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Oshkosh Scholar

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Preface

Welcome to Volume 11 of *Oshkosh Scholar*, the undergraduate research journal of the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh (UWO). All articles represent original research by an undergraduate student in consultation with a faculty mentor. This journal works with faculty and students to follow the process of professional journals as closely as possible. Submissions go through a double-blind review, students have an opportunity to revise and explain their response to the review suggestions, and then articles go through a committee that selects only the best ones. Over the past decade our acceptance rate hovers around 50 percent.

Articles in this volume are organized in an outward spiral. We start with two authors who researched college students at UWO then move to one who looked at the larger town. Next are two students who studied national politics and end on a piece with international scope. Taylor Schumitsch-Jewell of Psychology tested different types of bystander training and found that even short sessions make a positive impact on student willingness to aid peers at risk of sexual assault. Charlotte Kanyuh investigated factors that influenced alcohol consumption and showed that parent attitudes and peer behavior have a strong influence on college students' drinking behavior. From the field of sociology, Carly Persson interviewed restaurant owners and farmers in Oshkosh to find out what motivates them to participate in a local food movement.

In the midst of a charged partisan atmosphere, Jennifer Depew and Taylor Jones offer scholarly ways to measure political success. Depew, from Political Science, creates an incisive test to determine presidential legacy. She evaluates Woodrow Wilson and finds him sorely lacking in his neglect of duty to care for all of his citizens. Jones draws on his economics discipline and uses statistical analysis and econometric methods to explore whether the Affordable Care Act reduced the number of uninsured citizens on a state-by-state basis. Casting an international lens, Ashley Foster of Political Science also uses statistical methods to determine the rate of economic growth in post-communist countries.

When I was in college, people bemoaned my Generation X for its apathy. This GenXer looks upon this new crop of millennials and sees them united by empathy. All of these articles have at their core a common goal—to use research to make the world better for all people. Today's students want to find ways to help their peers avoid the destructive impacts of binge drinking and sexual assault. One author aims to imagine building stronger communities through the local food movement. Authors measure the political success of presidents and legislation by how many citizens are helped and how the most economically challenged countries can best catch up. These scholars have all turned their sharp minds toward making a better life for all.

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“All the notes taken and research conducted prior to writing is represented by the diagonal pencil that twists upward on the front to signify the final product—a scholarly paper. Vintage/1970s colors were chosen to illustrate the idea of going back to the classics and writing by hand.”

—Seth Pahmeier

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Stand Up and Speak Up: Effectiveness of Web-Based Bystander Intervention on a College Campus

Taylor Schumitsch-Jewell, author

Dr. Erin Winterrowd, Psychology, faculty mentor

Taylor Schumitsch-Jewell is a recent graduate of UW Oshkosh. She holds a B.S. in psychology with a minor in neuroscience. She was part of the University's Honors Program. Her interests include working with sexual assault survivors, advocacy for children, and sexual assault prevention. Her research includes examining the effectiveness of a bystander intervention on college campuses. She is currently pursuing a master's degree in clinical mental health counseling with a child and adolescent specialty at Marquette University. Returning back home to Milwaukee will help her achieve her career goals of someday working at a children's hospital.

Dr. Erin Winterrowd was an assistant professor in the Department of Psychology at UW Oshkosh from 2010–2016. She received her Ph.D. from Colorado State University in 2010. Her research interests center on gender and cultural influences on human behavior, with particular emphasis on gendered meaning in suicidality and experiences of underrepresented groups in science and engineering fields.

Abstract

The goal of bystander intervention is to provide college students with the necessary means to recognize an assaultive situation and gain the confidence to step in. The current study examined the effectiveness of a web-based bystander intervention by measuring 28 participants' outcomes (Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Bystander Efficacy Scale, and a confidence in bystander intervention scale) before and after the intervention. The results were compared to a control group receiving statements about sexual assault and to existing data collected from the bystander workshop Stand Up Titans!, conducted through the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Women's Center during the 2014–2015 academic year. Contrary to expectations, there was no difference in Rape Myth Acceptance scores or Bystander Efficacy scores between the experimental (web-based video) and control (reading passages) groups. Watching the web-based intervention did increase participants' confidence in intervening compared to the control group, however. As expected, there was a difference in Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) scores between the web-based intervention group and the Stand Up Titans! workshop, with participants in the workshop reporting a lower Rape Myth Acceptance (i.e., lower endorsement of harmful rape myths). The web-based intervention group and the workshop both had high rates of confidence in intervening. Together, these findings suggest that web-based interventions may be effective at improving bystander confidence but may not reduce rape myths to a greater extent than merely reading statistics about sexual assault. Findings from this study have implications for the use of web-based bystander interventions on college campuses.

Introduction

Students in college are at a greater risk of sexual assault compared to same-age peers outside of college (National Sexual Violence Resource Center 2015). Changing attitudes are important in order to change unwanted sexual experiences of both men and women (Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante 2007). Bystander-intervention workshops are effective in altering the attitudes of college students as well as informing students about how to help prevent sexual violence and gain confidence in their ability to intervene in assaultive situations.

Many bystander interventions are designed to change sexual assault-related knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. For example, one measure designed to assess knowledge and attitudes is the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald 1999). Rape myths are beliefs that are not true about rape and include instances where, if women dress provocatively, for example, they are asking to be raped or where, if a man is drunk, he might rape someone unintentionally. Rape myth beliefs are important in shaping bystander attitudes toward sexual violence (McMahon 2010). If people have lower acceptance of rape myths then they are more likely to intervene because they are less accepting of rape culture and less tolerant of assaultive behaviors (Egan and Wilson 2012; Foubert and Marriott 1997). A construct related to a person's behavior is bystander efficacy. According to Ahn et al., "Self-efficacy is the belief held by individuals that they can successfully carry out the actions required for achieving a desired outcome" (2016). Bystander efficacy scales often ask students to consider various situations and then report how likely the students would be to intervene in assaultive situations and their level of confidence in intervention (Banyard et al. 2005). Rape myth acceptance, low perceived bystander efficacy, and low confidence in intervening are all important to address during bystander interventions because they are perceived barriers to intervention (Bennett, Banyard, and Garnhart 2014); they have the potential to hold bystanders back from intervening. Examining these barriers to intervention can therefore increase actual helping behavior (Bennett et al. 2014).

Many studies have attempted to examine the effectiveness of bystander interventions in changing knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. A study conducted by Banyard et al. (2007) focused on sexual violence prevention through two different in-person bystander workshops. Students participated in either a one-session 90-minute program, or a program consisting of three 90-minute sessions. The experimenters assessed the knowledge, attitudes, and behavior of the participants before and after they received the intervention. The results showed that the longer the bystander intervention, the more significant the changes in behavior, knowledge, and attitudes. However, they noted that if there were time constraints, shorter intervention programs could still create important changes. Coker et al. (2011) conducted a study at the University of Kentucky where they evaluated a bystander intervention program called GreenDot. GreenDot is a web-based video program used on college campuses throughout the United States. The participants were split into four groups that received different amounts of training that varied by time and extent. Compared to those who received less training, those who had the most training (both quantity and depth) were more likely to intervene or report actual bystander behaviors (e.g., got help and resources for a friend who said she or he was raped) following participation in the web-based program. However, consistent with

the results found by Banyard et al. (2007), receiving any type of intervention, even if minimal, resulted in more active bystander behaviors than no intervention at all.

Another bystander intervention program used on college campuses is the Men's Project, which seeks to train men as women's allies against sexual violence toward women (Stewart 2014). It requires college men to participate in an 11-week, in-person workshop that explores sexual assault topics. Some of the topics include male privilege, sexuality, gender socialization, sexual violence, emotional and psychological impacts on sexual assault survivors, and bystander interventions. In an evaluation of this program, results demonstrated that the participants showed a decrease in rape myth acceptance and sexism, and reported an increase in feminist activism, action willingness, and bystander efficacy in comparison to control group participants who did not receive any type of intervention (Stewart 2014). This program targets men because previous studies such as Anderson and Whiston (2005) and Foubert and Marriott (1997) found that women generally already have lower rape myth acceptance and less endorsement of sexist beliefs compared to men.

A step further in bystander intervention research was a study conducted by Senn and Forrest (2015). They worked to integrate bystander education into an undergraduate curriculum by providing an in-person class that consisted of bystander intervention content. A baseline survey measured students' knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors. They then took online surveys at three points during the course, which measured efficacy, readiness to change, intentions, and perceived barriers to intervention. Positive changes occurred in both men and women college students when bystander interventions were incorporated into undergraduate curriculum. Students were more confident and showed more readiness to intervene for friends and strangers compared to the control group participants who did not receive an intervention (Senn and Forrest 2015).

While effective, long-term in-person interventions like the Men's Project can be costly. College campuses are now beginning to look for alternative and more cost efficient ways to provide their students with intervention strategies, including shorter, web-based interventions like GreenDot. As stated above, the longer and more in-depth the intervention the more effective it is, but receiving shorter bystander interventions on sexual assault may still have an important impact on reducing rates of sexual violence. Research suggests that introducing college students to the topic of bystander interventions can be enough to get them thinking about how they can help. Long-term web-based interventions can be effective just like the long-term in-person interventions. For example, Salazar et al. (2014) tested the effectiveness of a web-based bystander approach called RealConsent. This bystander approach was designed to enhance prosocial intervening behaviors and prevent sexual violence perpetration. The participants engaged in six, "30-minute interactive modules covering topics like informed consent, communication skills regarding sex, the role of alcohol and male socialization in sexual violence, empathy for rape victims, and bystander education" (Salazar et al. 2014). The results at the six month follow up indicated that participants intervened more, engaged in less sexual violence perpetration, showed knowledge of effective consent, held fewer rape myths, showed greater empathy toward rape victims, and had greater intentions to intervene in comparison to control group participants who watched 30-minute modules from a general health promotion

program. The authors argued that RealConsent has the potential to increase the overall impact on sexual violence (Salazar et al. 2014).

Current Study

Although the results of previous studies on short web-based interventions are encouraging, more interventions are needed. In addition, the shorter web-based interventions have not been directly compared to the longer, more comprehensive, in-person workshops. The current study examined the effectiveness of a one-hour web-based intervention by comparing it to a control group (experimental design) and a previously conducted in-person workshop (non-experimental design). Participants in the experimental study were randomly assigned to watch the web-based interaction (intervention) or read passages about sexual violence (control). Results from the web-based intervention were then compared to a longer in-person bystander intervention workshop (Stand Up Titans!) conducted at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh during the 2014–2015 academic year. The fact that the in-person workshop was already conducted on campus provided a unique opportunity to examine the effectiveness of these three formats in one college setting.

It was expected that there would be positive impacts of both web-based and in-person bystander intervention programs. More specifically, previous literature (e.g., Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Salazar, Vivolo-Kantor, Hardin, and Berkowitz 2014; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014) predicted that students in the web-based intervention would have a higher bystander efficacy score, a lower Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) score, and higher confidence in intervention strategies compared to students in the control group who read basic facts about sexual assault. It was also predicted that students in the web-based intervention would have a higher RMA score and lower confidence in intervention strategies in comparison to last year's longer and more in-depth bystander workshop, Stand Up Titans!. This is consistent with the current literature that suggests the extent of bystander intervention training impacts rape myth acceptance, confidence, and efficacy (e.g., Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Salazar et al. 2014; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014).

Method

Participants

Participants came from two sources: an experimental study and a non-experimental study utilizing existing data. All were students at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. There were 54 participants in the experimental study (11 men and 43 women). They were aged 18–24 ($m = 19$) and ranged in ethnicity with 88.9% identifying as white. Students varied in year in school with the majority (66.7%) being first years, 22.2% sophomores, 9.3% juniors, and 1.9% seniors. An additional 36 participants came from existing data from a Stand Up Titans! workshop (a three-hour workshop run the previous year) for a total of 90 participants. No additional demographic information was available for the workshop participants.

Procedure

Experimental Study

Participants in the experimental study were recruited using the online SONA pool in the Department of Psychology, where students are able to sign up as one way to gain course credit. No classes of individuals were excluded from recruitment. All participants were tested individually, with no one else in the room, using a computer, paper, and pencil. The experimental procedure took a total of one hour and was completed in one sitting.

Students in the experimental study participated in one of two conditions: a one-hour session consisting of watching video modules on a computer (experimental condition) or one hour of reading facts about sexual violence (control condition). In between each section, participants answered a series of questions in order to assess comprehension of and attention to the material. Participants filled out the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale and rated their confidence in bystander intervention strategies prior to watching the video or reading the passages. After the intervention, they were asked again to fill out the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale and rate their confidence in bystander intervention strategies. Lastly, they completed the Bystander Efficacy Scale (measures are described below and in table 1).

The participants in the experimental web-based bystander intervention condition watched a series of video modules created by GreenDot (Coker et al. 2011) that contained strategies to safely intervene in a potentially assaultive situation. The video clips gave scenarios that took place in bars and taught the viewers how to identify risk factors for assault. These video scenes were not violent in any way and did not include any physical touching. The intervention strategies given to the participants were non-confrontational and considered the safety of the bystander as well as the person at risk of being sexually assaulted. The length of the modules varied with each one being no longer than nine minutes for a total of 60 minutes.

The participants in the experimental control condition read a series of passages that contained basic facts about sexual assault. They were not given any type of intervention or any information about intervening in bystander situations. They were only asked to read information pertaining to sexual violence and answer questions between passages to help ensure they were paying attention.

Web-Based Intervention vs. In-Person Intervention

Results from the experimental study were also compared to results from the Stand Up Titans! workshop conducted the previous year. Stand Up Titans! was a three-hour in-person intervention developed by the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Women's Center and based on the GreenDot in-person intervention workshop. The intervention took place in one day and included three parts, each one targeting different components of effective bystander training. In the first section, participants responded to questions about why the participants should invest in ending violence and help create an understanding of rape culture. The participants were also challenged to investigate their own misconceptions about rape and sexual violence. The second section helped participants become familiar with bystander intervention strategies by providing examples and discussing the importance of intervening safely. The third and final section was a role-play activity where participants were given opportunities

to try different intervention strategies. Participants were then given feedback by the workshop facilitators on how well they executed the strategies. The role-play activity was designed to help participants see that the intervention strategies could be applied to real-world situations. Participants partook in this intervention as part of one of their course requirements for a social work class. Workshop participants were given the confidence scale and the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale before and after participation in the intervention. They were also asked to provide a general review of the program.

