conflicting disparity, causing confusion between reconciliation and condemnation attempts (Hermann, 2017).

Punitive justice (i.e., retributive justice) refers to the intent to punish, which is still common in local education agencies (i.e., local school districts). Ann Payne & Welch (2010) state that schools follow the criminal justice system protocol because they have increased their discipline of student misbehavior despite the decrease in delinquency; therefore, a comprehensive explanation for this intensified approach is necessary given that there are severe implications to the rise of punitive justice within school discipline. Exclusionary discipline became a subset of traditional discipline consequences, which refers to punishing and is still a common practice within local education agencies. McNeil, et. al. (2016) indicates that exclusionary discipline refers to the removal (e.g., suspension or expulsion) as a way to reduce unwanted behaviors that have been a staple in the disciplinary practice schools engage in; furthermore, they state that this practice often creates a hostile school climate and creates a value conflict with the educational doctrine for those receiving negative consequences. Therefore, punitive justice is a form of exclusionary discipline within the educational system, both of which are cited as being largely ineffective. These "punishment" based approaches that are intended to deter maladaptive behaviors from occurring is not supported in the literature.

As noted above, many schools follow a criminal justice system approach (Ann Payne & Welch, 2010). The same could be said about how schools have within the last three decades made a similar shift in supporting an alternative practice that emerged and has come to be known as restorative practices (similarly known in the literature as restorative discipline, restorative approaches, or restorative dispute resolution) which takes a proactive approach to discipline (Hargens, 2012). According to Lipchitz (2003), the principles within restorative practices have trickled into the education field because they provide student support in dealing with students who misbehave at school. Similarly, in the 1990's (i.e., 1998), approximately twenty-three years ago, Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) was funded by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Program. PBIS also takes a proactive and primarily positive (non-punitive) approach in attempting to improve the behavioral success of children in school by utilizing strategies consistently over time. Therefore, it appears that both restorative practices and positive behavioral intervention & supports are forms of positive discipline; both have been

repeatedly cited as being extremely effective. Although, they technically not the same concept, they both help restore and improve broken relationships, focusing on repairing and making those relationships positive again and positively transforming the entire school's climate/culture.

Any leadership initiative, vision, and influence are vital to any successful endeavor; school success is not different. School district leadership should and often does trickle down. According to Warin and Hibbin (2020), Senior Leadership is essential when placing a wholeschool approach; staff at all levels help support the student and parent while creating strategies for implementing restorative practices. A key finding in a report by Hannover Research (2015) states those restorative programs will often have a solid school-based leader who can manage the program's implementation. This leader will have a deep knowledge of the school and community and obtain buy-in from his colleagues. One might come to ask, why wouldn't this approach always be successful, as it's been proven to be successful time and time again.

Brummer (2016) notes five reasons why the implementation of restorative practices fails: 1) lack of planning, 2) lack of vision, 3) lack of training, 4) lack of support, and 5) lack of investment in both time and money. Furthermore, Maywarm et al. (2016) identify that almost no attention is placed in the research literature on the teachers' professional development and support on restorative practices. These noted and documented reasons for unsuccessful implementation trends stem from poor direction and leadership.

School-aged children and adolescents have a variety of risk and protective factors when they enter school. Their adaptation to teacher instruction, academic requirements, or independent tasks such as homework will vary based on academic ability/achievement and behavioral regulation. According to Supple et al. (2004), identifying which factors influence children's ability is essential, especially during early school years. The above factors coincide with what Alexander & Entwisle (1988) found that children during their first years of schooling adopt behaviors, attitudes, and dispositions that influence their subsequent development, and if they are unable to adjust by the age of eight years, they most likely will have difficulty with future adjustments.

According to standard school metrics, academic dysfunctions or low academic achievement have long been known to influence children's learning or how successful that child is. Meindl et al. (2019) state that research has not examined academic frustration and that there is currently minimal information about children's frustration tolerance. A child's inability to overcome such frustrations is associated with several maladaptive academic behaviors that include avoiding academic material if perceived as difficult (Walonoski & Heffernan, 2006). Moreover, Martin (1994) found that teachers have tendencies to rate children who are easily frustrated as being prone to disrupt the classroom. Overall, students' academic frustration levels correlate with their overall behavior; students who engage in maladaptive behaviors may have risk factors that contribute to their academic frustration and academic outcome.

Both academic and behavioral deficits in children in general education lead to either Response to Intervention (RTI) or special education referral. Once identified as having a disability, a student should receive support to help support academic deficits, although the behavior may continue. As found in Sullivan et al. (2014), the authors cite Pauken & Daniel (2002), stating that schools often respond to behavioral infractions by removing or suspending students with identified disabilities and thus denying them access to education. Furthermore, the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights [OCR] (2014) details that students with disabilities, under IDEA, have disproportionately received out-of-school suspension by over fifty percent when compared to their non-disabled peers (i.e., 6% vs. 13%).

Definitions of disability terms. The terms used in this definition of a child with a disability are defined.

Autism (AU)

Autism means a developmental disability significantly affecting verbal and nonverbal communication and social interaction, generally evident before age three, adversely affecting a child's educational performance. Other characteristics often associated with autism are engagement in repetitive activities and stereotyped movements, resistance to environmental change or change in daily routines, and unusual responses to sensory experiences.

- AU – As found in Matson & Cervantes (2014), aggression is commonly found as co-occurring within students identified as having autism and can be one of the most debilitating conditions and possibly restrict school placements.

Emotional Disturbance (ED)

Emotional disturbance means a condition exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics over a long period and to a marked degree that adversely affects a child's educational performance:

- (A) An inability to learn not explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors.
- (B) An inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers.
- (C) Inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances.
- (D) A general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression.
- (E) A tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems.

- ED - As found in Tobin et al. (1999), students with an emotional disturbance should be identified before discipline problems escalate; discipline referrals in students with an emotional disturbance are associated with restrictive placements and higher dropout rates.

Other Health Impairment (OHI) (i.e., Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD))

Other health impairment means having limited strength, vitality, or alertness, including a heightened alertness to environmental stimuli, that results in limited alertness with respect to the educational environment, that (1) Is due to chronic or acute health problems such as asthma, attention deficit disorder or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, diabetes, epilepsy, a heart condition, hemophilia, lead poisoning, leukemia, nephritis, rheumatic fever, sickle cell anemia, and Tourette syndrome; and (2) Adversely affects a child's educational performance.

- ADHD – As found in Martin (2014), it is vital to view ADHD and its effects in context regarding its academic adversities (e.g., school refusal, school exclusion, and school noncompliance) according to Leo & Feldman (2007).

Specific Learning Disability (SLD)

A specific learning disability means a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, that may manifest itself in the imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations, including conditions such as perceptual disabilities, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia.

- SLD - Students in special education, especially those with SLD, have been expelled and suspended at higher rates than students in general education (Cooley,1995).

The aforementioned definitions above and cited examples of poor school outcomes are echoed by Blake et al. (2020) when she states that students diagnosed as having SLDs, EDs, and OHIs are more likely to be subjected to exclusionary discipline techniques than their non-disabled peers. Furthermore, according to Sullivan et al. (2014), exclusionary discipline correlates with poor academic outcomes, disengagement of the student, and poor educational outcomes. Finally, Bal et al. (2019) & Hurwitz et al. (2021) respectfully state that suspension and expulsion constitute exclusionary discipline because the student is removed from the learning environment, and there are substantial negative consequences when schools engage in this type of discipline (i.e., removal from the classroom).

It is important to note that the literature review regarding any punitive justice for maladaptive or "bad behavior" that constitutes school discipline, school/classroom removal, and other synonyms for the use of exclusionary discipline within the special education school-aged population equates to poor outcomes for those students. It is equally important to note that there is an abundance of research on the topic of restorative justice, restorative practices, and other synonyms for the use of relational supports in improving broken relationships and correlating positive student outcomes (i.e., academic and positive behavior supports) amongst school-aged students and their respective school authority figures.