Measures

Demographics. Prior to participating in the experimental study, students were asked a number of demographic questions including age, year in school, gender identity, major, race/ethnicity, and to which student clubs or organizations they belong.

Bystander Efficacy Scale. The Bystander Efficacy Scale (Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan 2005) was developed to assess participants' self-efficacy or perceived competence in relation to sexual violence prevention. Participants were asked to indicate their confidence, on a scale of 0 "can't do" to 100 "very certain can do," in performing each of the 14 bystander behaviors. For example, "How confident are you that you could get help and resources for a friend who tells you they have been raped?" or "How confident are you that you could do something to help a very drunk person who is being brought upstairs to a bedroom by a group of people at a party?" In the original scoring, summary scores are created by subtracting the mean of these 14 items from 100; thus, higher scores indicate lower self-efficacy. For the purpose of this study, the mean of the 14 items was not subtracted from 100 but instead the raw score was used so that higher scores reflected higher self-efficacy (i.e., a better outcome of intervention).

Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale. The Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald 1999) is a 22-item scale that assesses attitudes toward many common myths about sexual violence. Participants indicated on a five-point Likert scale the extent to which they agreed with each item. Examples directly from the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale include, "When guys rape, it is usually because of their strong desire for sex" and "If a girl doesn't say 'no' she can't claim rape." Higher scores indicate greater acceptance of rape myths.

Confidence Scale. This scale was developed for the Stand Up Titans! workshop to assess participants' confidence in their ability to intervene. Participants were asked to rate their confidence on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "not at all confident" to "extremely confident." For the purpose of the current study, participants answered one question off this scale, "Please rate your confidence in bystander intervention strategies by circling your response below." A higher score indicated more confidence in their intervention strategies. Participants were given this scale before and after they partook in both the workshop intervention and the experimental study.

Data Analysis

For the experimental study, independent samples t-tests determined the difference in rape myth acceptance, confidence, and bystander efficacy scores between the experimental and control groups. An independent samples t-test also examined the difference in bystander efficacy scores between women and men post intervention. For the non-experimental study, scores between the web-based intervention and the in-person workshop were compared descriptively.

Results

All participants in the experimental study reported an overall increase in confidence in bystander intervention strategies. Although both groups reported an increase in confidence, the increase was significantly larger for those in the experimental condition ($m_{diff} = 1.36$, $SD = .955$) than in the control condition ($m_{diff} = .68$, $SD = .87$), ($t(35) = -2.184$, $p < .05$; appendix A). There was also a decrease in overall RMA scores (i.e., decrease in acceptance of rape myths), though the difference in scores between the experimental and control groups was not significant ($t(54) = .259$, $p > .05$; appendix B). Both the video and control group led to equally lower rape myth acceptance. Of note, the average RMA scores were low to begin with ($m = 45.1$, $SD = 12.86$; scores could range from 0 to 100), meaning participants already endorsed a low number of rape myths. Finally, there was a difference in bystander efficacy scores between groups, with students in the experimental condition reporting higher efficacy post intervention ($m = 86.5$, $SD = 9.36$) than students in the control group ($m = 82.6$, $SD = 12.79$). However, the difference was not significant ($t(54) = 1.27$, $p > .05$; appendix C). There was a significant gender difference in bystander efficacy scores with women having higher scores, thus reporting significantly higher bystander efficacy than men ($m = 86.3$, $SD = 10.8$, and $m = 78.3$, $SD = 10.7$, respectively; $t(54) = 2.17$, $p < .05$; appendix D).

According to data records not collected by this researcher, there was a statistically significant ($n = 26$, $p < .05$) reduction in acceptance of rape myth beliefs following the Stand Up Titans! workshop. Descriptive comparisons between the in-person workshop and the experimental conditions showed a larger difference in RMA scores after the workshop ($m_{diff} = 6.9$, $SD = 8.11$) than after the experimental ($m_{diff} = 5.2$, $SD = 5.3$) or control groups ($m_{diff} = 5.7$, $SD = 8.32$). A similarly high percent of participants agreed or strongly agreed that they now felt confident in practicing their bystander intervention strategies after both the workshop (87.5%) and the web-based intervention (92.9%). Although still a large percent (76.9%), fewer participants agreed or strongly agreed that they were confident in intervening after reading passages in the control condition. All results are reported in table 1.

Table 1. Rape myth acceptance, bystander efficacy, and confidence in intervention by condition.

Intervention Type	Description of Intervention	Outcome Measures						
		Rape Myth Acceptance ^a			Bystander Efficacy ^b	Confidence Scale ^c		
		Pre	Post	Change	Post Only	Pre	Post	Change
Experimental Conditions								
GreenDot Web-Based Intervention	One-hour session watching video modules about bystander intervention	44.1	38.9	5.2	86.5	2.2	3.7 (92.9%)	1.46*
Control	One-hour session reading facts about sexual violence.	46.1	40.4	5.7	82.6	2.8	3.6 (76.9%)	.76
Non-Experimental Condition								
Stand Up Titans!	Three-hour in-person interactive workshop about bystander intervention	N/A	N/A	6.9*	N/A	N/A	87.5%	N/A

* $p < .05$

Note: This study included both experimental and non-experimental conditions. Data from the web-based intervention and control conditions were collected from General Psychology students during the Spring 2016 semester. Results from the Stand-Up Titans! workshop were provided to the researcher and were based on data collected from students participating in the workshop during the 2015–2016 academic year.

^a The Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale; Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald 1999) is a 22-item scale that assesses attitudes toward many common myths about sexual violence. Scores range between 0 and 100 with higher scores indicating greater acceptance of rape myths. RMA scores were collected both before and after the intervention though only the change score was available for Stand Up Titans!.

^b The Bystander Efficacy Scale (Bystander Efficacy Scale; Banyard, Plante, and Moynihan 2005) is a 14-item scale that measures participants' self-efficacy, or perceived competence, in relation to sexual violence prevention. Scale scores range from 0 to 100 with higher scores reflecting higher self-efficacy. BE scores were only collected in the experimental conditions and only after the intervention.

^c Confidence in Bystander Efficacy (CBE) was a one-item scale developed for the Stand Up Titans! workshop to assess participants' confidence in their intervention strategies. Participants responded to the question, "Please rate your confidence in bystander intervention strategies" using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all confident) to 5 (extremely confident). This item was used in all three conditions with pre- and post-scores available for the experimental conditions.

Discussion

As expected, after participating in a one-hour, web-based intervention, students had higher confidence in bystander intervention strategies compared to a control group that read passages about sexual assault. This finding is consistent with previous literature and suggests that the web-based intervention was more effective in increasing confidence in intervention strategies than reading statistics alone (e.g., Anderson and Whiston 2005; Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Salazar et al. 2014; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014). However, both the control and the experimental group had a decrease in rape myth acceptance, which suggests that just reading passages on topics of sexual violence may be enough to change at least some beliefs in rape myths. In previous bystander intervention literature, the control group did not receive any information on sexual violence (e.g., Anderson and Whiston 2005; Banyard, et al. 2007; Palm Reed et al. 2015; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014). Some previous research suggests that receiving basic information can be enough to get students thinking about what they can do and how they can get involved (Coker et al. 2011; Salazar et al. 2014).

There was a difference in bystander efficacy scores between groups, but it was not significant. The video was equally effective in increasing students' perceived efficacy in bystander interventions as reading passages. This finding is inconsistent with the

current literature on bystander interventions, which states that bystander efficacy scores should be significantly higher in intervention groups in comparison to control groups (Banyard et al. 2005 and 2007). The control group in this study did receive basic information on sexual violence in the passages they read. This may have been enough to change the control group's perceived willingness to intervene. Interestingly, there was a significant difference between women and men in bystander efficacy scores. Women were more likely than men to report that they would enact the bystander behaviors that they learned from the intervention. This finding could be due to women being well-versed in issues surrounding sexual violence because in the media sexual violence is socialized as a women's issue (Banyard et al. 2007; Hlavka 2014). The finding of this study also continues to support the idea that interventions targeting men in particular (e.g., the Men's Project) have the potential for greater outcomes.

The web-based intervention group had a lower post-intervention RMA score (less endorsement of rape myths) and similar confidence in intervention strategies in comparison to last year's bystander workshop, Stand Up Titans!. In general, the longer the intervention, the more effective the results (Banyard et al. 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Salazar et al. 2014; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014). However, the web-based intervention and workshop seemed to both increase confidence in bystander intervention strategies, which is consistent with research suggesting that even some intervention is better than none (Anderson et al. 2005; Banyard et al. 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Salazar et al. 2014; Senn and Forrest 2015; Stewart 2014).

Limitations and Future Directions

One of the limitations of this study was that there was no follow up, so the reduction in rape myth beliefs and increase in confidence may have been short term. However, some research suggests that even short interventions can have lasting effects (e.g., Banyard et al. 2007; Coker et al. 2011; Senn and Forrest 2015). In addition, there were a number of limitations to the measures themselves. First, the measures used in this study (i.e., Rape Myth Acceptance Scale, Bystander Efficacy Scale, and Confidence Scale) were self-reported. For example, participants were asked to report how likely they felt they could do certain bystander intervention behaviors. Participants might report they could enact these behaviors but then not actually do them. In other words, there is no way to know if the participants in this study will actually intervene using the strategies given to them in the web-based intervention. Participants may also answer self-report questions in a socially desirable way since it was clear what the purpose of the study was. This may be particularly problematic when the questions are about a socially unacceptable behavior such as sexual assault. Presumably, longer interventions (e.g., Stand Up Titans!) would produce greater demand characteristic effects. Second, the confidence scale was only one question, which might not have been enough to compile accurate results on whether or not the participants felt confident in their intervention skills. However, it was intentionally chosen given its use in the Stand Up Titans! workshop. Third, the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale was created in 1999, and some of the items on the list might have been out of date with current beliefs about sexual assault. For example, "A rape probably doesn't happen if a girl doesn't have any bruises or marks" is a belief with less endorsement today (Payne, Lonsway, and Fitzgerald 1999). Finally, the lack of raw data for the in-person workshop limited

the comparisons that could be made. Future research should test long-term effects of short web-based interventions. It should also add measures that ask participants what bystander behaviors they have done and include a confidence scale that asks more than one question concerning confidence in intervention strategies. Finally, an experimental study of both in-person and web-based interventions is warranted.

In conclusion, results suggest that shorter interventions may have important impacts on college campuses by reducing rape myth acceptance and increasing confidence in bystander intervention strategies. One possibility for bystander intervention on college campuses would be to integrate a longer intervention like Stand Up Titans! into freshman orientation. A web-based video like GreenDot could then be used as a booster session halfway through the first year to help reinforce bystander behaviors. This would help college students recognize the importance of intervening and thus reducing sexual violence, ultimately leading to college campuses becoming safer places and reducing rates of sexual violence as a whole.

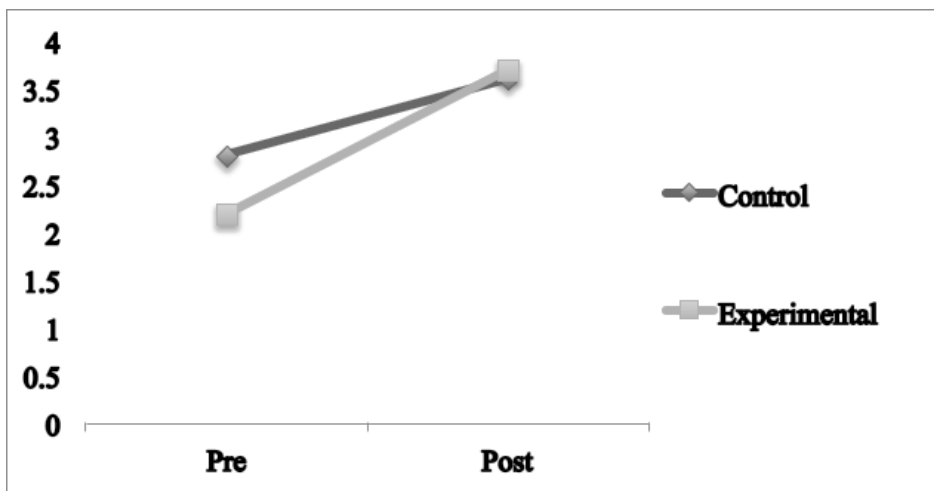
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Appendix A

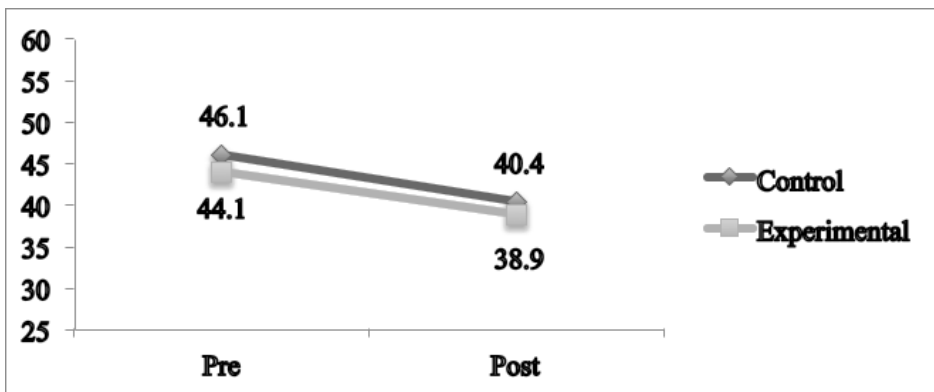
Increase in Confidence across Experimental Groups



Note: Overall increase in confidence in bystander intervention. Increase was significantly larger for those in the experimental condition ($m_{diff} = 1.36, SD = .955$) than in the control condition ($m_{diff} = .68, SD = .87$), $t(35) = -2.184, p < .05$. Scores are on a 5-point Likert scale from 0 = not at all confident to 4 = extremely confident.