Interestingly, no research was cited that has been conducted in linking restorative practices between students in special education and school staff; furthermore, there was no cited research for repairing relationships when students in special education had been subjected to exclusionary discipline strategies and the broken relationships that resulted from these practices. This lack of research

highlights the need to develop a better understanding on how to build and repair relationships between school staff and the special education population. With every restorative practices initiative, the goal is to build and strength relationships as well as to provide strategies to repair broken relationships with all students, especially with students with special needs who have been disproportionately removed, suspended, or expelled. Research with the general education population has shown that by shifting from exclusionary discipline to a restorative practices framework, improves school grades, school attendance, school participation, academic achievements, behavior, and graduation rates. While research and practice has shown significant positive gains in general education, these same practices need to be studied, at the same depth, in special education.

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Immigrant-Native Differences in the Test Score Effect of Living without Both Biological Parents

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Abstract

Using the National Longitudinal Study of Youth, we explore the differences in test scores of children living without both biological parents across two cohorts: immigrant and native families. While our results suggest that the test score disadvantage attributed to living without both biological parents is smaller for immigrants' children than for natives' children, the findings mask important differences by race. There is a smaller penalty for Hispanic immigrants' children, but for Black immigrants' children, a positive effect of immigrant parentage is erased if the child is living without both biological parents. Among non-Hispanic, non-Black children, the effect of family structure is similar for immigrants and natives.

Introduction

More than 20% of the United States population consists of the children of immigrant parents (Luthra and Soehl 2015). This cohort now accounts for an increasing percentage of students within the educational system (Dondero and Humphries 2016). Attending school is often viewed as a mechanism of assimilation for immigrants into American society (Burciaga 2019). As a result, the demographic composition of the classroom is a key factor in the academic development of children in both immigrant and native families (Hermansen and Birkelund 2015). Meanwhile, educational attainment is a strong predictor of household wages in adulthood and a major determinant of socioeconomic status, serving as a catalyst to future financial well-being (Mincer 1974). Consequently, the educational outcomes of children from both immigrant and native families are of paramount importance for their overall success.

The educational performance of children is also impacted by the environment in which they reside, as unstable family structures can negatively affect child development (Lee and McLanahan 2015). The proliferation of single-parent households is of growing concern, with nearly half of women and children living in this type of arrangement at some point in their lives (Bumpass and Raley 1995). Two-parent households tend to have greater resources, face less social stigma, and convey the benefits of emotional well-being that are often deficient in single-parent, blended-parent, and stepparent families (Nieuwenhuis and Maldonado 2018).

While a number of studies have focused on the educational performance of children in immigrant versus native families (e.g., Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998), and in single-parent versus two-parent families (e.g., McLanahan and Sandefur 1984; Bjorklund, Ginther, and Sundstrom 2007) there has been no comprehensive study of the combined effects of parental nativity and family structure on children's educational outcomes. Given that parental nativity and family structure can have profound effects on educational performance, this paper bridges the gap in the literature by addressing both of these areas of concern.

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, we use data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1997 cohort to shed light on the differences in test scores of children living without both biological parents in two distinct groups: immigrant and native families. On average, the children of immigrants academically underperform compared to children in nonimmigrant households

(DeFeyterandWinsler2009). Second, we examine the relative performance of children in immigrant households by race and ethnicity. Our results suggest that the test score disadvantage attributed to living without both biological parents is smaller for immigrants' children than for natives' children. Interestingly, these findings mask differences by race and ethnicity. There is a smaller penalty for Hispanic immigrants' children, but for Black immigrants' children, a positive effect of immigrant parentage is erased if the child is living without both biological parents. Among non-Hispanic, non-Black children, the effect of family structure is similar for immigrants and natives.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows: Section 2 of this paper introduces the NLSY data and variables that we use to determine the influence of parental nativity and family structure on educational performance. Section 3 presents the descriptive statistics and econometric models used along with a discussion of the results. The final section suggests directions for future research.

Data

The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1997 cohort offers a nationally representative panel survey of adolescents born between January 1, 1980, and December 31, 1984. Consisting of 8,984 adolescents, the individuals represented in Round 1 of the survey were between the ages of 12-17 years old when first interviewed in 1997 (Pergamit et al. 2001). Data from the NLSY allows us to analyze important characteristics about the respondents' family structure, parental nativity, and educational performance, making this a suitable dataset for this investigation.

To measure children's educational performance, we utilize test scores from the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) exam. An ASVAB percentile is derived from raw exam score data reported in the NLSY. The exam covers four components: arithmetic reasoning, word knowledge, paragraph comprehension, and mathematics knowledge. Given its broad scope, the ASVAB exam measures cognitive ability more comprehensively than single-subject tests; its use has been widely documented (Mocan and Altindag 2014), as has the general premise of using children's exam scores as a measurement of educational performance (Mohanty and Raut 2009).

The ASVAB was administered in 1997 during Round 1 of the NLSY survey; however, the exam results, along with the variables for Round 3, were not released until 1999. Instances in which no ASVAB score was reported ($n=1,891$) and where parental nativity could not be easily discerned ($n=407$) were omitted. This yields a manageable sample of adolescents ($N=6,686$), for whom both ASVAB scores and parental nativity are known.

Whether the child resides with both biological parents serves as a control for family structure. This parameter takes the value of 1 if a child lives without both of their biological parents and 0 otherwise. As a means of differentiating between native and immigrant parents, we created an immigrant parent (IMMP) dummy variable using information derived from questions in Round 1 (1997), Round 6 (2002), and the cross-rounds surveys. The immigrant parent dummy variable is assigned a value of 1 if a child has at least one immigrant parent; it is set to 0 otherwise.

Other control variables included gender, age, race, ethnicity, mother's education, and household income. We controlled for maternal education via a set of three indicators equal to 1 to indicate whether the mother had no high school diploma, had at least some college education, or data regarding her education were missing. Household income was logged to control for its nonlinear effect on test scores (Loken, Mogstad, and Wiswall 2012).

Methodology and Results

The means and differences in means for the dependent variable, independent continuous variables, and independent indicator variables used in this analysis are reported in Table 1. These parameters are weighted by the Round 1 sampling weights and sorted by parental nativity and family structure. In Column 1, the highest mean ASVAB percentile of 57.57 is reported for native children who reside with both of their biological parents, which is consistent with the notion that two-parent native families are more likely to provide a household environment conducive to the educational well-being of their children.

[See Table 1]

The mean ASVAB percentile for native children who do not live with both of their biological parents is shown in Column 2. In contrast to native children who reside with both biological parents, this

particular group of adolescents scored lower on the ASVAB exam, with a mean percentile of 43.47. Thus, the family structure difference for native children, as reported in Column 3, is -14.10. For native children, we observe that households without both biological parents have a higher concentration of children who are Black relative to households with both biological parents. Column 3 shows that the proportion of Black children as a share of households without both biological parents is 0.24 compared to 0.09 in households with both biological parents. Furthermore, two-biological-parent native families are more likely to reap the benefits of higher household income and also feature a higher percentage of well-educated mothers. Column 3 reports significant family differences for both of these instances.

In Column 4, the mean ASVAB percentile of 48.07 is reported for immigrants' children in two-biological-parent families, which is the second-highest academically performing cohort in this study. Meanwhile, Column 5 reports a mean ASVAB percentile of 38.25 for immigrants' children in non-two-biological-parent families, which is the lowest academically performing group overall. Column 6 lists a significant family structure difference of -9.82 between the two groups of immigrants' children.

Table 1 reports that immigrants' children are more likely to live in a lower-income household than native children. In addition, Table 1 also reveals that Black children have a greater likelihood of living in families without both biological parents, regardless of their parental nativity. Furthermore, the proportion of Hispanic children residing in native households is low compared to immigrant households. It is also clear that the education levels of mothers varied across different types of family structure. In particular, we note that native children in two-biological-parent households have the lowest probability of having a mother without a high school diploma, as displayed in Column 1. Alternatively, immigrants' children in non-two-biological-parent households have the highest probability of having a mother either without a high school diploma or for whom education data is missing. Most striking are the test-score results between family structures. The data reveals that for immigrant families, the average test-score effect of living without both biological parents was -9.82. That figure, compared to a -14.10 difference for native families, suggests that immigrant families have a lower test-score effect of living without both biological parents.

We use difference-in-differences analyses to estimate how the effect of living without both biological parents depends on parental nativity. "In difference-in-differences analyses, the approach is to compare one group that is suspected of being affected by a policy or 'treatment' with one that is assumed to be affected only minimally, if at all" (Bennett, Lu, and Song 2004 p. 691). One limitation of the NLSY is a number of missing data (24%) regarding household income. Haas and Fosse (2008) address this concern by using multiple imputation to impute missing data for household income in the NLSY. We carry out a similar process by using the MI Regress command in STATA. The procedure for utilizing multiple imputation has been well documented (Lall 2016; Von Hippel 2007). Initially, we estimated a model solely with the indicators that the child lives without both biological parents, has an immigrant parent, and has both characteristics.

$$Y_i = X_i \beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{Lives Without Both Biological Parents}_i + \beta_3 \text{Immigrant Parent}_i + \beta_4 \text{Lives Without Both Biological Parents}_i * \text{Immigrant Parent}_i + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

Equation (1) shows the general model used after a set of covariates was added to the model in stages. Y_i represents the ASVAB percentile for the i^{th} child. X_i is a vector of the control variables: Non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, age, female, mother's education, gross household income logged, and household size. We derive an interaction term indicating that a child did not live with both biological parents and had at least one immigrant parent (LWBP x IMMP). LWBP was assigned a value of 1, even if the child lived with two parents but only one (or none) was a biological parent; LWBP was otherwise assigned a value of 0.

The estimated coefficient of the interaction term $LWBP_i * IMMP_i, \beta_4$, gives a measure of how the penalty of living without both biological parents differs for immigrants compared to native families. This initial measure without covariate controls was then adjusted in stages to remove the effect of the aforementioned variables. Furthermore, the components of X were subsequently added to the raw

difference-in-difference regression. Model 2, Column 2 adds the child's demographic characteristics; Model 3, Column 3 adds controls for the mother's education, logged household income, and household size. Regression analyses are unweighted when particular demographic characteristics are oversampled (Solon, Haider and Wooldridge 2015). For this reason, regressions accounting for Black race and Hispanic ethnicity are unweighted.

Table 2 provides the unweighted regression results of the difference in the effect of living without both biological parents (LWBP) using multiple imputation for log income. Results are similar in magnitude and significance to those without imputation. According to the results in Table 2, Column 1 shows that a significant difference was observed in the gap for native and immigrant families, with immigrants' children having a noticeably smaller effect of living without both biological parents.

[See Table 2]

When we controlled for the child's demographics, mother's education, income, household size, and geographic location (Column 3), the effect of living without both biological parents grew smaller and became statistically significant. The point estimates suggest that after accounting for variations in the independent variables, both sets of immigrant families are not significantly different from their native counterparts with the same family structure.

Table 3 reexamines the relative ASVAB performance of immigrants' children by race while using multiple imputation for log income, a process which allowed the sample size to remain consistent for each race category. Results are similar to those obtained without multiple imputation for income in sign, size, and significance. For non-Hispanic, non-Black children, the results in both Column 1 and Column 2 were not significantly different for immigrants' children than those for native children in similar family structures.

[See Table 3]

Columns 3 and 4 provide the results for Black children, where one can observe considerable differences in the educational performance of children by family structure and parental nativity. Children from native, Black, two-biological-parent families underperformed compared to immigrants' children from two-biological-parent households. The effect of living without both biological parents for Black immigrants' children was thus wider than that of native children, which all but eliminates the positive immigrant effect for this group. Conversely, the effect was exactly the opposite for Hispanic immigrants' children as reported in Column 5 and Column 6, with the immigrant effect being negative and the penalty of living without both parents being smaller among immigrants.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

This is the first study to investigate the educational outcomes of children living without both biological parents in native and immigrant families. Our main finding is that the test-score effect of living without both biological parents was lower for immigrants' children than for native children. A closer examination of these findings reveals a stark contrast in the test-score effect for immigrants' children by race and ethnicity. Indeed, the positive results obtained by pooling all the races and ethnicities together are particularly striking and largely driven by Hispanic families.

For Hispanic children, a significant negative effect of living without both biological parents is almost completely offset for the children of immigrants such that they perform no differently than other immigrant children who live with both biological parents. This result is robust to the addition of a standard set of covariates in our model. The lack of a family structure effect among immigrants adds to the already extensive literature suggesting that single parenthood in and of itself is not the main cause of lower performance among children from nontraditional families.

Among non-Hispanics who are not Black, immigrants do not perform differently than their native counterparts. For non-Hispanic Blacks, there is a positive immigrant effect, which completely offsets any negative effects of living without both biological parents. Perhaps most informative are the results indicating that Black immigrants' children who live without both biological parents are not significantly different from Black native children who live with both biological parents. This begs the question of why no effect is observed for Black immigrants' children in absent parent(s) households. Clearly, this is an important topic that warrants further research.

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Albany's Jews: Creating a Community

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If thou out of that oppressed race
Whose name's proverb and whose lot's disgrace
 Brave the Atlantic---
Hope's broad anchor weigh.
 A Western Sun will
Gild your future day.

This poem by Jewess Penina Moise, entitled "To Persecuted Foreigners," written in 1820 suggested the plight of Jews who came from Germany and central Europe to America and settled in Albany. Unable to find work or marry and limited where they could live or work poor Jews from central Europe sought a refuge in the United States between 1815-1870. Jews from the German states, especially Bavaria, which refused to recognize Jews as equal citizens migrated to Albany. The creation of a Jewish community in Albany parallels the establishment of Jewish communities in other upstate New York cities, like Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester. It also paralleled the development of Jewish communities in nearby Schenectady and Troy. Jewish immigrants came primarily, but not exclusively from southern German states, because of restrictive laws on marriage, property ownership, taxes, occupations, and citizenship. About half of Jewish immigrants came from German states, and half from Alsace region of France in the west to Lithuania and Poland in the Russian Empire on the east. Altogether about 250,000 to 300,000 Jews emigrated from Europe. As a result of this immigration, Jews created "one thousand significant Jewish settlements in at least thirty-two states four territories, and Washington, D.C." Unlike the many one generational Jewish ghost towns founded between 1820-1870 Albany became home for a permanent Jewish community that has lasted for two hundred years. ¹

An appeal by Congregation Shearith Israel, the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States, located in New York City, for financial help to build a new synagogue suggests that several Jewish merchants lived in Albany in the early 19th Century. Jeremiah Wasserman, for example, owned a dry goods store in the 1820s. Levy Solomons, the best documented Jewish merchant, ran a chocolate and snuff business and later owned a snuff mill. Most Jewish immigrants worked as small shopkeepers, peddlers, tinsmiths, or tailors. The 1833-34 Albany directory revealed that Jews were tinsmiths, like Isaac Kagan and Samuel Fischer, or tailors, like Bernard Levy. Peddling, however, became the primary occupation of Jewish immigrants in Albany and throughout upstate New York. From 1842-1850, Jews comprised 52% to 75% of the peddlers in Albany. Julius Gerson, for example, a peddler, became the president of Beth El, the first synagogue in Albany. Representative of the poverty of these Jewish immigrants he lacked the money to buy a horse and cart forcing him to travel on foot around the Capital District as a peddler. ²

Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise recorded that most of his congregations, Beth El and Anshe Emeth were peddlers. Originally, Wise met a peddler from Albany of Polish origin in New Haven in 1846 who suggested he should seek employment in Albany because of the quality of his preaching, but "I paid little attention to this, for I had no idea where Albany was." Later, when a Palestinian messenger visited Albany and asked Wise for a contribution from his congregation to support Jews in Palestine, Wise told him to return around Passover because most the male members of his congregation were out on the road peddling. Isaac Marx, who became a member of Congregation Anshe Emeth, started out as a poor

peddler. Someone who met him on the road noted: "I met a pedlar [sic] named Marx from Albany, and an immigrant from Wurtemberg. [sic] This unfortunate man has been driving himself in this miserable trade for three years to furnish a bare living for himself and his family." In the 1850s, about one quarter of congregation Beth El and Anshe Emeth worked as peddlers. Two-thirds of Syracuse Jewish males in the 1850s were peddlers. Descriptions of early Jewish residents, whether in Troy, Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Newburgh, Utica, or Rochester emphasized that Jews worked as peddlers, tailors or ran small shops. Samuel Reznick, who wrote a history of Troy's Reform synagogue, Berith Sholom, noted that the first Jews arriving in Troy "were modest people, tailors, peddlers, and merchants." Peddling did provide a common experience for Jewish men and "unifying force, one step on the road towards creating an American Jewish community."³