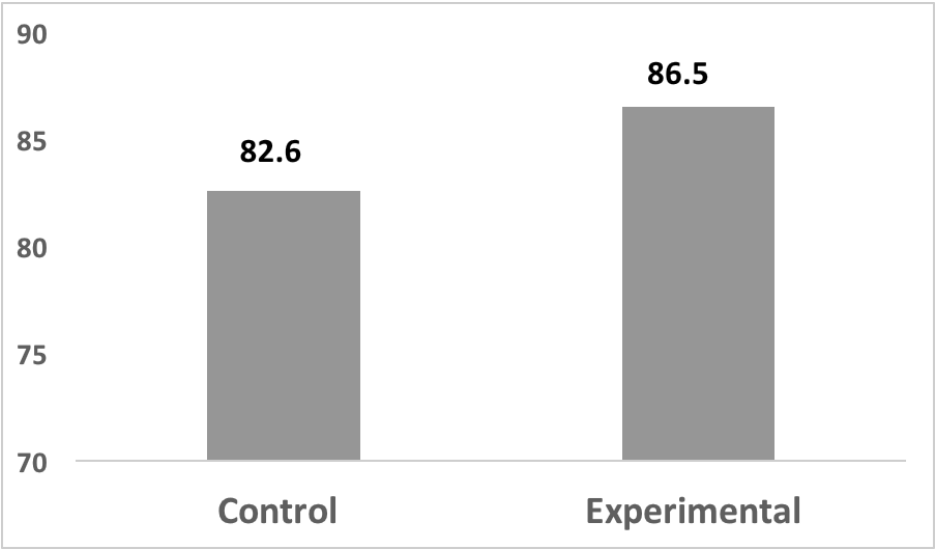
Appendix B

Difference in Rape Myth Acceptance Scores by Condition



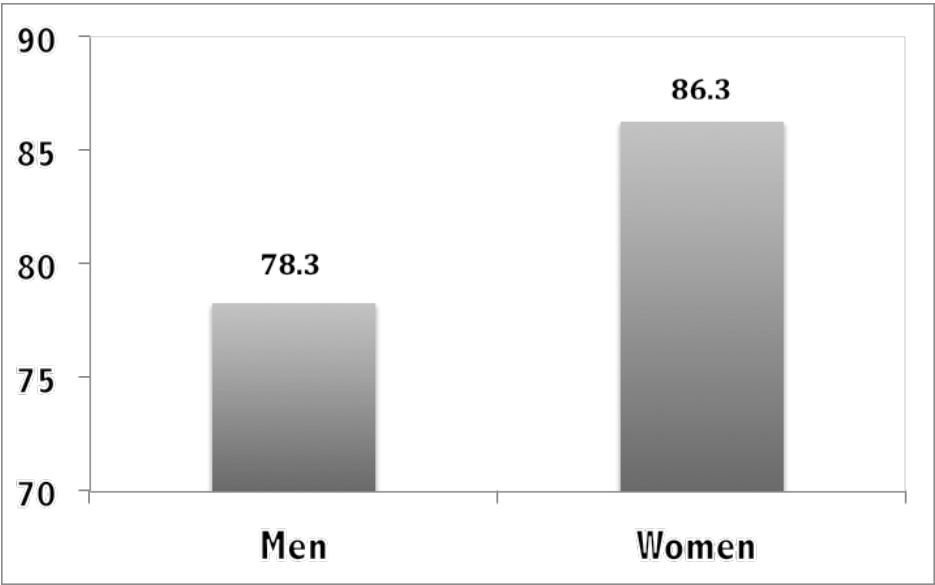
Note: Non-significant decrease in overall RMA scores, $t(54) = .259, p > .05$. Scores ranged from 0–10.

Appendix C
Bystander Efficacy between Groups Post Intervention



Note: Non-significant difference in Bystander Efficacy scores between experimental and control groups, $t(54) = 1.27, p > .05$.

Appendix D
Gender Difference in Bystander Efficacy Post Intervention



Note: Significant difference in Bystander Efficacy scores between men and women, $t(54) = 2.17, p < .05$.

Academics and Alcohol Consumption: A Study of College Students

Charlotte R. Kanyuh, author

Dr. Victoria Simpson Beck, Criminal Justice, faculty mentor

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Abstract

Alcohol consumption is a large part of the social lives of many university students. Prior research examining the relationship between alcohol use and academic performance of students has been inconclusive. This study explored the relationship between attitudes toward academics and alcohol using the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), with a sample of 606 University of Wisconsin Oshkosh students. The results indicated that student attitudes toward academics do not provide a strong control on student alcohol consumption. However, parents' attitudes toward drinking exert an influence on drinking behavior as does the drinking behavior of peers.

Alcohol Use and Academics: Exploring Attitudes, Norms, Intentions and Behavior

Studies examining the use of alcohol on university campuses suggest that approximately 81 percent of college students have tried alcohol (Johnston et al. 2014) and 65 to 73 percent of university students drank alcohol within the past 30 days (Johnston et al. 2014; Nelson et al. 2009). Further, data from the 2012 Monitoring the Future survey suggests that college students consume alcohol at a rate greater than their non-college peers, and that this trend has been consistent over time, as indicated in figure 1.

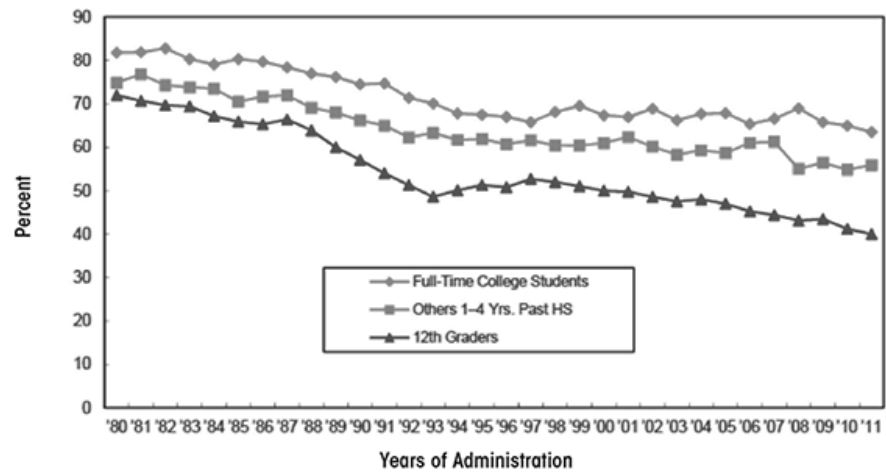


Figure 1. Alcohol: Trends in 30-day prevalence among college students, others (non-college peers 1–4 years beyond high school) and 12th graders.
Source: Johnston et al., “Monitoring the Future.”

Perhaps somewhat more troubling is the research indicating that college students are also more likely to engage in heavy episodic or binge drinking. According to recent research, two out of every three college students participate in heavy episodic drinking, which has been defined as five or more drinks on one occasion (NIAAA, 2004 and 2007), and approximately 45.3 percent of university students engage in this behavior during their first year on campus (Wechsler et al. 2002). Data from the Monitoring the Future survey further indicates that college students maintain a higher rate of binge drinking compared to their non-college peers, as portrayed in figure 2 (Johnston et al. 2014).

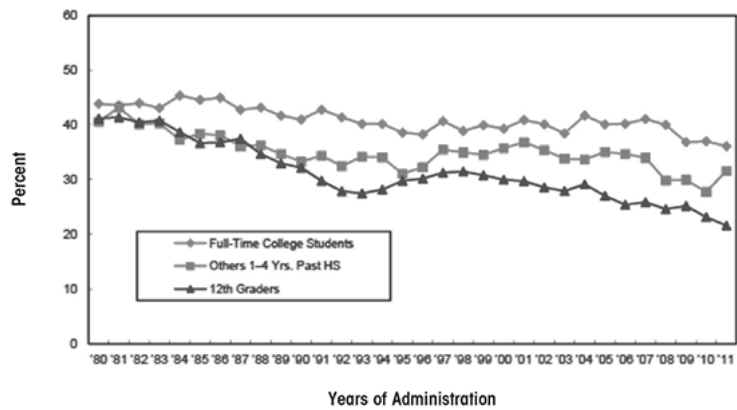


Figure 2. Alcohol: Trends in two-week prevalence of consuming five or more drinks among college students, others (non-college peers 1–4 years beyond high school) and 12th graders.
Source: Johnston et al., “Monitoring the Future.”

As indicated in figure 2, there has been little change in binge drinking among college students over time. As displayed in figure 2, college binge drinking rates have not fluctuated much throughout the years. In 1993, 40 percent of college students admitted to binge drinking. This percentage only slightly decreased to 37 percent in 2012. These numbers are also reflected in non-university students with 32 percent of 12th graders participating in 2006. However, the 12th grade population of binge drinkers decreased significantly in 2011, with 22 percent admitting to binge drinking. This number rose slightly to 24 percent in 2012. If a university-level student is a member in Greek life, there is an even higher likelihood that the person participates in binge drinking. Finally, research has indicated that there is still a “substantial” difference in drinking behaviors by gender, with males reporting higher rates of daily alcohol consumption and heavy alcohol consumption, although this trend has been narrowing over time. Unfortunately, college students continue to have a noticeably and comparatively higher rate of alcohol consumption and binge drinking, despite overall declines in both behaviors during the past few years (Johnston et al. 2014).

To be sure, both light and heavy consumption of alcohol may produce many discernible and adverse effects on individuals. Students and non-students may be motivated to consume alcohol in order to subdue unpleasant emotions or to feel more socially accepted; however, there are a plethora of negative consequences (Berkowitz and Perkins 1986). For example, due to the reduction of inhibitions, individuals consuming alcohol may lack the judgment to cease any action that may hurt themselves or others. Perhaps one of the most prominent ramifications of alcohol use on an interpersonal level is sexual assault. In a study conducted by Frintner and Rubinson (1993), 68 percent of the 1,500 female sexual assault victims who participated in the survey proclaimed that those who victimized them were under the influence of alcohol. Examples of less substantial alcoholic induced actions that harm others include destruction of property, public disturbance, and disorderly conduct (Perkins 2002). Of course, alcohol consumption may also cause alcoholism, injury to self, loss of memory, and other physical and mental impairments.

A decrease in academic performance is another repercussion of alcohol consumption. As discussed by Presley, Meilman, and Leichter (2002), a study completed by the Core Alcohol and Drug Survey found that nearly 28 percent of the 41,581 respondents indicated that they had missed a class due to alcohol or other drug-related reasons. In a similar study, nearly one-third of the 584 student respondents reported that they had missed course tests because of their alcohol use (Perkins 1992). Powell, Williams, and Wechsler (2002) found that as the average number of drinks consumed by college freshman increased, the probability of alcohol-related absences from university classes increased by 8–9 percent for first-year students. Additionally, that same study concluded that the probability of a freshman falling behind in academics increased 5 percent as a result of alcohol consumption (Powell, Williams, and Wechsler 2002). Further, Orford, Waller, and Peto (1974) assessed drinking and academic patterns by gender. The research found that nearly 12 percent of males and nearly 9 percent of females reported missing a class due to alcohol-related reasons (Orford, Waller, and Peto 1974).

When reviewing prior research on the impact of student alcohol consumption on grade point average (GPA), much of the research reveals the same results with a

few exceptions. A number of studies acknowledge that there seems to be an inverse relationship between GPA and student alcohol consumption, in that as alcohol consumption increases, a student's GPA decreases (Musgrave-Marquart, Bromley, and Dalley 1997; Vaughan, Corbin, and Fromme 2009; Butler, Spencer, and Dodge 2011; Porter and Pryor 2007; Engs, Hanson, and Diebold 1994). Indeed, one such study, containing a large sample size of 41,598 respondents, indicated that students who reported having heavier drinking periods were more likely to have lower GPAs (Porter and Prior 2007). Findings from another study concluded that students who had GPAs of 4.0 consumed about one-third the amount of alcohol compared to those with GPAs of 2.0 (Engs, Hanson, and Diebold 1994). Although much research supports the relationship between academic performance and alcohol consumption, some research suggests that the relationship is influenced by other factors. Finally, Aertgeerts and Buntinx (2002) argue that there is no relationship between alcohol consumption and academic performance. They contend that other factors are to blame for the lack of academic achievement among university students, such as parental academic achievement and participation in other law-breaking behaviors (Aertgeerts and Buntinx 2002).

Theoretical Context: Theory of Planned Behavior

According to the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), individual attitudes work with subjective norms and control factors to produce an effect on the intention to act in a certain way, which in turn influences behavior (Ajzen 1985). A model of the theory is presented in figure 3.

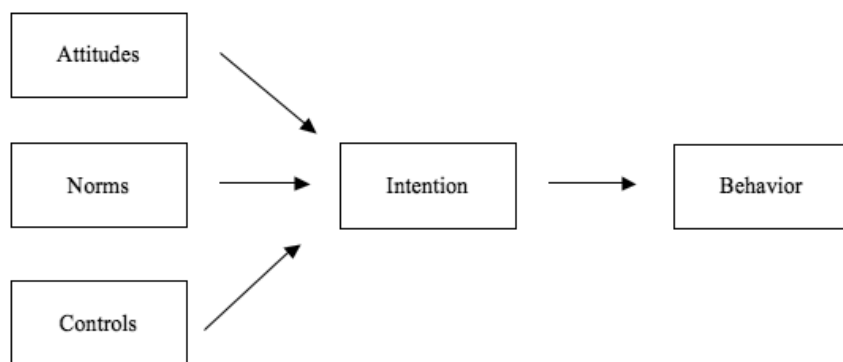


Figure 3. The Theory of Planned Behavior.

Note: Adapted from Ajzen 1991.