Initially, the wealth of the Jewish community was limited. In an appeal, "Schnorr-Zettel," of November 12, 1839 Jews appealed for financial help to establish the first synagogue in Albany, Beth El. Individuals met at homes of Jewish residents starting in 1836 to honor the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. This group of German speaking Jews from Bavaria and Posen acquired a Torah. By March 12, 1838, the informal congregation met at the home of Mayer Rais to formally create Beth El (House of God) with Mayer Rais as chairman of the board of trustees. On April 13, 1839, the congregation purchased a burial ground, since Jews required burial in consecrated ground of a Jewish cemetery. By December 16, 1839, they purchased a house for the first synagogue.⁴

Members admitted "most of our number are poor, and none are wealthy." Jews established Beth El with "scanty means." Isaac Mayer Wise, the primary founder of Reform Judaism in the United States became rabbi and commented on the poverty of his congregation in 1850. In the Jewish community "few families in Albany had parlors furnished with carpets...The majority lived in two or three rooms." Women of the congregation lacked money for good clothes and men drank three cent beers and smoked three cent cigars, suggesting the modest means of these Jewish immigrants. An account by Anthony Rosenstock of a peddler who arrived in Albany in 1855, noted that although his family acquired a small store on Madison Avenue near South Pearl Street the lack of money and room forced the peddler to sleep in a box under the counter of the store where "I slept for two years." From there he traveled around the Capital District peddling jewelry, returning to his box bed under the counter at night. These experiences paralleled those of other Jewish immigrants from the German states and central Europe who settled in upstate New York from the 1820s to the 1870s.⁵

Almost immediately divisions split the Jewish community. Beth El followed a southern German Jewish ritual which a Jewish traveler visiting Albany in the late 1850s described as "the ritual that of Fuerth" in Bavaria. While a majority came from the German states it included a minority from Hungary and Polish speaking Jews from Posen. A dissident group of Polish speaking Jews split off to organize Beth El Jacob. Led by Simon Cohen, Simon Newburg, and Samuel Minster, the new congregation adopted minhag Polin, the Polish ritual. The new congregation incorporated on February 22, 1841, and acquired a separate burial ground and synagogue building in 1841. Splits between Jewish immigrants based on ethnicity and ritual were typical, especially over German, or Polish rituals in synagogue observance. Jews from the same region in Europe felt more comfortable praying with people with similar experiences and backgrounds, preferring to join synagogues with landsmen rather than Jews from other parts of Europe, "making the term Jewish unity an oxymoron." In many Jewish communities across New York, these splits developed, for example, in Utica, Syracuse, and Troy in the 1850s.⁶

Arriving in 1846, Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise initiated innovation and division in the community. Wise introduced changes like a mixed choir and the elimination of certain prayers and religious poetry, normal parts of an Orthodox prayer service. Members of the congregation revolted on September 5, 1850 threatening to void his contract. When he arrived to officiate at Rosh Hashanah services on September 7, 1850, officers of the congregation prevented him from leading the service. A donnybrook ensued leading to the arrest of Wise and several synagogue members. By October 11, 1850, Wise and several supporters left Beth El forming congregation Anshe Emeth, the fourth oldest Reform synagogue in the United States. Simon Rosendale and I.J. Benjamin described members of Anshe Emeth as primarily Germans, but Wise wrote his supporters included Hungarians and Polish speaking Jews. Divisions within American Judaism

deepened as Isaac Mayer Wise emerged as the champion of Reform Judaism. Later, further divisions developed between 1911 and 1929 as congregations in Albany, Schenectady, and Troy established a new branch of Judaism, Conservative Judaism, which fell between Reform and Orthodox, mirroring the split that emerged throughout congregations in the United States and central and western Europe.⁷

By the mid-1850s a few Jewish merchants moved up economically as revealed in the 1855 census. Gradually, over the next thirty-five years members succeeded economically creating a Jewish middle class. In 1885, Mayor John Body Thatcher, while delivering a speech at the laying of a cornerstone for the new Beth Emeth building, commented on the economic success of the “Israelitish community.” Few Jews became wealthy, but many had moved into the comfortable middle class by the 1880s. Political leaders recognized Jews as an integral part of the community from Mayor William Parmelee’s attendance at the dedication of a new building for congregation Beth El Jacob in April 28, 1848 to Thatcher’s appearance in 1885. When Albany celebrated its 200th anniversary in 1886, prominent member of Anshe Emeth Simon Rosendale was on the planning committee, and Rabbi Max Schlesinger played a leading role in the public festivities delivering the major sermon and leading service in Hebrew. Another service was held at Beth El Jacob with Rabbi Distillator giving a sermon on the progress of Jews in America “ending with a prayer for the city officials.” By the mid-1880s political leaders recognized Jews as an integral part of the community.⁸

However, the comfort level of Albany’s Jews got strained by the arrival of thousands of Jews from the Russian Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empire starting in the 1870s. Two million Jews fled Russia for America, one third of the Jewish population in the Russian Empire. While Jews made up five percent of the Russian population, they made up fifty percent of the emigrants. Restrictions on where Jews could live and work, May Laws of 1882, the expulsions of 1891, pogroms of 1869, 1881-82 and 1903-05 produced the mass flight of Russian Jews. Poverty and economic dislocation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire forced twenty-two percent of its Jews to travel to the United States. Jews came to stay for while one third to one quarter of all immigrants returned to their home countries only about five percent of Jews left the United States. Most of the Jews who left the Russian Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, or Romania from 1870-1924 who ended up in Albany “were the proste yidn---simple and poor,” the huddled masses, yearning to breathe free.⁹

The Jewish population in Albany was 772 in 1855, enough to support the three synagogues. By the mid-1880s the population rose to 3,000 and reached 4,000 in 1900. In 1900, Polish and Russian Jews comprised 2,500 of the total Jewish population. By the time mass immigration stopped due to the restrictive immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 Albany’s Jewish population stood at 9,000 to 10,000. Beth El and Anshe Emeth merged in 1885 to become Beth Emeth, a Reform congregation. New arrivals would not join a Reform synagogue and even Polish dominated Beth El Jacob appeared uncomfortable. This led to establishment of new congregations, Sons of Abraham and the United Brethren Society, to serve the most recent Jewish immigrants. Members of Sons of Abraham, like their German and Polish predecessors in Albany, became peddlers, tinsmiths, tailors, and small merchants. In 1892, 37% of the peddlers in Albany were Jewish as peddling became a primary occupation of a new generation of Jewish immigrants. These new immigrants incorporated their synagogue on June 26, 1882. A new group of Russian and Polish Jews arrived in the 1890s and started meeting separately for religious services. They organized on August 22, 1905, as Agudath Achim (United Brethren Society). Members of Sons of Abraham called them ash-men because of their poverty and peddling “of the poorest kind.” Sons of Abraham members described the new congregation as “Cossack’s Synagogue” while members of United Brethren proudly proclaimed themselves to be “only strictly orthodox synagogue in the city using the Chasidic Prayer-book.”¹⁰

The immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 cut off more Jewish immigration to Albany. Jewish numbers in Albany stabilized, and the Albany Jewish Community Council estimated from 1924 to 1947 the population remained about 9,400. A few Holocaust survivors arrived between 1948-1955, and in the late 1970s the Council estimated 13,500 Jews lived in the Albany area, the largest Jewish community north of the New York City suburbs. In the late 1970s and early 1990s, about 1,500 Soviet Jews resettled in Albany. As part of the pattern repeated in other Jewish communities, Jews began to leave Albany for

suburbia after World War II to the surrounding towns of Delmar, Colonie, Glenmont, Clifton Park, Voorheesville, and Slingerlands. However, the synagogues remained in Albany, which made Albany slightly different from Syracuse or Buffalo where Jews abandoned urban synagogues to create new ones in the suburbs.¹¹

Albany's Lower East Side

South Pearl Street emerged in the 19th Century as a major commercial and business center in downtown Albany, and Jewish immigrants resided in neighboring streets. By 1850, a local newspaper, *Albany Express*, credited a Mr. Sampson with starting the development of the area and noted: "He succeeded in doing a lively business, and was quickly followed by many Jews, who were, at the time, not well known in the city." This is partially incorrect since political leaders were well aware of the Jewish presence, but many Albanians may not have focused on this tiny religious minority. Over the next twenty-five years the South End of Albany became a Jewish neighborhood centered near South Pearl Street and Madison Avenue between larger Irish and German neighborhoods in the First, Second, and Third Wards. Synagogues in nearby streets, like Ferry, Basset, and Herkimer, reinforced the identification of this section of Albany as the major Jewish neighborhood of the middle and late 19th Century.¹²

A study done of Jewish residential patterns for 1876 found a concentration of Jews in the streets near and off South Pearl, like Grand, Madison, Herkimer, and Hudson with the largest numbers of Jews living on South Pearl and Westerlo. Interviewed in 1936, Morris Sherman remembered the Jewish section in 1882 "centered around Broad, Trinity, and Madison Avenues," while the wealthiest German Jews lived around Trinity Place and Madison Avenue and the poor recent immigrants from Poland and Russia resided on Green, South Pearl, Westerlo, and Schuyler Streets. This residential segregation between the wealthier German Jews and poor immigrants from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires were also played out in the relocation and dedication of the new synagogue of Beth Emeth up the hill off Lark Street. (representing the merger of Beth El and Anshe Emeth), the Reform congregation of primarily German Jews and their children compared to the Orthodox synagogues of Polish and Russian Jews.¹³

Reflecting their higher status, assimilation, and prosperity, German Jews by the end of the century "were already conducting their lives on elite streets---Madison Avenue, Grand, Lancaster, State, Willett--and they could and did hold themselves socially and geographically aloof" from the East European Jewish immigrants. The movement of Beth Emeth to a newly constructed synagogue on Lancaster reflected this status change. The division between German Jews and more recent immigrants got played out in New York City and in upstate Jewish communities. Albany was hardly unique in the socio-economic divisions among Jews. German Jews moved further away from "downtown Jews" by 1916 residing in the Pine Hills neighborhood, an ethnically mixed upper middle-class section of Albany, where Jews managed to overcome "a gentleman's agreement to keep Jews" from certain streets in Pine Hills. While German Jews and their descendants were able to overcome some of the anti-Semitic residential segregation, they could not overcome the socio-economic anti-Semitism. Even the most successful Jew of German ancestry knew not to try to have lunch at the University Club or Fort Orange Club in downtown Albany or the Mohawk Club in Schenectady which barred Jews until the 1970s. Higher status did not bring acceptance into the clubs, country clubs, or hotels in Albany, Schenectady, or Saratoga Springs. To the Gentiles of the Anglo-Dutch elite Jews remained Jews, whether they were the *proste yidn* poor from Eastern Europe or the upwardly mobile Jews of German ancestry. Local educational institutions, like Albany Academy for Girls, Albany Medical College, and Union College in Schenectady, adopted quotas to limit the mobility of Albany's Jews from the 1920s to the 1970s. All Jews had to remain vigilant in the 1920s and 1930s because the anti-Semitic Ku Klux Klan hosted several chapters in the Capital District. Obviously, Jews were not invited to the picnic and *Konklave* of the Tri-County Klan in 1930 or to the meeting of the pro-Nazi German American Bund in March 1938 when it celebrated Hitler's occupation of Austria.¹⁴

For Russian and Polish Jews arriving from the 1880s to the 1920s, the South End, especially, South Pearl Street, emerged as the center of Jewish businesses and as the symbol of Jewish life in Albany. One of the more colorful businessmen was Leon Malmed, who ran a deli/restaurant, was a leading anarchist,

and supporter and sometime lover of Emma Goldman. There were Yiddish theater performances in local theaters, kosher meat markets, bakeries, and restaurants. Three Orthodox synagogues, the socialist Workmen's Circle, and the Hebrew Institute were in the South end. One could hear Emma Goldman lecture on feminism, social justice, or anarchism in English, Russian, or Yiddish.

As an example, Walter Hyman, left Russian Poland in 1908, moved to the South End, and ran Hyman Fish Market for fifty years. Hyman was a member of Orthodox Sons of Abraham. In 1881, Aaron and Solomon Allen arrived in Albany from Russia fleeing the pogroms and found work as tailors in the South End. Aaron and Bessie Silberg arrived in Albany in 1892 on their honeymoon. Aaron worked as a peddler selling sheets, pillowcases, and socks while his wife took in boarders. She did their laundry and made them meals for two dollars a week. Anna Strisower left Vilna in Lithuania with her mother in 1882 to join her father in Albany. At age seventeen, she married Maurice Strisower, who owned a grocery store on South Pearl Street. Her uncle, who remained in Lithuania, was arrested by the Russian police and the family never heard from him again. Mrs. Harriet Gibbor's maternal grandparents came to Albany in the 1880s, got married in Sons of Abraham and opened a hardware and houseware store on South Pearl Street. Henry Sontz's family left Ukraine after the pogroms in 1903 settling in Albany. As a child Henry and other Jewish children attended the Hebrew Educational Institute that opened in 1910. By 1910, Jews shared part of the South End with recently arrived Italian immigrants who built a church on Grand Street. By this point, many of the Jewish immigrants chose Albany because family members already lived in the South End. The last groups of Jews from Eastern Europe arrived between 1921 and 1924 as the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and National Origins Act of 1924 closed the doors to Jewish immigration.¹⁵

After World War I, Jews began moving "up the hill" as some Polish and Russian Jews and their children reached a modicum of economic security. The South End remained a Jewish neighborhood where the synagogues, Jewish institutions, and businesses were located. However, some Jewish businesses, like Spector's men's clothing store, moved in the 1920s and 1930s to Central Avenue. Support for a boycott of German exports discussed in 1938 after Kristallnacht by the merchants' association suggested the transition to a Jewish business district. Part of the Jewish population moved uptown with the businesses. "As more and more immigrants rose from peddlers to becoming merchants and property owners, the population": moved to Central Avenue and to homes on Delaware Avenue.¹⁶

Jews also moved into the Pine Hills following the upper middle class German Jews and their Americanized descendants. Conservative Judaism emerged in Albany because the children of Orthodox Jews no longer spoke Yiddish as their primary language, preferred mixed seating and left the South End. Reform Judaism of Beth Emeth represented too radical a change from traditional Judaism and was identified with the Germans. Congregation Tifereth Israel began at "Schwartz's Mansion" on Woodlawn Avenue in 1936 in Pine Hills. Jewish residents of Delaware Avenue started Congregation Sons of Israel as a Hebrew school before turning it into a synagogue in 1935. A third Conservative congregation, Ohav Sholom, began in 1911 because Jewish families began to move uptown "too far away from the Jewish section to walk to Sabbath services." From the 1950s to the 1990s synagogues found new homes as Jews abandoned downtown, Central Avenue, and Delaware Avenue relocating to the suburbs or to the Buckingham Pond area. Synagogues relocated to New Scotland Avenue, Academy Road, Whitehall Road, and Krumkill Road where the six Albany synagogues are located in 2021. This mirrors the earlier shifts of Jewish population in Albany and in other cities, like Syracuse, Utica, and Rochester.¹⁷

Until about 1950 the South End and South and North Pearl Streets remained the major business district of Albany. Population shifts, suburbanization, shopping malls, and Governor Nelson Rockefeller's creation of Empire State Plaza killed Albany's downtown. Jewish residents who grew up in the South End remembered shopping on South Pearl Street at the kosher meat markets, like Strauss's, kosher delicatessens, like Zimmerman's, Kessler's drugstore, and Boochever's furs. Nearby on North Pearl Street were the Jewish department stores, Saul's Clothing and Muhlfelder's. As late as 1950 when David Mogilensky moved to Albany from Brooklyn, he joined Sons of Abraham downtown. Hebrew schools, kosher bakeries, and the Kosher slaughterhouse were downtown. Many Jewish businesses were still on South Pearl Street, and you could go to a candy store and buy Jewish newspapers. Henry Sontz continued

to run Snappy Men's Shop until the late 1970s. Sontz remembered the Kosher restaurants, Rappaport and Falkow's from his younger days when South Pearl Street was the vital center of the Jewish community. Summing up the Jewish experience, Thomas Martin wrote, "The South End remained a desirable workplace and business center for the first half of the twentieth century and Jewish businesses remained and prospered during the time." Today, population changes, decline of Orthodox Judaism, the dispersion of the Jewish community, and suburbanization have wiped out Albany's Jewish Lower East Side. As Jews moved from peddlers to professionals they abandoned the old neighborhoods, something that has happened in every Jewish community in upstate New York.¹⁸

¹ Poem from Hasia Diner, *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 211. Also, see Rabbi Naphtali Rubinger, (Conservative Ohav Sholom), "Albany Jewry in the Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss.: Yeshiva University, 1971); Louis Silver, "The Jews of Albany," *YIVO Annual of Social Science* (1954): 221-22; Gerald Sorin, *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880-1920* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 5.