Prior research maintains that the TPB provides an “effective model when explaining college students’ reasons and motivations for drinking alcohol” (Glassman et al. 2010, 174). As discussed in Glassman et al. (2010):

Attitude Toward the Behavior represents a person's beliefs or feelings concerning a behavior. Subjective Norm involves the extent to which one believes key referents would approve or disapprove of them engaging in the behavior of interest. Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC) includes self-efficacy, as well as barriers and facilitators which may inhibit or support a behavior. Finally, Behavioral Intention consists of one's plan or perceived likelihood of performing a behavior. (173)

To assess the TPB in predicting heavy episodic drinking, Collins and Carey (2007) conducted a test using a sample of 131 college students. Collins and Carey (2007) incorporated prior heavy episodic and self-efficacy with drinking attitudes, subjective norms and drinking refusal in order to predict intention, which in turn predicts future heavy episodic drinking. The results of their study indicated that although subjective norms were not significant, self-efficacy and attitudes toward heavy episodic drinking did significantly predict intention to engage in heavy episodic drinking and past heavy episodic drinking predicted future heavy episodic drinking. Nonetheless, the authors contend a TPB model excluding past heavy episodic drinking behavior among college drinkers may provide a better prediction of future behavior, as it provides a better fit to the structural model and is more theory driven.

Although Collins and Carey (2007) did not find subjective norms to be predictive of behavior, Glassman et al. (2010) did with their study of 3,000 students. In their study exploring whether college students' motivations to consume alcohol on game day (based on alcohol consumption rates) could be predicted through the use of the TPB, Glassman et al. (2010) found that attitudes and norms about drinking could predict intention to drink. However, control factors that may facilitate or impede drinking were not a consistent predictor of intention and behavior (Glassman et al. 2010).

The primary purpose of this study was to provide a further examination of the relationship between academics and alcohol within the context of the TPB. Based on this theoretical model, it is hypothesized that attitudes toward academics will provide a control on intention to drink, which in turn will influence actual drinking behavior.

Methodology

As stated in the prior section, the primary purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between alcohol consumption and attitudes toward academics. This will be done through the use of the Ajzen (1985) Theory of Planned Behavior and data taken from a 2012 university survey.

Study Design

This study was based on secondary data previously collected from a 2012 drug and alcohol use survey of students at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. This particular campus was selected based on accessibility and proximity (a convenience sample).¹ Since the data to be collected included sensitive information, Qualtrics (a web-based survey tool) was used because it only tracks the IP address and provides anonymous responses. Additionally, Qualtrics offers an option to address the problem of "ballot stuffing" by installing a cookie to prevent a computer from accessing the survey a second time. Through campus email, students were asked to voluntarily participate in a 10–20 minute survey on behaviors and attitudes associated with alcohol and drug

use, as well as attitudes related to school activities. The survey contained 38 questions; however, only 26 of the 38 questions were utilized for the current study.

Sample

Based on a 5 percent margin of error and 95 percent confidence level, a sample of 385 students was needed for the initial study. However, to address the problems of non-response bias, a random sample of 770 students was selected and 606 students responded, which provides robust data for analyses. Descriptive statistics on the sample, in comparison to the population from which the sample was drawn, is presented in table 1.

Table 1. Gender and race measures.

Characteristic	Number in Population	Percent of Population	Number of Survey Respondents	Percent of Survey Respondents
Gender				
Male	5,581	39.7	200	33.8
Female	8,478	60.3	392	66.2
Race				
White	12,202	86.8	548	94.8
Non-White	1,857	13.2	30	5.2

This study used information culled from secondary data to test whether student attitudes toward academics will provide a control on intention to drink, which in turn will influence actual drinking behavior. The study also provided a test of the TPB, using the variables depicted in figure 4. Although the use of secondary data in research presents advantages in terms of costs, time, and the ability to generate new discoveries one inherent problem with secondary data, of any type, is that the data do not always provide the best measures of concepts for new study, as they were not designed to measure those concepts. Nonetheless, the variables used in the current study replicate or approximate the variables used in prior research on this topic.

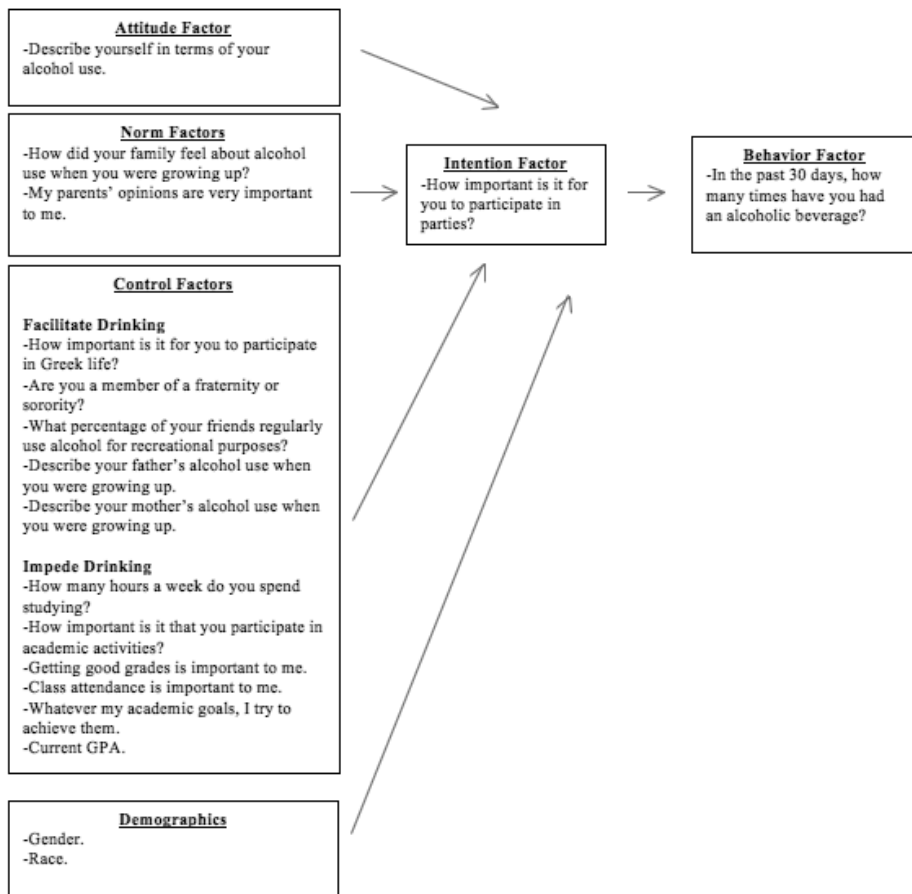


Figure 4. Theory of Planned Behavior with study variables.

Independent Variables

Attitudes factor. *Attitudes* refer to self-appraisal of behavior (Ajzen 1991) and are important in predicting drinking quantity and frequency (Leigh 1989). In this study, one survey question was used to measure the evaluation of one's own drinking behavior: Please describe yourself in terms of current alcohol use (1) an abstainer; (2) an abstainer from problem drinking; (3) an infrequent drinker; (4) a light drinker; (5) a moderate drinker; (6) a heavy drinker; or (7) a problem drinker.

Subjective norms factor. The *subjective norm* is a target person's perception of others' evaluations of the target person performing a behavior (Ajzen 1991). According to Collins and Carey (2007), "this construct may be broken down into two components: (1) perception of others' evaluations (also referred to as normative beliefs) of drinking behavior and (2) the importance of the others' opinions to the target

person (representing motivation to comply with perceived norms)” (498). One survey question was used to measure the perception of others’ evaluation of drinking behavior: How did your family feel about alcohol use when you were growing up? Did they (a) disapprove, (b) accept light drinking, (c) there was disagreement in the family or (d) accepted heavy drinking. Another question within the same survey was used to measure the importance of others’ opinions to the target person by asking respondents to rate the importance of their parents’ opinions on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “strongly agree” and 5 being “strongly disagree.”

Behavioral controls. *Control beliefs* refer to factors that someone may believe aid in promoting or impeding a specific behavior (Ajzen 2002). Five survey questions provided a measure of behavior controls that facilitate drinking: respondents were asked to rate, on a scale of 1 (very important) to 4 (not at all important) how important it is (1) to participate in fraternity/sorority parties; and (2) to be a member of a fraternity/sorority. For this variable, respondents were also asked to (3) estimate the percentage of their friends who “regularly” use alcohol for recreational purposes and to describe her/his (4) mother’s alcohol use while growing up and (5) father’s alcohol use while growing up.

Six survey questions provided a measure of behaviors that may impede drinking, with a focus on academics. Respondents were asked to rank on a five-point scale, with 1 being “strongly agree” and 5 being “strongly disagree”: (1) getting good grades is important; (2) participating in academic activities is important; (3) attending class is important; and (4) achieving academic goals is important. Respondents were also asked to: convey (5) the number of hours spent studying per week; and (6) their current GPA.

Mediating Variable

Intention factor. According to the TPB, intentions lead to motivational factors that influence behavior (Ajzen 1991). Thus, in the partial model, the intention to act is a dependent variable. Therefore, this study anticipates that subjective norms and behavioral controls will predict intention and intention should then predict behavior (Ajzen 1991). This variable was measured by the survey question: On a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 being “very important” and 4 being “not at all important,” how important is it for you to participate in parties?

Dependent Variable

Behavior factor. In the full model, the behavior factor becomes the dependent variable. The individual’s drinking behavior was measured by the survey question: In the past 30 days how many drinks have you consumed?

Demographic Variables

Although sex and race are not included in the theory, they were added in this study to explore any differences that may occur across these two groups. Because there were only 30 respondents reporting a race other than white, we created a dichotomous variable for race (white and non-white) in order to improve the ability to detect any racial differences.

Results

To explore the relationship between alcohol consumption and academics, this study conducted an ANOVA, a statistical test (table 2). In the first model, the influence of attitudes, norms, and control behaviors on intention was explored. The model was significant ($p = .000$), with 41.1 percent of the variation in intention explained by several significant variables. The attitude variable (describe yourself in terms of your current alcohol use) produced a significant ($p = .000$) effect on intention. For the control variable, two of three variables measuring facilitating drinking were significant: importance of participating in a fraternity/sorority ($p = .000$); and what percentage of your friends regularly drink ($p = .000$). As for the control behaviors that impeded drinking, only one academic variable was significant: getting good grades is important to me ($p = .008$). The demographic variable of gender ($p = .008$) was significant, indicating that it was more important to females to participate in parties. Race was not significantly related to intent to drink.

Table 2. Model 1: Attitudes, norms, and control behaviors regressed on intention to drink.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3.899	.573		6.810	.000
How did your family feel about alcohol use when you were growing up?	-.061	.059	-.054	-1.035	.302
My parents' opinion is very important to me.	.089	.051	.087	1.754	.081
How important is it for you to participate in Greek life?	.300	.081	.259	3.711	.000
Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?	-.103	.222	-.033	-.467	.641
What percentage of your friends regularly use alcohol for recreational purposes?	-.007	.002	-.199	-3.977	.000
Describe your father's alcohol use when you were growing up.	.034	.032	.054	1.069	.286
Describe your mother's alcohol use when you were growing up.	-.044	.042	-.053	-1.050	.295
How many hours a week do you spend studying?	-.023	.036	-.033	-.640	.523
How important is it for you to participate in academic activities?	-.022	.085	-.013	-.256	.798
Getting good grades is important to me.	-.229	.086	-.147	-2.673	.008
Whatever my academic goals, I try to achieve them.	.088	.098	.056	.896	.371
Class attendance is important to me.	.016	.066	.013	.237	.813
Current GPA.	-.002	.021	-.005	-.091	.927
Race.	-.378	.284	-.063	-1.331	.184
Gender.	.257	.096	.135	2.670	.008
Describe yourself in terms of current alcohol use.	-.277	.034	-.415	-8.050	.000

Note: Dependent Variable: How important is it for you to participate in parties?

Additionally, as indicated in table 2, the norm variables (attitudes of parents and how important parents' attitudes were to respondent) did not produce a significant effect on intentions to drink.

In the full model (table 3), intention was treated as an independent variable and the influences of attitudes, norms, behavioral controls, and intention on behavior were explored. The adjusted R^2 was .518 and the model was significant ($p = .000$), perhaps indicating that this model was slightly stronger than the previous model in explaining drinking behavior. In this model, attitude was significantly related to behavior ($p = .000$). Unlike the first model, norms were also significantly related to behavior: (1) parents' attitudes toward alcohol use ($p = .024$); and (2) the importance of parents' attitudes to the respondent ($p = .039$). The only control variable that was significant ($p = .004$) in this model was: What percentage of your friends regularly use alcohol for recreational purposes? The academic control variables in this model were not significant.

As for the demographic variables of gender and race, both were significantly related to alcohol consumption. Whites had significantly ($p = .015$) more alcoholic drinks in the past 30 days when compared to non-whites. Males had significantly ($p = .013$) more drinks in the past 30 days when compared to females. Gender was also significantly related to how important it was to participate in parties, with females being significantly ($p = .008$) more likely than males to have the intent to participate in parties.

Table 3. Model 2: Attitudes, norms, control, and intention regressed on behavior.

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	4.656	3.110		1.497	.135
How did your family feel about alcohol use when you were growing up?	.672	.296	.108	2.266	.024
My parents' opinion is very important to me.	.534	.258	.093	2.071	.039
How important is it for you to participate in Greek life?	.279	.416	.043	.670	.504
Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority?	-2.183	1.114	-.124	-1.960	.051
What percentage of your friends regularly use alcohol for recreational purposes?	.026	.009	.134	2.877	.004
Describe your father's alcohol use when you were growing up.	-.298	.164	-.083	-1.811	.071
Describe your mother's alcohol use when you were growing up.	-.043	.211	-.009	-.206	.837
How many hours a week do you spend studying?	.142	.184	.036	.773	.440
How important is it for you to participate in academic activities?	-.310	.425	-.033	-.729	.467
Getting good grades is important to me.	.177	.436	.020	.406	.685
Whatever my academic goals, I try to achieve them.	-.552	.495	-.063	-1.115	.266
Class attendance is important to me.	.332	.333	.051	.997	.320
Current GPA.	-.117	.107	-.049	-1.088	.277
Race.	-3.512	1.433	-.105	-2.450	.015
Gender.	-1.228	.489	-.116	-2.509	.013
Describe yourself in terms of your current alcohol use.	1.998	.194	.536	10.317	.000
How important is it for you to participate in parties?	-.425	.302	-.076	-1.407	.161

Note: Dependent Variable: In the past 30 days how many times have you had an alcoholic beverage?