² Silver, "Jews of Albany" : 221-22; Rubinger, "Albany Jewry," 190-191; For Julius Gerson, Peddlers License Books, 1840-1900, Secretary of State, New York State Archives, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

³ Rubinger, "Albany Jewry," 191; Isaac Mayer Wise, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati: Leo Wise and Co., 1901 1st edition, New York: Central Synagogue, 1945, 2nd edition), 28. 47 Diner, *A Time for Gathering*, 68; Samuel Reznick, *A Century of Temple Berith Sholom* (Cohoes, Richman Press, 1966), 5.

⁴ Simon Rosendale and Max Schlesinger, "A History of the Jewish Community of Albany, 1836-1910," in *Beth Emeth Annual* (Albany, Beth Emeth Congregation, 1910), 37. Copy available Beth Emeth Archives, Albany, New York. Original "Schnorr-Zettel" Beth Emeth Archives. Also, see Congregation Beth Emeth Records, Collection MS 429, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio; Incorporation Papers, Beth Emeth, August 1, 1838, Albany County Records Office, Albany. See Beth El records, some in German, Collection MS 518, American Jewish Archives. Some Beth El records are in Beth Emeth Archives.

⁵ Wise, *Reminiscences*, 47, 165, 191-192; Rubinger, "Albany Jewry," 48, 51; Silver, "Jews in Albany," : 225.

⁶ Incorporation Papers of Beth El Jacob, February 22, 1841, "Church Patents of Albany County," Book 1, 250, Albany County Records Office; Charles Reznickoff, translator, of I.J. Benjamin's *Three Years in America, 1859-1862* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1956), Vol. 1, 284; Wise, *Reminiscences*, 165; Diner, *A Time for Gathering*, 119.

⁷ Wise, *Reminiscences*, 163-66; Rosendale, "Jewish Community," 46-52; Silver, "Jews in Albany," 232-33; Rubinger, "Albany Jewry," 143; Incorporation Papers, Anshe Emeth, October 11, 1850, approved April 12, 1851, "Church Patents of Albany County, Book II, 19, Albany County Records Office; Benjamin, *Three Years*, 284. Also, Congregation Beth Emeth records, Collection MS-429, American Jewish Archives; Isaac Mayer Wise Papers, Collection MS 436, American Jewish Archives.

⁸ Rubinger, 198-208; *Albany Argus*, April 29, 1848; *Albany Evening Journal*, September 19, 1885; A Bleeker Banks, *Albany Bi-Centennial, 1686-1886* (Albany and New York: Banks and Brothers, 1888), Schlesinger's role, 92-95, Rabbi Distillator, 193.

⁹ Sorin, *A Time for Building*, 14, 18 *Proste yidn* is a Yiddish term for poor common people, the average Jews immigrating to America

¹⁰ Congregation Beth Abraham-Jacob Dedication Booklet, March 9, 1991, 13; Silver, "Jews of Albany," 240. Haim Shiber, the first chairman of the United Brethren, informed Silver of these events in 1936; Certificate of Incorporation, United Brethren Society. August 22, 1905, Box 1, Albany Jewish Community files, Special Collections, State University of New York at Albany; Carlyle Adams, "Judaism," *Albany Times Union*, November 17, 1957; Morris Gerber, *Pictorial History of Albany's Jewish Community* (Albany: Morris Gerber, 1986), 47. Gerber was a long-term reporter and photographer for one of the Albany newspapers before retiring to Israel. Some of his photos of the Albany Jewish community are at the Albany Institute of History and Art.

¹¹ Figures from Hannah Applebaum, “The Jewish Community in Albany: Then and Now,” (Unpublished paper, 1985), used copy at Albany County Records Office, William Kennedy, *O Albany!* (New York: Viking Press, 1983), 220; Jewish Community Council, *Shalom Albany* (Albany: Council, 1976), 7 *Jewish Communal Survey of Albany, October 1947*,” Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds, (Unpublished report), 13, Albany County Records Office.

¹² *Albany Express*, December 14, 1850; Rubinger, “Albany Jewry,” 191; Sol Goldenberg, “A Study of Jewish Immigration and Residence Patterns in Albany, New York in 1876,” (Unpublished paper, 1977), Albany County Records Office; Thomas Martin, “Urban Ethnic Dispersal in American Cities: The Example of Jews in the South End of Albany between 1876-1939,” (Unpublished paper, 1976), 6-8, Albany County Records Office.

¹³ Silver, “Jews of Albany,” 239; Martin, “Urban Ethnic Dispersal,” 6-9; Applebaum, “Jewish Community,” 5.

¹⁴ Kennedy, *O’ Albany!* 120-121. The Beth Emeth building on Lancaster became an African American church in the mid-1950s when the congregation built a new synagogue on Academy Road because of the movement of the Jewish population. For anti-Semitism, Harvey Strum, “Anti-Semitism,” *New York History Review Annual Edition*. Vol. 14:1 (December 2020): 141-64. Also, Ira Zimmerman, “Anti-Semitism in Albany, 1933-1945.” (Unpublished paper, 1975), Albany County Records Office.

¹⁵ Transcript of Oral History Interview with Walter Hyman by Kay Wilkie, August 23, 1977. *Albany Knickerbocker News*, October 3, 1980; Oral History Report of Mrs. Harriet Gibbor to Martin Walder, July 25, 1977; *Albany Knickerbocker News*, August 18, 1981; Oral History Report of Henry Sontz by Matthew Rugero, October 1977; *Albany Times Union*, July 18, 1976. The interviews were done by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs between 1975-1981 about the South End and Jewish life. Transcripts and tapes available at the Albany County Records Office. Also, see Kennedy, *O’ Albany!* 222-25; Applebaum, “The Jewish Community,” 5. For Malmed and Emma see Emma Goldman Papers, University of California at Berkeley and the Leon Malmed and Emma Goldman Correspondence, MC332, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

¹⁶ Applebaum, “The Jewish Community,” 5.

¹⁷ Rabbi Baruch Friedman-Kohl, “A Brief History of Congregation Ohav Sholom,” in Anne Roberts and Marcia Cockrell, eds., *Historic Albany: Its Churches and Synagogues* (Albany: Library Communications Services, 1986), 146; Also, see Donald Cashman, “Temple Israel,” 118, 140 in the above.

¹⁸ Oral History Report of David Mogilensky, March 14, 1980, Albany County Records Office; Thomas Martin, “Urban Ethnic Dispersal,” 14-15; *Albany Times Union*, July 18, 1976; Kennedy, *O’ Albany!* 224.

An Environmental Assessment of the Cannabis Industry In Pursuit of Becoming Green, Sustainable, and Carbon-Neutral

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Keywords. Cannabis, marijuana, hemp, sustainable, carbon neutral, environmental, eco-friendly, water usage

Abstract.

Many new industries use terms like ‘green,’ ‘sustainable,’ or ‘carbon-neutral’ as an attempt to improve market share and grow a business. The Cannabis and Hemp sectors are no different. There have been numerous claims at being ‘eco-friendly’ businesses but the reality is very different. This emerging industry, environmentalists, and policy-makers need to evaluate this sector’s potential impacts on the environment, especially with regards to water, air, energy, and hazardous waste management.