Discussion

The primary purpose of this study was to provide an examination of the relationship between academics and alcohol within the context of the TPB. Only one of the academic variables produced an influence on intent to drink, and none of the academic variables provided a control on drinking behavior. Thus, it appears that a concern for good grades may have only a limited influence on intent to drink. Overall, the academic variables do not inhibit drinking behavior. Of all the control variables, only three were significantly predictive of intent to drink: *importance of participating in Greek life*, *percentage of friends who drink*, and *importance of getting good grades*. The only one that was predictive of drinking behavior was the percentage of friends who drink. Some researchers have suggested that the influence of control factors in this model may be over-estimated and the importance of attitudes may be under-estimated (Kraft et al. 2005); the current study may provide support for this contention.

Similar to Collins and Carey (2007), the current study did not find a significant relationship between norms and intent to drink. However, the norms of parental attitudes toward drinking and the importance of those attitudes to the individual did directly influence drinking behavior. This finding suggests that students may come to campus with preconceived ideas of appropriate drinking behavior, developed during early socialization through family interactions. While familial norms may have a positive or negative influence on reducing drinking behavior, peer relationships might exert a stronger influence, especially when students live on campus away from the influence of the home environment. As found in this study, one of the consistently strong relationships was the influence of the percentage of friends who regularly drink alcohol on the intent to drink and on an increase in consumption of alcohol. Therefore, perhaps one way to reduce drinking on college campuses is to implement programs that provide sober (non-alcoholic) parties for students and their friends to attend, as an alternative to drinking parties and to reduce the pressure to drink. One example of a national initiative to promote non-drinking parties on college campuses is Party.0. This initiative was implemented at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh in 2012, but to the knowledge of the researchers there have been no evaluations of the program's impact on rates of alcohol consumption on campus. Additionally, alcohol reduction strategies might be particularly impactful if promoted within Greek life, as indicated in this study and prior research.

Another variable that was consistent across the models in predicting intent to drink and actual drinking behavior was the attitude factor. The individual's evaluation of his/her own attitude toward drinking did predict intent to drink and actual drinking behavior. Changing attitudes toward drinking may prove to be a difficult task, at least in the state of Wisconsin. According to recent research findings, Wisconsin is the "heaviest-drinking state in the country," and three main factors have been cited as contributing to the problem: availability of alcohol, acceptability of alcohol, and affordability (Blado 2015). Although it may be difficult to change attitudes about drinking, it is not necessarily impossible. For example, at one point in time, smoking cigarettes was a much more acceptable and even glamorized behavior. Perhaps adopting strategies used to reduce smoking in the general population, such as imposing a "sin tax," could work toward reducing alcohol consumption.

Intention to drink was not a significant predictor of behavior. This result could be due to the fact that the secondary data did not provide a good measure of intention to drink, or it could mean that the model, as a whole, does not provide a good prediction of drinking behavior. Perhaps the factors of attitude, norms, and control exert a stronger direct influence on behavior and intention can be eliminated from the model, especially since intention was not significantly related to behavior.

While TPB does not include personality, emotions, and demographic variables, Ajzen (1985) states that these variables may be included in the theory if they affect beliefs that influence the attitude toward the act, which in this study would be drinking. Since gender and racial socialization may influence how individuals evaluate their own behavior, these two variables were included in the study. Gender influenced both the intent to drink and drinking behavior. Females were more likely to indicate that participating in parties was important, but males were more likely to consume greater amounts of alcohol. The findings regarding gender difference in alcohol consumption were consistent with prior research on this relationship (Johnston et al. 2014). There was no significant relationship between race and the intent to drink, but there was a significant relationship between race and consumption of alcohol, with whites consuming more alcohol than non-whites.

Conclusions

Although we did not find a strong relationship between academics and alcohol consumption, this was not surprising since other researchers have also come to the same conclusion (Aertgeerts and Buntinx 2002). However, the findings in our study could also be related to the fact that we used secondary data and the variables were not specifically intended for the current study, which is one limitation of this study. It should be noted that we did find an inverse relationship between GPA and the importance of participating in parties and GPA and the number of alcoholic beverages consumed in the past 30 days. Although the relationships were not significant, the finding in the study regarding the inverse relationship is consistent with prior research on these variables (Musgrave-Marquart, Bromley, and Dalley 1997; Vaughan, Corbin, and Fromme 2009; Butler, Spencer, and Dodge 2011; Porter and Pryor 2007; Engs, Hanson, and Diebold 1994). Noting the consistency in the findings of an inverse relationship between GPA and alcohol consumption, perhaps implementing programs addressing poor academic performance could have an impact on alcohol consumption. If a student's GPA is improved, he or she may have more to risk by engaging in drinking behavior.

Another limitation to the current study is that the primary data was collected from students at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, which is located in the state with the highest rate of alcohol consumption. Wisconsin's drinking culture may have influenced the outcome of the study. Future research on this theory, with a focus on academic variables, should keep in mind the cultural context of drinking in the targeted population.

A final limitation to this study is the racial demographics of the student population on the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh campus. The majority of students are white and, consequently, the majority of sample respondents were white. Future research on this topic might want to target a more racially integrated campus.

Despite the foregoing study limitations, the results in this study add to the existing literature in several ways. First, this study is unique as it explored whether attitudes toward academics may help to inhibit drinking behavior, while past studies primarily focused on the impact of drinking and academic outcomes. This study also provided a further test of the TPB and resulted in confirming some critiques of the theory. Finally, this study highlights the influence of peer behavior on individual behavior and suggests that campus activities providing alternatives to the drinking culture should be explored in order to promote non-drinking behaviors and encourage interactions with peers who do not place such a high emphasis on consuming alcohol. In addition to providing alternative non-alcoholic events on campus, the larger community might explore solutions to the broader drinking culture, such as making alcoholic beverages more expensive (creating a “sin tax” on alcohol).

Note

1. The survey was administered by Dr. Rose and Dr. Beck, in the Department of Criminal Justice to: (1) establish a set of data for students to use in their statistics and methods course, in order to teach students how to run statistical analyses, test criminological theories, and write APA style research papers; (2) provide the University with trend information on student alcohol- and drug-related behaviors and attitudes; and (3) to be used in a forthcoming book.

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The Significance of Community Capital in Generating and Upholding a Local Food Movement

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Abstract

This study uses a qualitative approach to investigate factors motivating restaurant owners in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, to source their menu items locally and, secondly, farmers around Oshkosh to provide them with products. I initially hypothesized that the connection between the supply of goods from farmers and restaurant owners primarily stems from profit but found after non-random interviews with four restaurant owners and three farmers from the region that the profit pursuit thesis is invalid. For my research purposes, *local* is defined as coming from within a 60-mile radius. Food is a foundational component of daily life, and with it comes specific ritual and behavior, which can be studied through a sociological lens. Through face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Oshkosh's local food movement, I shed light on various themes including: emphasis on community, instances of false advertising, socioeconomic status of restaurant clientele, accessibility of local farmers to restaurant owners, the future of the local food movement, and variation in local product percentages among restaurants. More research should be done on this topic in general and more specifically in the Fox River Valley region of Wisconsin.

Introduction

This study generally explores factors motivating restaurant owners in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, to source their menu items locally and, secondly, area farmers to provide them with products. The research falls somewhere between micro and macro sociology because I study individuals in face-to-face interviews while simultaneously investigating the widespread social processes at play within the Oshkosh community. Because food is a foundational component of daily life, and with it comes specific rituals and behavior, I chose to focus on the local food movement. The city of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, has never been researched before in this regard.

My initial hypothesis stated that the sole reason for partnerships between restaurant owners and local farmers stems from profit. After facilitating non-random interviews

with four restaurant owners and three farmers from the area, my hypothesis was nullified. Substantially more than profit contributes to local food partnerships. Six key sociological themes prevailed throughout the process including: emphasis on community, instances of false advertising, socioeconomic status of restaurant clientele, accessibility of local farmers to restaurant owners, the future of the local food movement, and variation in local product percentages among restaurants. Each area should be delved into for further study.

Literature Review

Many contributors to literature surrounding the local food movement have a similar viewpoint on the importance of social capital in eliciting productive relationships between local farmers and purchasers (restaurant owners, grocery stores, etc.). According to Flora and Flora, social capital can be defined as an attribute of communities, a group-led phenomenon wherein “norms [are] reinforced through a variety of processes: forming groups, collaborating within and among groups, developing a united view of a shared future, forming or reinforcing collective identity, and engaging in collective action” (2008, 117). The collaboration between farmers and purchasers to exchange products is what is currently sustaining the local food movement.

Flora and Flora’s social capital framework is deeply rooted in Pierre Bourdieu’s social practice theory, which argues that humans find meaning in life through routine social interactions as they apply order to the world (Bourdieu 1977). This theory is deeply embedded in Andrew Nelson’s work with “locavore” chefs in Canada (Nelson 2014). He finds that chefs in Alberta capitalize on the relationship between social and cultural goals. By routinizing interactions between themselves and their producers, they can share financial risks, market their local menu items, and diversify product types (Nelson 2014, 57). Marsden et al. also utilize the social practice theory as a means for furthering short food supply chains in rural areas (2000). In order for short chains to spread over space and time, producers must work together to identify rural spaces and use them more innovatively (2000, 436).

Another common element throughout the literature is discussion regarding an excess or lack of financial capital. While Nelson suggests that social practice is enough, Allan Ortiz and others do not (2010). He argues that farmers lack the financial resources and organizational skills necessary to effectively market their products to local dining establishments. According to Zeppa and Li, even if direct marketing was more successful, many people would not change their consumption patterns (2006). They suggest a disconnect whereby “the implication is that promotion campaigns that rely on energy, nutrition, and fair prices may be very well received by consumers but will not significantly affect their behavior” (2006, 9). They conclude that preexisting attitudes such as an appreciation for cooking are what most readily translates into local food purchasing (2006).

While many authors do not address it by name, financial capital can be defined as the “resources that are translated into monetary instruments that make them highly liquid” (Flora and Flora 2008, 175). Starr et al., in their study on direct marketing between farmers and restaurants, concluded that quality, not price, determines local purchasing (2003). While cost does not matter as much to the consumer, it matters

quite a bit to the farmer. “The American farmer is an endangered species,” and based on Starr et al.’s telephone questionnaire responses, many look to partner with restaurants to secure loyal buyers willing to pay a consistent price for a variety of products (Starr et al. 2003, 314). Farmer persistence, state and national direct trade policies, and educational programs must be amended so that local farmers see more financial success.

Furthermore, Patricia Allen defines “a socially just food system [as] one in which power and material resources are shared equitably so that people and communities can meet their needs, and live with security and dignity, now and into the future” (2010, 3). While Community-Supported Agriculture (CSA) and farmers markets are a direct response to these inequities, many economic constraints are still in place, like subsidies on crops more readily grown by industrial agricultural facilities (2010). Lastly, Hinrichs views social and financial capital as “difficult to separate” (2000, 300). For example, CSA is foundationally built on monetary exchange, yet shared values make the exchange much more personal.

Wilkinson’s and Van Auken’s community models also fit in very well with my local food movement project. In Wilkinson’s article, community is justified as a viable alternative to spatial systems theory (Wilkinson 1968). Van Auken, an environmental sociologist at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, defines community as “an inclusive web of interconnected relationships that develops in a particular place through a process of repeated social interaction in local society, which is shaped by the landscape it inhabits” (Van Auken 2014, 69). Essentially, communities emphasize social interaction, which culminates in interdependence. After completing, transcribing, and coding several interviews, I have found that the stakeholders in Oshkosh’s local food movement, mainly restaurant owners and local farmers, form a community that is hidden from the general public. While there are no formal agreements between restaurant owners and farmers, there are verbal ones that serve as the “social glue” that binds individuals together. They share a common set of values, which is demonstrated by restaurant owners bonding with other restaurant owners, farmers with other farmers, and restaurant owners with farmers, to discuss changes in consumer beliefs and attitudes. The city of Oshkosh serves as the common landscape in which most group members reside.

Methodology

Due to the fact that there is little literature that delves into the motivations behind partnerships between restaurant owners and local food producers, I chose to conduct qualitative, in-depth interviews with both groups in Oshkosh, Wisconsin. I had time during the scope of my three-month research period to interview four restaurant owners and three farmers. I transcribed interviews immediately after each session and coded by hand initially, but used a qualitative coding software program, NVivo, after all interviews were completed.

Preliminary restaurant respondents were recruited using various websites such as the Oshkosh Chamber of Commerce, TripAdvisor, and Urbanspoon, which led to my learning of the owners’ names and contact information. The first three respondents agreed to interviews after cold calls and emails. During interviews I asked for recommendations on whom to speak with next (snowball sampling), which was

extremely beneficial. While I took recommendations seriously, I purposely selected a variety of potential respondents to diversify the types of food service businesses reflected in my research. Food service businesses of interest included: traditional restaurants, bars, cafés, coffee shops, and supper clubs. Farmers were recruited mainly by restaurant owner recommendations as well as recommendations by environmental science students at the University of Wisconsin Oshkosh. While respondents were non-randomly selected, it seemed the most viable for my limited research timeframe.

I used qualitative interview techniques to prompt discussion on a variety of topics during my face-to-face interviews (see appendix A). For restaurant owners, I gained insight into the history of the business and clientele, their partnerships with local food producers, percentages of menu items that are locally sourced, and their views regarding the local food movement. For farmers, I elicited in-depth descriptions of their farm history, products, farming methods, partnerships with local restaurant owners, views regarding the local food movement, and thoughts on the industrial versus organic farming debate. My interviews were semi-structured and meant to be conversational so respondents felt comfortable voicing their opinions and telling stories. I distributed informed consent forms prior to the start of each interview per the Institutional Review Board's requirement. Each respondent signed and turned one back to me and some have kept a copy for their personal records. All names were changed in formal reports and presentations to ensure respondent anonymity. Interviews with respondents took 30 minutes on average. They were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim, which took approximately two to three hours to complete per interview. Six key themes prevailed throughout the interviews including: an emphasis on community, instances of false advertising, varied socioeconomic status of restaurant clientele, accessibility of local farmers to restaurant owners, optimistic outlooks on the local food movement future, and variation in local product percentages among restaurants.