Origins of Cannabis.

According to subfossil pollen and archaeobotanical studies, *Cannabis* originated in Tibet more than 28 million years ago.¹ Researchers estimate that the plant reached Europe approximately 6 million years ago.² Civilizations across the world would cultivate Cannabis for food (especially the seeds), fibers (for rope and paper), and as part of religious ceremonies (intoxicant effect).³ One author suggested that Cannabis was among the first plants to be cultivated by mankind.⁴ Religious (and medicinal) usages of Cannabis have their roots in China and India.⁵ In fact, a popular legend has it that Chinese Emperor Shennong taught his people how to grow hemp around 2800 B.C.⁶ Over time, cotton fibers would replace much of the Hemp crops, but Cannabis retained its therapeutic and religious importance.⁷ As a note, the

distinction between Cannabis and Hemp is significant. Cannabis is generally associated with medical-health or recreational usage (due to THC levels). Hemp has agricultural or industrial applications. Western medicine would become familiar with the effects of Cannabis during the 19th century when a variety of therapeutic usages would be suggested.⁸ Later, India then Persian and Greece then the Romans would discover the properties associated with hemp production.⁹ There is little evidence to suggest that Cannabis played a significant intoxicant role in Greece or Rome.¹⁰

Enter Science.

Carl Linnaeus (1753) would classify the genus Cannabis and the species *C.sativa* and *C.indica*.¹¹ The former is taller while the other is shorter.¹² As the cultivation of the plant spread from China and India to Europe and later to South America and then to the Colonies (Jamestown 1611), scientists extended their research from classification to cultivation to medicinal usages.¹³ William B. O'Shaughnessy is credited with first systematic study (1839) while serving the British Raj at the Medical College of Calcutta.¹⁴ His work reported Cannabis as being "reasonably safe" and having "analgesic and sedative properties."¹⁵ Those with seizures and anxiety were also found responsive. According to researchers, more than 100 scientific articles were published from 1840-1900 advancing Cannabis' therapeutic values.¹⁶ Typically, Cannabis was either made into an elixir or smoked.

An amazing (and tragic) health footnote, because of racism and ethnophobia, it has taken 'science' almost 150 years to get back to where Cannabis is being seriously studied for its medical and pharmaceutical worth.¹⁷ Wars often bring, inter alia, advances in technology and medicine; albeit at a high price. The American Civil War found soldiers being treated for a wide range of battle injuries, especially infections, with elixirs made with Cannabis.¹⁸ Most reported positive responses.

American physician J.B. Mattison published (1887) in the *Lancet* an article regarding relief from cocaine addictions.¹⁹ Then, four years later (1891) he published a landmark treatise in the *St. Louis Medical and Surgical Journal* on the effects of Cannabis in treating migraines, pain, nausea, and, again, addictions.²⁰ Serious scientific studies were expanding the potential use for Cannabis. Research all but came to a halt as policymakers attempted to regulate Cannabis.

In many ways, the world has forgotten what they once knew about the medicinal benefits of Cannabis.²¹ As such, health professionals are trying to re-learn what was once known.

Regulating Weed.

The attempt to regulate Cannabis, whether Marijuana or Hemp, has a long, complicated history in the US.²² There are social, cultural, economic, and political aspects that must be understood.²³ The facts are plain: regulating Cannabis (not necessarily Hemp) has its history in the government attempting to raise revenue (through taxes), then control purity (through food and drug regulations), and then to control minority (Blacks and Hispanics and other immigrants) communities.²⁴ The major acts in the US are summarized below:

- *Pure Food and Drug Act* (1906); label medicinal products
- *Harrison Narcotics Tax Act* (1914); occupational taxes on products
- *Narcotic Drug Import and Export Act* (1922); linked ‘Marihuana’ with other narcotics
- Federal Narcotics Control Board (1930); replaced later with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and was housed within the Treasury Department; first ‘Drug Czar’ was Harry J. Anslinger (his quotes are masterpieces in propaganda)²⁵
- *Uniform State Narcotic Drug Act* (1932); Cannabis classified as a narcotic
- *Marijuana Tax Act* (1937); tax all sales as a “prohibitive method”
- *The Boggs Act* (1951); an amendment to the 1922 act that added “mandatory sentencing” for possession and intent to distribute²⁶

It is important to note that not all federal and state officials ‘bought into’ the hysteria surrounding Cannabis. Not everyone saw *Reefer Madness* and believed it. New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia commissioned a report in 1944 that countered many of Anslinger’s claims concerning Cannabis leading to a life of crime (the ‘Criminality Theory’) or being the entry to a world of harder drugs (the ‘Gateway Theory’).²⁷ In other words, the basis for all policy against Cannabis was false or unproven. Yet, the power of Anslinger would overshadow science and research for decades.

War on Drugs.

Following the counter-culture of the 1960s, President Richard Nixon wanted to increase the fines and penalties for drug usage. Woodstock had a profound impact on American culture exposing many to a world of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. Nixon asked Pennsylvania Governor Raymond Shaffer to assemble a commission to offer guidance to Congress. The Shaffer Commission largely agreed with the *LaGuardia Report* (and tons of medical professionals in the US and around the world).²⁸ Specifically, the Shaffer Commission objected to Marijuana being classified as a Schedule I drug (meaning: highly addictive with no medical benefits; alongside Heroin).

Nixon was furious. Regardless of the science, public opinion, or the findings of a bipartisan commission, he wanted to further demonize Marijuana as a way to break up communities of color that opposed his policies.²⁹ Hippie whites and radical blacks were his main targets.³⁰ So much about current legislation is based on undoing the damage done to communities of color and allowing them to be included in this new economic opportunity.³¹ Some states over the past decade have begun to evaluate their Cannabis laws from an affirmative action perspective to reestablish (or establish?) rights lost during the last few decades.³²

The 'War on Drugs' had a new law: The *Controlled Substances Act of 1970*. Not only did this new act target Cannabis or Marijuana, but the efforts of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) almost eradicated industrial Hemp production.³³ But the negative impacts in certain communities accelerated during the Ronald Reagan presidency. The War on Drugs saw massive increases in arrests among poor whites and all black.³⁴ Those debunked notions of Marijuana leading to crime or a gateway to harder drugs had been resurrected under Reagan (then Bush and Clinton and Bush, Jr).³⁵

Around the World.

Internationally, Cannabis was part of the early discussions of the doomed League of Nations.³⁶ Following World War II, Cold War rivalries saw the US pushing for a *Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs* (1961); thus, creating a United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime.³⁷ Despite the evidence to support Cannabis being a narcotic, decades of misinformation and propaganda made this classification easy. Ultimately, an

international drug regime would be forged from more conventions and protocols and multilateral agreements.³⁸ The focus of this regime, besides controlling illegal drugs, has been on establishing and eradicating linkages between human traffickers, organized crime, and terrorism groups with narcotics.³⁹

Just recently, the Office on Drugs and Crime held one of their thematic discussions in Vienna (October 2021) to consider challenges faced by the United Nations and its member states in combating narcotics. Discussion about individual nations relaxing or decriminalizing Marijuana for recreational usages was a major point of disagreement.⁴⁰

The Rules have Changed.

Because of the current debate, many countries are “rethinking” their domestic and international policies⁴¹ This could have a profound impact on conventions ranging from monetary to human rights to climate change. The passage of the 2018 Farm Bill was monumental. Congress cleared the fields for Hemp to regulated as an agricultural product and regulated by the US Department of Agriculture (USDA).⁴² Thus, Hemp (with trace amounts of THC) can be grown legally and without fear of prosecution. And, products derived from CBD may be sold.⁴³ This has created an economic opportunity for sectors, such as agriculture, that have long suffered due to the volatility of commodity pricing.⁴⁴

The potential for renewed scientific research on Cannabis and Hemp is tremendous.⁴⁵ The astounding aspect of contemporary research is that it seeks to validate what was part of the medical community more than 150 years ago.

The shift from federal prosecution to state enforcement has been an interesting one. Attorney General Memos under President Obama led the way for more and more states to enact their own laws for medical Marijuana and recreational Marijuana.⁴⁶ Proceedings from the Mayo Clinic, though, reinforced the need for clearer federal policy.⁴⁷ The scattering of confusing and often contradictory state laws has resulted in constitutional questions that demand a unified set of regulations.⁴⁸ Simply put, there cannot be 50 or more laws on Cannabis regulations without violations of civil rights or, for example, interstate commerce violations.

The Biden administration has seen two major bills being proposed:

- *Cannabis Administration and Opportunity Act* (2021); remove from Schedule I, restructure jurisdiction and provide resources for studies (health and social)⁴⁹
- *Secure and Fair Enforcement or SAFE Banking Act* (2021); allow financial institutions to provide banking services to Marijuana related businesses (MRBs)⁵⁰

In both of the aforementioned bills, issues of equity and inclusion represent significant improvements for previous Cannabis legislation. Further need for banking and financial service reform is straightforward: businesses with large amounts of cash on-hand may become targets for criminals to rob.⁵¹ The ‘SAFE’ Act needs to address more than simply loans and lines of credit.

Ecological and Sustainable.

While issues associated with Cannabis’ Schedule I classification, medical-pharmaceutical research and usages, and equity and inclusion are critical, there are significant other prospects. Namely, Cannabis and Hemp can make a strong case for being part of a ‘greener’ more sustainable economy. However, just like with certain unfounded health claims, environmentalists need to fully assess the ecological costs of Cannabis and Hemp.

The best place to begin here is with the latter: Hemp. The use of Hemp for products seems to be unending. Paper, clothes, feedstocks, and building materials can all be made using Hemp. Hemp is stronger than cotton and can be recycled many times more than wood pulp paper products.⁵² Hemp is one of the most biodiverse plants and outperforms monocrops considerably.⁵³

There are so many wild claims about Cannabis that it makes this time in history so important. If Cannabis had been discovered in the past 50 years, the social, cultural and political baggage would not exist.⁵⁴ But it was not. Whether the myth involves health or ecological claims, science must work to dispel these and provide the public, especially policy-makers, facts to build an economy that is greener, more sustainable and more carbon neutral. Further, low inputs of water and fertilizer (for many soil conditions) have been modelled across the world.⁵⁵

Yet, many states are rushing to raise Hemp with less than sustainable conditions. Hemp requires less irrigation than many crops utilized for comparable purposes.⁵⁶ But, as a reminder, Hemp is not

indigenous to America. That does not mean it cannot grow in the US. After all, corn was brought here as well. Still, many states are struggling to find the most optimum seed variety, soil conditions, sunshine, pesticides, fertilizers, etc...to cultivate Hemp. That has resulted in massive crop failures for farmers new to the Hemp sector.⁵⁷ Sustainable agriculture requires not only sound ecological principles but a market for the product that allows farmers to make a living long-term.⁵⁸ Is Hemp more ‘ecologically friendly’ than most crops? Yes. Is it more sustainable? There has been some research in this area comparing Hemp production to other conventional crops, such as cotton or soybeans.⁵⁹ In terms of energy consumption per acre of product harvested, Hemp has shown advantages over other crops.⁶⁰ However, the real positive here with industrial Hemp production may be with the conversion of residuals or left-over products to a biofuel.⁶¹ Maybe one day soon Hemp could be more sustainable, but for now it is not.

Another consideration for Hemp industrial level farming is that it is a natural air filter for pollution and can sequester carbon emissions and combat climate change.⁶² While related to energy production as a source for biomass, this is an additional consideration. There are some exciting reports about researchers using Hemp seed oil as a biodiesel fuel.⁶³ However, when looking at the emissions of Hemp biodiesel, things get a little less encouraging. While Hemp biodiesel does emit less carbon emissions (CO₂), the levels of nitrous oxide were higher than fossil fuel-based diesel.⁶⁴ Further, Hemp has shown to emit more volatile organic chemicals than most other forms of biomass.⁶⁵ Clearly, more research is needed before Hemp can claim to be a crop that is climate-friendly.

In order to be sustainable, the industry must become more cost-beneficial. Thus, costs associated with producing Hemp biodiesel are much higher than fossil fuels or even soybean-based fuels and production capacity is nowhere near where it needs to be.⁶⁶ Clearly, there is more research to be conducted here. Industrial Hemp offers opportunities but verification of claims is paramount to sustainability. Perhaps, Hemp could be part of a crop-rotation process where it is planted and harvested during times when other crops are not. There could be significant ecological benefits here.⁶⁷

Turning to Cannabis, this is a bit more worrisome. Hemp faces many of the same hurdles to being environmentally friendly that any agricultural sector might encounter. But, Hemp is grown

outdoors on vast areas of land that can absorb pollution or dilute air or water emissions. Cannabis does not have that luxury; especially medical or recreation Marijuana. Why? All medical and most recreational Marijuana is grown inside greenhouses. Quality and purity are crucial to make medical-grade products, especially in this sector.

According to researchers, there are “six documented impact pathways from cannabis cultivation (land-cover change, water use, pesticide use, energy use, and air pollution) and consumption (water pollution).”⁶⁸ The greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) is not insignificant due to large amounts of electricity, natural gas, and transportation costs.⁶⁹ Many states with a vibrant medical (or recreational) Marijuana industry are in states that rely upon coal for energy production. Also, indoor farming has shown significant air pollution caused by biogenic volatile organic compounds being emitted.⁷⁰ Water usage and emissions are also high. Both Cannabis and Hemp require a lot of water and a lot of nutrients to grow.⁷¹ California has experienced surface water diversions to support this industry.⁷² As more states allow individual growing of Marijuana in homes or apartments, the water usage will need to be addressed as part of any comprehensive drinking or potable water infrastructure program.⁷³

Energy consumption remains a major concern when indoor Cannabis cultivation is compared with growing other cash crops outside using sunshine.⁷⁴ Increased energy demand has been correlated to those communities with increased Cannabis cultivation.⁷⁵ One staggering statistic that puts the energy usage in perspective was published in *Energy Policy*. Here, it stated, “One average kilogram of final product is associated with 4600 kg of carbon dioxide emissions to the atmosphere, or that of 3 million average U.S. cars when aggregated across all national production.”⁷⁶ Further, many of the states that are aggressively pursuing Cannabis or Hemp opportunities do not have zero-carbon electrical utilities; many have hydropower or coal.⁷⁷ Still, the net impact could demonstrate that compared to fossil fuels the long-term ecological savings outweighs the short-term energy demands. Again, this underscores the need for more research.

One final area of concern involves the attraction of vectors or pests. These pests could be rodents or bugs or fungi. Also, these could be plant-based as more and more foreign strains are being harvested.

Also, it is clear that the rush to grow the perfect hybrid variation of Cannabis some have resorted to genetically modified strains.⁷⁸ Could Cannabis and Hemp crops disrupt regional ecosystems?⁷⁹ Perhaps. European research advanced this notion more than a decade ago.⁸⁰ Issues associated with regional biodiversity are critical when addressing flora and fauna concerns with this (typically) non-indigenous plant.⁸¹

Conclusions.

Over time, the domestication of Cannabis has limited the diversity of the plant (and potential usages) and spread its cultivation into non-indigenous areas where it is dependent upon humans (not nature) for its survival.⁸² The cultivation of industrial Hemp for a range of products (i.e., clothing, paper, feedstocks) will clearly have economic ramifications.⁸³

The need for a full-cost environmental assessment of Cannabis and Hemp is critical to better policymaking.⁸⁴ This ‘new’ sector can transform ecosystems and alter air, water, and land pollution models.⁸⁵ If anything, these environmental concerns substantiate the need for increased research at the federal and state levels. Water usage for Cannabis and Hemp is expected to almost double by 2025.⁸⁶

If claims about being ‘green’ are to be corroborated, and actions taken to ensure it being ‘carbon-neutral’, then Cannabis and Hemp should look to other sustainable agricultural practices. Also, issues associated with the chemical processing of CBD remain largely unanswered.⁸⁷ What types of solvents are the most cost-effective and ‘green’? What about packaging requirements? Even if Hemp is the raw materials, the pulping process for making packaging is not without external pollution costs.⁸⁸ And, will increased Cannabis usage alter other dietary or consumptive patterns. It seems that we are a lot closer to the beginning of this discussion; but it is a discussion worth having.

END NOTES

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