Findings

Emphasis on Community

A strong sense of community has been established between restaurant owners and farmers invested in the local food movement in Oshkosh, based on the responses from my small pool of respondents. The term *local* explains the importance of place in eliciting productive relationships between stakeholders, but everyone seems to know one another, which points to interdependence being a key theme in the movement. In order for farmers to form productive relationships with restaurant owners, they must have face-to-face interactions and samplings with restaurant owners and chefs so that their products will be introduced in house. This is evidenced in a conversation with farmer Angela.

Oftentimes it is a sit-down conversation with the chef like I did with [chef at local restaurant] and said you know . . . What is on your menu or what would you like to feature? And some of the things were like the nasturtium. . . . The edible nasturtium flowers like . . . “No one else in town has them on their salads. They are beautiful.” Boom. We will grow them for you. Or there are some Asian herbs and stuff that . . . [another local chef] wants to try out. . . . So it is a very organic process of you sit down with a chef, you look at their menu, you say “Oh, yeah, oh! You do red spinach. Oh, okay. . . . That is great” and then you

just kind of talk your way into “what can I grow for you?” (March 10, 2016). Farmers and restaurant owners are also very aware of the tastes of their clientele and cater to the various ethnic groups present in Oshkosh. Farmer Angela again stated:

I do absolutely pay attention to the makeup of the community. . . . I do make sure that we have some Asian influence. But we also have some traditional Germanic kind of food. Then we do really spicy hot peppers and that kind of stuff also for the Latino population. So I am always making sure that I am touching everyone (March 10, 2016).

Lastly, many interviewees exude a strong sense of pride for the Fox River Valley region. The majority are dedicated to strengthening the economy in and around Oshkosh and are against chain restaurants. As one farmer opined: “We have got good local, independently owned stuff. I am not bad-mouthing Panera. . . . I like eating Panera. You know? I am not demonizing all fast food. It is just that that money is not staying in Oshkosh” (March 10, 2016).

Instances of False Advertising

One restaurant owner, Diane, admitted to false advertising. While she claims a focus on serving the community and building relationships with local vendors, the restaurant partners with a multi-national food distribution corporation to provide the majority of their menu items. This may play into the “trendiness” of the local food movement in the year 2016. Lying to their customers proves to be fiscally advantageous.

This sheds light on a reason why the restaurant committing fraud is not receiving overt backlash from its clientele. Another reason for committing “sourcing fraud” is that many restaurant owners are under the assumption that local farmers will be unable to provide them the quantity/quality of products that their menu requires. Restaurant owner Marianne evidences this school of thought: “So we try to use as much as we can and there is just not a lot” (April 5, 2016). Other interviewees stress the difficulty of getting a uniform-looking product year-round and suggest that a seasonal menu is the only answer.

Socioeconomic Status of Restaurant Clientele

An initial research question that I was able to answer throughout the course of the three-month period was: Is the local restaurant clientele in Oshkosh of a certain socioeconomic status? The answer to that question after conducting research is a resounding “no.” Oshkosh restaurant owners cater to clientele from a variety of income levels as demonstrated by responses from these interviewees:

Our aim was that it would be a place for you to go and it would look nicer than usual, feel nicer than usual, but not really cost more than usual. But I mean from cheaper burgers on a Monday night at the bar to high-end celebratory dinners, we can do just about everything in between and I think that we have sort of pulled it off. You can think of it as a destination place for a special occasion (Curtis, Restaurant Owner, March 11, 2016).

It is all over the board. We get everyone. The winter clientele compared to the summer clientele is very different. Summertime we get a lot of people up from Illinois that come to go boating. A lot of families, people that come up. A lot of fishermen. Wintertime is more the local business where we get anywhere from farmers to teachers to just the normal factory worker. We pull from Fond du Lac to Green Bay across the lake to Sheboygan. So we have them coming from everywhere which is very nice. Very well-rounded I guess you could say (Marianne, Restaurant Owner, April 5, 2016).

The only exception to the conclusion that there tends to be significant variation among locally sourced restaurant clientele comes from the same restaurant owner who admitted to false advertising. There may be a correlation as to why individuals of higher socioeconomic status choose to dine at that particular restaurant opposed to locally sourced restaurants that purposefully appeal to people from a variety of income levels.

Accessibility of Local Farmers to Restaurant Owners

Another question I was able to address through my research was: To what degree are local farmers and restaurant owners accessible to each other? Accessibility is still relatively difficult at this time. Distribution seems to be the key struggle among farmers, since time is a luxury. While food distributors are becoming more conscious of consumer desires for locally grown products, it is difficult for farmers to get in contact with the right people. For many farmers, the most effective means of promoting their products to chefs and restaurant owners is by scheduling in-house tastings. While many successful partnerships begin here, efficiency is lacking. Farmers are also concerned that partnerships with restaurants will not generate enough revenue as restaurant owner, Curtis, elaborates on and is trying to remedy: "If you talk to the wrong farmer at the wrong time of the year even . . . every farmer that is small enough in scale is going to be concerned about selling to somebody like me. The answer I always got was 'Well then how will I have enough food to take to the market on Saturday?'" (March 11, 2016). As I found out later, this interviewee's vision alleviates the need for many farmers to go to the farmers market on Saturdays since a restaurant representative comes to them each week to purchase products for the same price that they would sell them for at market. It is beneficial for all involved.

The Future of the Local Food Movement

Many local restaurant owners and farmers have a rosy vision of what the local food movement will look like in the future (March 10, 2016). While I hypothesized that the consensus opinion among them would reflect pessimism, Oshkosh stakeholders do not see the local food movement as just a fad. Many mention the possibility of there being a co-op in town and a societal reversion back to gardening in the future: "In 10 years? Sure. There will be a co-op downtown. I think it is going to be a thriving local food movement again. I think we'll get back to gardening too" (Angela, Farmer, March 10, 2016).

Marianne's restaurant also hopes within 10 years to be growing all of its produce on site and freezing it for use over the winter. Marianne also mentions her hope for chain restaurants to be overthrown by local ones:

I guess you can get to the point where you freeze all your local vegetables and utilize them that way. I think that a lot more restaurants that are locally owned and not chains will probably begin to move that direction. Hopefully. I think they need to take over and get rid of the chain restaurants and . . . locally grow and give themselves the opportunity to give the people around here the money (April 5, 2016).

This again plays into the notion that people involved in the local food movement in and around Oshkosh exude a lot of pride for their community. Profit generated by chain restaurants does not stay in the area, as many interviewees seem to be aware.

Variation in Local Product Percentages among Restaurants

The final theme that emerged from my research is a great variation in local product percentages among restaurants, which depends heavily on the interviewee's definition of *local*. For my own purposes, I define *local* as coming from no more than 60 miles away. I found great inconsistency between restaurant owners as to how much of their menu is locally sourced. From 10 percent of the menu in the dead of winter to 75 percent of specials in the summer, there is considerable discrepancy: "And the percentage of the menu is probably a hard question," related one restaurant owner. "Percentage of the produce is probably 30 percent year round I would think" (Curtis, Restaurant Owner, March 11, 2016). Marianne states: "Summertime [we offer] more specials. Just because most of our specials will probably be locally sourced. I would say probably 75 percent of specials. Overall menu is kind of hard because of how much stuff you go through and what is not available for you. . . . Probably 30 percent" (Marianne, Restaurant Owner, April 5, 2016).

More research needs to be done to see if this is a consistent trend within the remainder of the Fox River Valley, state, or even nation.

Conclusion

While several compelling conclusions were drawn throughout the course of my short study, there is much more research to be conducted on this topic in the Fox River Valley. Other facets of the local food movement in Oshkosh, such as the city's year-round farmers market and controversial move toward a community co-op, should be addressed. Future researchers must also look to the roles that native Oshkosh residents play in the local food movement relative to the roles that non-native, university-affiliated individuals play. Research generated on this topic has the potential to shed light on the reasoning behind the successes and challenges of local food movements nationwide and other movements like it.

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Appendix A **Interview Outlines**

Local Restaurant Owners

1. Tell me about the history of your business.
2. Tell me about your clientele.
3. How did you come to partnering with local food producers?
 - a. Who initiated the partnership?
 - b. Why did you begin sourcing locally in the first place?
 - c. How has it been going?
4. What percentage of your menu items are locally sourced?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. Are some items harder to get than others?
5. What do you know about the local food movement?
 - a. Do you know about its history in Oshkosh?
6. How do you envision the local food movement 10 years from now? 50?
7. Is there anything else you would like to elaborate on?

Local Farmers

1. Tell me about the history of your farm.
2. What do you produce?
3. Tell me about your farming methods.
4. How did you come to partnering with local restaurant owners?
 - a. Who initiated the partnership?
 - b. Why did you begin selling your products to restaurants in the first place?
 - c. How has it been going?

5. Which restaurants do you sell to?
 - a. What products are they most interested in?
6. What do you know about the local food movement?
 - a. Do you know about its history in Oshkosh?
7. How do you envision the local food movement 10 years from now? 50?
8. Tell me your thoughts on the industrial vs. organic farming debate.
9. Is there anything else you would like to elaborate on?

“A New Slavery of Caste”: An Evaluation of President Woodrow Wilson with Regard to Race

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Abstract

The presidency of Woodrow Wilson has been traditionally considered successful due to his administration's progressive legislation and leadership during World War I. Recently, his positive reputation has been challenged on the grounds of his racist views. This paper argues that these challenges are legitimate by first establishing criteria for evaluating presidents based on constitutional rights and values, and then by examining the Wilson administration's relationships to two race-based crises: the segregation of the civil service and mob violence. Wilson's bigotry led him to consistently make decisions that negatively impacted the lives and livelihoods of millions of African Americans. His unwillingness to uphold the individual rights and equal protections promised to all Americans, regardless of race, represents a fundamental failure of his presidential duty. Failures like these should weigh heavily in any meaningful evaluation of presidential success.

Dismantling Racism: An Introduction

On November 18, 2015, over 50 student protesters staged a 32-hour sit-in outside of the university president's office to protest Princeton University's enduring commitment to the legacy of the 28th U.S. president, Woodrow Wilson (Cavaliere et al. 2015). Wilson, who served as president of Princeton prior to serving as president of the United States from 1913 to 1921, has been memorialized on the campus through murals, buildings, and the prestigious Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Princeton's commemoration of Wilson is echoed across the country in the schools, cities, and street signs that bear his name. Wilson's claim to

success, which has traditionally rested on the shoulders of the progressive legislation passed during his two terms as president and his handling of World War I, is solidified in these physical landmarks. More abstractly, Wilson's legacy is maintained through his reputation as an idealist and dreamer (Berg 2013), a democratic leader who helped shape the modern presidency (Tulis 2003), and a visionary internationalist (Link 1954). It is these qualities that have led to his consistently high placement in presidential rankings among scholars and others, and it is these qualities that made the November protests so controversial.

Pressure placed upon the Princeton administration led to promises to engage in a conversation with the protestors, but the activity ignited a larger debate across the country about Wilson's claim to presidential success. The protesting students, affiliated with Princeton's Black Justice League, contested their university's veneration of Wilson—and his generally positive public image—because of his views of race. It is no secret that Woodrow Wilson, Virginia-born and raised in the midst of the Civil War and Reconstruction, harbored views on race that conflict with twenty-first century sensibilities. Despite the efforts of some scholars to take Wilson to task for his racial failings, his name remains revered. The Black Justice League's demand that "the university administration publicly acknowledge the racist legacy of Woodrow Wilson" was not unprecedented, but was met with backlash (2015). A counter group, "Concerned Princetonians," condemned the Black Justice League for "historical revisionism" and creating "a dangerous precedent and slippery slope that will be cited by future students who seek to purge the past of those who fail to live up to modern standards of morality" (2015). Their discomfort at the fracturing of Wilson's legacy rests on fears of censorship and anachronistic judgments.

In this paper, I argue that Wilson's racial policies do undermine his claim to presidential success. Although the concept is notoriously difficult to define, presidential success must include adequately fulfilling basic constitutional presidential duties, especially promoting the general welfare of the American people. Essentially, a successful president will have made choices that do not negatively impact the lives of constituent groups, particularly those defined by race. This paper begins with a review of what scholars have previously written about Wilson and race. It then establishes criteria for an evaluation of Wilson's presidency with roots in basic, constitutional expectations of what a president should and should not do. I will illustrate that Wilson's bigotry caused him to fail at his fundamental presidential duties by investigating his administration's relationships to two race-based crises, the segregation of the civil service and the mob violence of the late 1910s. Finally, this paper will assert that Wilson's failures were far from harmless and should weigh heavily in any full assessment of his presidency.

"Shocking the Social System": Scholarly Opinion of Wilson on Race

Scholarly opinion has been divided in regards to the legacy of Wilson's racial policies. Although few scholars overtly praise or deny the Wilson administration's racial record, the importance they lend it in their evaluation of Wilson differs. Some scholars take an apologetic stance on Wilson's actions. They, like the group of Concerned Princetonians, are concerned with unfair criticism of Wilson for having views that they argue were actually moderate and mainstream at the time. Other

scholars concede that Wilson's racial policies were disastrous but argue that the good wrought by his other initiatives—bank reform, anti-child labor laws, women's suffrage—outweigh the negative realities of segregation and rising racial tensions. Finally, an increasingly popular school of thought maintains that Wilson's racial policies are too harmful to overlook. Scholars who adhere to this school show solidarity with the Black Justice League and skewer Wilson for his racism, but they have offered few comments on how this should affect our view of Wilson's presidency.

For defenders of Wilson, a concern for historical revisionism takes precedent. Biographers such as Kendrick A. Clements and A. Scott Berg attempt to reframe discussions about Wilson's racism by placing his views within the context of his time. For example, Clements maintains that Wilson was a bigot but admits that he had prejudices "like everyone else" and that, in relation to contemporaries, Wilson was actually a racial moderate (1992, 45). This concern for historical context is valuable, but it has the unfortunate implication of downplaying the negative impacts of Wilson's racial policies and, in some instances, the reality of Wilson's racism itself. Clements absolves Wilson of any responsibility for the segregation of the federal government, and Berg defends the reasoning behind Wilson's choice—he argues that Wilson sought "to promote racial progress—equal opportunities and peaceful coexistence—by shocking the social system as little as possible" (Berg 2013, 206). The claims made by Wilson apologists obscure his very real racist views.

Defenders of presidential success are less likely to diminish Wilson's racism but fail to offer a comprehensive analysis of the human impact of Wilsonian racial policies. Although these scholars concede that Wilson was a racist whose record was, in the words of biographer Arthur S. Link, "tragic and unfortunate" (1954, 66), they rarely offer a meaningful account of his racial policies in their final evaluations of his presidency. They condemn Wilson's racism and acknowledge that he was less tolerant than his presidential predecessors. But they maintain that his other achievements outweigh this negative aspect and make him worthy of praise. Link devoted his scholarly career to Wilson, a feat agreeable to him because of his belief that Wilson was the most "admirable character" he had ever encountered in history (Kauffman 1998). Modern evaluators such as historian Alvin S. Felzenberg, despite harboring a few misgivings, have commended Wilson's pushes for progressive legislation and congressional leadership as "extraordinarily competent" (Felzenberg 2008, 173). Defenders of Wilson's success may have a more even-handed view than defenders of Wilson, but they suffer from their failure to do anything more than pay lip service to condemning his racism.

Critics of Wilson are united by their efforts to castigate him for his bigotry. This school of thought was developed by midcentury African American scholars such as Kathleen Wolgemuth and Rayford Logan who initially sought to record the administration's offenses (1959; 1965). Although their views were once unpopular, their ideas are becoming increasingly accepted in academic circles. Contemporary scholars such as Eric S. Yellin, Michael Dennis, and Sheldon M. Stern deny a defense of Wilson based on historical context by arguing that he, as president, should have been more cognizant of the negative impacts of his personal prejudices. Some, like Stern, have called for an explicit reevaluation of Wilson's legacy but do not offer a framework for doing so (2015). Others, like Yellin and Dennis, explore the negative impacts of

his racism but do not comment on what this means for an assessment of his presidency (Yellin 2013; Dennis 2002). This critical school of thought is the most aware of the historiography concerning Wilson and the most likely to include black agency in their discussion of the events but suffers from its failure to convincingly argue that Wilson's views on race undermine his claim to presidential success.

Defenders of Wilson, for all of their efforts to understand the president within the context of his own time, disregard the fact that in practice he was more discriminatory than his presidential predecessors. When articulating their arguments they overlook the importance of Wilson's role as protector of the Constitution and its guaranteed rights. Thus, when synthesizing their evaluations of his presidency they do not endow the administration's racial policies with the gravity they are due. Critics of Wilson are the most likely to understand the basic failure of presidential duty presented by Wilson's conscious decisions to debase the lives of a significant population of American citizens. However, they do not explore what this means in terms of presidential success. This paper not only affirms their conclusions by presenting new evidence about the Wilson administration's racial policies, it uses the example of Wilson to comment more broadly on what presidential success means.

“Preserve, Protect and Defend”: Evaluating Presidential Success

There is no universally agreed upon criteria for what makes a “good president,” and there likely never will be. Presidential success is easily definable or redefinable depending on the preferences of the person doing the defining—so much so that some have even questioned the legitimacy of attempting to rate presidents at all (Rudalevige 2015; Felzenberg 2008). Despite this, evaluating the success of presidents is tempting. Newspapers and institutes regularly poll scholars and publish the results just as regular Americans compare the merits of their favorite presidents among friends. Those who score well are usually the same presidents who are historically held in high esteem. The concept of presidential success, despite being imperfect, still exerts a significant enough effect on national memory and self-conceptualization.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. is widely considered to have inaugurated this means of looking at presidents with a 1948 poll of 55 eminent historians and political scientists for *Life* magazine. The poll was informal and simplistic. Schlesinger's sample was comprised of his professional colleagues—all white men employed at elite colleges and universities. Without any instruction about criteria for judgment they rated the presidents in six categories from “Great” to “Failure.” Wilson was considered “Great,” a ranking he maintained in the 1962 follow-up poll for the *New York Times*. The second poll increased the sample size to 75 experts but kept the criteria-less system of evaluation. Although this open-ended system of evaluation allowed for nuance in judgment, it added nothing substantive to discussions of what “presidential success” truly is. This weakness was compounded by the startling lack of diversity among those surveyed. Even in the third and final 1996 Schlesinger poll, conducted by Schlesinger's son, also a Harvard historian, only two of the 32 scholars surveyed were anything other than white and male. Although there is nothing wrong with polling white men, the results of a poll comprised entirely or mostly of white men are not likely to be reflective of issues or concerns faced by women or people of color. The Schlesinger polls, despite setting the original standard for academic evaluations of presidential success, were deeply flawed.

The flaws in the Schlesinger polls acted as a framework for later ranking systems to “fix.” Scholars began to refine the original categorization. Many chose to sacrifice Schlesinger’s original value judgments in favor of complicating the system by devising specific criteria on which to rate the presidents. Survey respondents have been asked to comment on attributes like “crisis management” or “character and integrity” (Ridings and McIver 2000). Sample sizes were intentionally increased and manipulated to include women, minorities, and experts from both sides of the political spectrum in an effort to get the most balanced results possible (Ridings and McIver 2000; *Wall Street Journal* 2005). Presidential ranking has become so ubiquitous that scholars such as Alvin S. Felzenberg have used it as a springboard to develop their own systems of evaluation while others, such as Marc Landy and Sidney Milkis, have investigated the shared attributes of those presidents who are consistently considered “Great” (2008; 2000). Evaluating presidents and presidential success is a veritable cottage industry.

Of all of the recent ranking systems, the Siena Research Institute US Presidents Study is the most notable. The Siena poll expands on the original 1948 poll in almost every way. The sample size is larger and more inclusive, and respondents are asked to judge presidents on a five-point scale across 20 different categories (Sienna Research Institute 2010). The most recent 2010 poll surveyed 238 historians, political scientists, and presidency scholars on their informed opinions of individual presidents’ personal attributes, abilities, and accomplishments. Although the Siena poll is more substantive than other ranking efforts, it is still flawed. Each of the categories is assigned equal weight when calculated—this means that especially desirable attributes like “leadership ability” and “integrity” are considered to be equally important as “luck” when making a final judgment call on a president’s success. Contrary to what the Siena poll’s methodology implies, some things are more important than others when trying to calculate a president’s success. The Siena Institute’s efforts can be seen as the culmination of scholarly attempts to judge presidents due to the study’s comprehensive nature, but the results are still limited.

The biggest weakness of prominent systems of presidential evaluation, both scholarly and popular alike, is their tendency to be complicated. Even simplistic systems of evaluation lose sight of what is—or should be—at the heart of presidential success. A fundamental role of the president is to promote the interests of the American people. This measure of success is the most basic and meaningful one, rooted in the nation’s most important documents and values. The presidential oath of office confirms that the president is to “preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States” (U.S. Const. art. II, § 1, cl. 8). Any failures to do so, including failures to uphold the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment, which offers citizens “equal protection of the laws,” as well as failures to “promote the general welfare” of all Americans are violations of this oath and failures of duty (U.S. Const. amend. XIV; U.S. Const. preamble). Presidents have many responsibilities, but to be considered successful they must, at the bare minimum, uphold this role. This constitutional measure is the sole criterion upon which meaningful presidential success should be judged due to its essential and definitive nature. Any other criteria simply distracts from what is important when evaluating the performance of a president.

Unfortunately, a measure of presidential success rooted in constitutional rights and values has been largely overlooked or ignored. The result of this is that presidents

who have failed to do their duty and broken their oath of office have been frequently considered successful. This should not be possible. All presidents should be judged on whether or not they have worked to uphold the individual rights and equal protections promised to all Americans. In this case, did Woodrow Wilson work to advance and protect these rights? In an effort to determine whether or not Wilson's personal prejudices interfered with his ability to sufficiently fulfill his constitutionally mandated role this paper will investigate the realities of two Wilson Administration racial policies, the segregation of the civil service and the response to race-based mob violence.

“Justice Done in Every Matter”: Wilson’s Views on Race

Woodrow Wilson was the first president from the South since prior to the Civil War, and he carried with him all of the baggage that that implied. Born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, Wilson's youth was spent in Georgia and both Carolinas. Wilson's earliest memories were of the Civil War, and he came of age during the Reconstruction. White supremacy is not a uniquely Southern ideology, but Wilson's youth was informed by it, and he identified deeply with his Southern background. It was not uncommon for him to take the side of the South in debates and, as he matured, he began to use his platform to act as a voice for the American South in the American North (Wilson, *Papers of Woodrow Wilson* hereafter cited as *PWW*, 2:19–25). A part of this voice was an unexamined proclivity for white supremacy.

Wilson was both a conduit and a source for the articulation of postbellum Southern racial ideas. He had been shaped by them, and he sought to shape the world in their image. His historical writings popularized a view of Reconstruction in which the honorable South was plagued by “the intolerable burden of governments sustained by the votes of ignorant negroes and conducted in the interest of adventurers” (Wilson 1902, 5:58). Wilson's best-selling series, *A History of the American People*, portrayed black suffrage as a social ill and the development of Jim Crow laws as “imperatively necessary” for the protection of the South (5:20). As the head of Princeton, Wilson discouraged African Americans from applying, arguing in 1904 that “the whole temper and tradition of the place are such that no negro has ever applied for admission” (quoted in Princeton University Board of Trustees 2016). When directly challenged by the request for admissions information by an African American in 1909, Wilson recommended that it was “altogether inadvisable for a colored man to enter Princeton” (quoted in Princeton University Board of Trustees 2016). Throughout his career, Wilson worked to keep African Americans out of places of power and privilege both socially and institutionally.

This did not keep him from soliciting the black vote during the 1912 presidential election. African American support for Wilson's candidacy was spurred by distaste for the other candidates and exploited by the Wilson campaign (DuBois 1973). In private meetings with civil rights leaders, Wilson promised to be “president of all the people” and vowed to refrain from discriminatory hiring practices (*PWW*, 25:25). In a letter to Bishop Alexander Walters, an ex-slave and leading black minister, Wilson wrote of his “earnest wish to see justice done in every matter” and his promise that “[African Americans] may count upon me for absolute fair dealing” (ibid. 449). Excerpts of the letter were published and black leaders, despite misgivings, extended their support to

Wilson (NAACP 1912, 216–17). The culmination of their efforts was an unprecedented turnout among black voters for a Democratic candidate (DuBois 1973; Villard 1913). African Americans, drawn in by explicit promises, placed their faith in Woodrow Wilson.

“A New Humiliation”: The Segregation of the Federal Government

Of all Wilson’s racial policies as president, the most problematic was the segregation of the federal government. Although never mandated by an executive order, Wilson helped found a political regime that allowed for the further subordination of African American federal workers. His appointments of Southern Democrats in key cabinet positions created a culture in which, more than any previous administration since the end of Reconstruction, white supremacy was a pursued policy. The sleights toward the black community came first in the form of the appointments of white men to offices traditionally held by African Americans, such as the American ambassador to Haiti, before disseminating throughout the executive branch in the form of firings, demotions, discriminatory hiring practices, and blatant segregation (Villard 1913). This push for segregation represented a symbolic and economic blow to the black community that would not be remedied for another generation.

Segregation was a legitimate threat for the African American community, especially in Washington, DC. The nation’s capital was a relatively integrated city with a booming black middle class whose prosperity was anchored in government jobs (*Washington Bee* 1901a; *Washington Bee* 1901b; *Washington Bee* 1910). Racism was pervasive, but a government job represented prestige and a stable salary. The city was looked at by African Americans across the country as a beacon of hope (Watkins 1897). Encroaching segregation in other parts of the United States had sapped African Americans of their social mobility, maintaining oppressive racial hierarchies that disenfranchised voters and kept them in a cycle of abject poverty. The prospect of segregation reaching Washington threatened to destroy the black middle class that had thrived there for over half a century, undermining the very basis of African American success and ambition at the turn of the twentieth century.

The prospect of segregation in Washington was first brought to Wilson’s attention on April 11, 1913, from a very different perspective. Texas-born Postmaster General Albert Burleson broached the subject in a Cabinet meeting roughly a month after Wilson’s inauguration. His concern was for white railway mail clerks who had the “unpleasant” experience of having to work in cars alongside black railway mail clerks (Daniels quoted *PWW*, 27:290). Burleson’s concern was not unique; his sentiments were echoed by both other Cabinet members and the platform of the newly established National Democratic Fair Play Association, an organization of white office-seekers who exploited fears about the virtue of white women working under black supervisors in the federal government to push for segregation (Annin 1913; *New York Times* 1913). Wilson expressed his wish to have “the matter adjusted in a way to make the least friction” (*PWW*, 27:291). By July 1913, reports of segregation confirmed Wilson’s acquiescence to the pro-segregation wishes of his cabinet members (*PWW*, 28:60). In response to questions about the veracity of the reports, Wilson asserted that it was not only true but a positive development, writing, “My own feeling is, by putting certain

bureaus and sections of the service in the charge of negroes we are rendering them more safe in their possession of office and less likely to be discriminated against" (65). He echoed that sentiment publicly (278). It is arguable that Wilson, a Southern progressive, genuinely believed he was acting in the interests of both races. Scholars such as Michael McGerr (2003) have illustrated that segregation was not at odds with contemporary progressive notions of race relations. Even so, these notions were still built atop fears of African American advancement and were not left unchallenged.

Wilson's position was heavily criticized by civil rights leaders around the country. Robert N. Wood, writing for the *United Colored Democracy* in an August 5, 1913, letter, protested segregation on the grounds that "[African Americans] see in the separation of the races in the matter of soup and soap the beginning of a movement to deprive colored man entirely of soup and soap, to eliminate him wholly from the Civil Service of the United States" (*PWW*, 28:117). The black community was already sensing a threat to their livelihoods. The NAACP echoed Wood's sentiments in a widely published August 15 letter, adding that "wherever there are men who rob the Negroes of their votes, who exploit and degrade and insult and lynch those they call inferiors, there this mistaken action of the Federal Government will be cited as the warrant for new racial outrages" (165). Wilson refused to reconsider his position and continued to tacitly support the actions carried out by his department heads. He made the decision to uphold segregation in the civil service.

Wilson's actions had a demoralizing effect on the black community. Segregation wound its way through the structure of the executive branch, leaving alienation and shame in its wake. In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, three female African American employees were forced to use a bathroom for their lunchroom. When one of the women objected, she was fired (Nerney quoted in *PWW*, 28:404). In the Post Office Department, African Americans did not get a lunchroom at all. The Treasury Department saw African American women segregated out to work in rooms with poor light and ventilation. An NAACP report revealed they had "been moved several times but originally had been in rooms with white clerks where they had good light and air" (406). Ambitious black civil servants were demoted across departments, taking considerable cuts in pay and prestige (*Washington Bee* 1914). It is no wonder that, in an August 18, 1913, letter Booker T. Washington commented, "I have never seen the colored people so discouraged and bitter as they are at the present time" (*PWW*, 28:127).

In light of these developments, civil rights leaders and the NAACP attempted to arouse public sentiment against the administration through the use of mass meetings and publications. This development inspired the Wilson administration to not only retract their initial assertion that segregation was beneficial but to deny its existence altogether. Treasury Secretary William Gibbs McAdoo wrote a letter, most likely approved by the president, in which he claimed, "There is no 'segregation issue' in the Treasury Department. It has always been a mischievous exaggeration" (*PWW*, 28:453). This was a blatant falsehood—there was clearly a segregation issue in the Treasury Department and the federal government as a whole—and a direct contradiction to what the Wilson administration had previously stated publicly regarding the existence of segregation in the civil service.

The culminating moment for both the opposition and administration came on November 6, 1913. In response to a petition with more than 20,000 signatures from individuals in 36 states protesting the segregation of the federal government, Wilson granted an audience with black civil rights leader William Monroe Trotter (*PWW*, 28:491). Trotter used the meeting to condemn Wilson's willingness to "inaugurate a new humiliation, a new handicap, a new caste of slavery" on the black community (493). Wilson responded by explicitly saying "there is no policy on the part of the administration looking to segregation" (496). Wilson may have genuinely believed that segregation was beneficial, but he was not willing to even offer a defense of his administration's actions. Perhaps this is because he knew that segregating the civil service represented a failure of his duty to all American citizens. Ultimately, Wilson's acquiescence to his Cabinet secretaries indicated a prioritization of white supremacy over black achievement—a trend that began in Wilson's academic career that he took with him to the White House.

The fallout of Wilson's meeting with Trotter played out in multiple ways. The white press castigated Trotter and the black press heralded him as a hero (*New York Times* 1913; *Broad Ax* 1914). The public focus on segregation in the federal government briefly limited the policy's continued adoption, but by early 1914 it became clear that segregation was here to stay (*PWW*, 29:105). Organized protests from the black community never stopped, but by the early 1920s the segregation in the federal government had seeped out into the city. DC had lost its reputation as a haven for African Americans and was now just as segregated as other Southern cities (*Washington Bee* 1921; *Cleveland Gazette* 1925). Segregation within the federal government reigned supreme, despite some half-hearted attempts to reverse it, until the 1960s. The Wilson administration's policy of segregation, supported by Wilson himself, ruined the economic and social well-being of thousands of families. His response to segregation was one that explicitly reneged on a campaign promise and failed to achieve one of his most basic presidential duties—the promotion and extension of welfare and liberty.

"Disgrace to Democracy": The Wilson Administration and Mob Violence

The legitimization of white supremacy in the federal government had the unintended consequence of further destabilizing race relations. For all of Wilson's insistence on using segregation to solve racial problems in a way that would result in the least amount of friction possible, his consent in segregating the federal workforce had a trickle-down effect that helped to exacerbate racial tensions across the country and eventually culminated in lynchings and race riots. Wilson's initial actions were compounded by other factors that put strain on the American people, like the advent of World War I, shifting demographics and the rise of new industry. Violence against African Americans was nothing new—lynching had been endemic in the United States since the end of the Civil War and race riots were not an original development—but it became more frequent, more pronounced, and more destructive during Wilson's presidency. Highly publicized lynchings and an outbreak of race riots in Wilson's second term were abetted by his reluctance to take any sort of definitive action, and the African American community was left facing these new challenges while saddled with a government that, more than any other in the past 50 years, was deaf to their concerns.

Racial violence presented a clear and present danger to the African American community. Lynching and mob violence had long been a tactic used to threaten African Americans into subordination. The practice had evolved into its contemporary form during Reconstruction as a response to legislation that brought legitimate political and economic power into the hands of African Americans. As Woodrow Wilson himself put it “[white men] took the law into their own hands, and began to attempt by intimidation what they were not allowed to attempt by the ballot or any ordered course of public action” (1902, 5:59). Their attempts were successful. Lynching and other forms of mob violence threatened African American lives, well-being, families, and communities. It undermined their ability to protect their social and economic interests, and it brought tragedy and horror wherever it appeared.

Although lynchings had been in decline since their peak in the 1890s, they were still considered enough of a threat in the 1910s to warrant the NAACP to press Wilson to offer his support in condemning mob activity (NAACP 1919; *PWW*, 25:25). Wilson promised to do just that although he did express reservations about the ability of the federal government to be of much use in the matter (*PWW*, 25:26). Instead of upholding his promise, Wilson was at best silent on the issue and at worse antagonistic. In an oft-repeated anecdote about the administration, Wilson held a private showing of D.W. Griffith’s 1915 film, *Birth of a Nation*, at the White House. The film, which portrayed the white supremacist Ku Klux Klan as a group of dashing heroes who protected the virtue of white women from devious freed blacks in the Reconstruction-era South, enflamed racial tensions and directly led to the reinvigoration of the KKK. Although the Wilson administration did attempt to distance itself from the film following huge amounts of backlash from the black community, it is true that the film accurately reflected Wilson’s own understanding of Reconstruction (*Broad Ax* 1915). The dynamics of the Reconstruction-era South shown in the film are the same ones that Wilson himself helped to develop in his own historical writing—he is even quoted in the film. Despite the administration’s efforts to retract their previous support of the film, Wilson again put strain on race relations and unintentionally promoted violence against African Americans.

Despite previous failures, Wilson still could have easily made a positive impact against lynching and mob violence. In 1916, a brutal, well-publicized lynching in Waco, Texas, aptly referred to as the “Waco Horror” by the NAACP, spotlighted the issue internationally (1916). Wilson had an opportunity to comment publicly on the tragedy and condemn lynching. Instead, he was silent. Wilson’s previous hesitation about the ability of the federal government to intervene with state criminal law could have been a reason for his reluctance but, if so, it is notable that he did condemn mob violence after the 1918 lynching of a German-American during World War I. In this instance, he compared lynchers to “disgraceful” Germans and reminded Americans that “every mob contributes to German lies about the United States” (Wilson Speech July 26, 1918). It is logical that Wilson would seek to limit internal strife during war time, but it is also a clear indicator of his priorities that a public denunciation of lynching came only at a moment when it was possible to do so in a way that did not cross the color line.

Lynching was not the only form of mob violence faced by African Americans. Wilson’s second term saw two waves of urban race riots that cost hundreds of lives and

millions of dollars' worth in property damage (Greuning and DuBois 1917; McWhirter 2011). The massacres that swept through East St. Louis in 1917 and the string of riots that ignited in cities such as Chicago and Washington, DC, in 1919 shared marked similarities. Both had roots in the racial tensions spurred by continued lynchings and the national example set by the segregation of the federal government. Both were exacerbated by the northern migration of black workers, the uneven relationship between labor and capital, and the stresses of war (U.S. Congress 1918; *New York Times* 1919). Although there were multiple instances of riots and massacres in the late 1910s, I will be focusing on the riots of 1917 and 1919 since they best exemplify the overall trend.

The massacre in East St. Louis exploded out of tensions between black and white workers in the summer of 1917. Tensions had existed since May, but conditions worsened in July with a drive-by shooting in a black area of the city by two white men (U.S. Congress 1918). Retribution sought by African Americans triggered violent retaliation by whites that lasted for days. Precise death tolls are unknown due to underreporting, but anywhere from 40 to 200 African Americans and 8 white people were killed (U.S. Congress 1918; Greuning and Dubois 1917). Most of the deaths and the worst of the damage came from the fires set by white rioters in the black areas of the city. The Wilson administration remained silent on this incident.

Calls for federal intervention on behalf of the African American community were immediate. They were united by the sentiment expressed by an NAACP report that asked "And what of the federal government?" (Greuning and DuBois 1917, 238) and found a well-articulated vocalization in eminent African American professor Kelly Miller's widely printed "Disgrace of Democracy: An Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson" (Miller 1917). Miller used the ongoing war to frame his argument, writing "the Negro, Mr. President, in this emergency, will stand by you and the nation. Will you and the nation stand by the Negro?" (13). African Americans also created public outlets for their protests, turning to the streets in an unprecedented Silent Protest Parade (*PWW*, 42:342). The protestors echoed the sentiments expressed in Miller's letter, calling for "lynching and mob violence [to] be made a national crime" (343). The African American community was not about to go down without a fight.

For all of his silence, Wilson was aware of the events as they played out. Unable to ignore the horror of the riot, Wilson privately expressed his anxiety, referring to events as "tragical and outrageous" (*PWW*, 43:300; 43:123). In formulating a response, Wilson turned to his Attorney General, where the two conferred that "no facts have been presented to [the government] which would justify federal action" (300). Wilson did not feel as though he had the jurisdiction to intervene, but he was still free to make a public comment regarding the violence. In situations like this, a president's ability to appeal directly to the people can be a great asset (Neustadt 1991). Instead, he said nothing. The administration's lack of response was seen as suspicious in light of established racial policies (*New York Evening Post* reprinted in NAACP 1917, 304). Matters were made worse when a delegation of young black activists seeking an audience with the president in order to press for a public condemnation of the riot was turned away (*PWW*, 43:413). Sensing growing discontent, Wilson did agree to a meeting a few days later where he "promised that everything possible would be done by the federal government to punish persons guilty of violence against blacks and to

prevent similar offenses in the future” (ibid.). The response was published, but it is noteworthy that it took the concentrated pressure of the black community before the administration displayed any kind of leadership.

When similar offenses did occur in the future, the Wilson administration made no move to prevent them. The year 1919 saw the outbreak of over 30 race riots (*New York Times* 1919). Tensions that contributed to the 1917 riot were compounded by the demographic changes caused by returning soldiers and anxieties about Bolshevism in America. These tensions spilled out into the streets in the form of racially charged violence. African Americans in cities across the nation were beaten, assaulted, and brutally murdered; their houses were set ablaze and their property destroyed (McWhirter 2011; NAACP 1919). Conditions deteriorated badly, but Wilson’s attentions were turned elsewhere. He was primarily focused on a futile crusade to convince America to ratify the League of Nations, a sort of proto-United Nations designed to prevent another world war. He made no effort to understand the worsening racial tensions within the country or make any decisions about it. He was aware of the situation, given the extensive press coverage the riots received, but his was not an active interest.

Wilson’s failures in the area of tackling mob violence were twofold. The first comes from his fundamental failure to promote the general welfare of *all* Americans. Wilson’s failures to condemn mob violence in a timely and meaningful way, in addition to his implicit assertion of white supremacy at the federal level, created an environment that was amenable to racial violence. It would not have taken the refutation of principles concerning government intervention to issue a more timely statement on the evils of mob violence, and Wilson’s reluctance to do so is particularly suspicious given his established views on the inferiority of the black race. Wilson’s second failure concerns his general competency. In each of the crises discussed in this section, Wilson failed to take sufficient action. His reactions were either delayed or nonexistent in situations where a single phrase could have impacted the national understanding of an event. In the face of chaos, especially in 1919, any sort of proactive leadership could have potentially helped to quell the riots. Wilson could have easily used his station as president to lead the nation rhetorically, and he could have also used the riots as an opportunity to do something substantive about the plight of African Americans. Instead, he prioritized international affairs over the harsh realities of life on the American domestic front. In this case, Wilson’s failures were compounded by failures in a way that undermines presidential success on multiple fronts.

Reevaluating Legacies: A Conclusion

There is no concrete measure of presidential success, but some things are clearly indicative. In their efforts to be as substantive as possible, popular academic frameworks for presidential assessment have relied on a myriad of attributes to parse success from failure. These traits simply complicate meaningful evaluations of a presidency, obscuring what is truly important about the role of a chief executive. The true determiner is fundamental: to be successful, a president must work to uphold the individual rights and promote the welfare of all Americans. A commitment to civil and human rights is not only a necessary quality to have; indeed, it is critical. It is rooted in the documents this country was founded on, and it is the most reflective of our guiding

values. There is no reason that it should not be imperative in any assessment of a president.

Past systems of evaluation have been kind to presidents who fail to fulfill this basic expectation. Their kindness is unwarranted and harmful. In the case of Woodrow Wilson, his views on race, amplified by his role as chief executive, had disastrous consequences for many people. At best, it cost them their social and economic mobility; at worst, it cost some their lives. Wilson may have reacted more appropriately in other situations, and he may have left other, more positive legacies, but it should not be possible to be considered a successful president if your choices intentionally make the lives of a large group of citizens considerably worse. Rewarding those who have failed to pass this basic test is not only irresponsible, it is damaging—the praise of leaders like President Wilson sets a bad example for future aspirants to office and continues to harm groups that have been wronged in the past. It is not anachronistic to hold presidents accountable to a constitutional standard of individual rights and protections, and it should not be considered idealistic to expect such behavior from an elected official holding the country's highest station. The positive reputation awarded to Wilson has been an inaccurate reflection of his presidential performance and a miscarriage of justice. It is not out of bounds to ask for a public reevaluation.

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Effects of the Affordable Care Act's Medicaid Expansion Provision on the Uninsured Rate: A State-by-State Analysis

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Abstract

The Affordable Care Act (ACA), also known as Obamacare, is a reform of the United States health care system passed by Congress in 2010. The goal is to increase the number of insured citizens and reduce the cost of health care. The major provisions include the individual mandate, Medicaid expansion, extension of coverage of insurance plans that offer dependent coverage, and reduction of inefficiency in Medicare spending. This analysis addresses the following: How has the Medicaid expansion provision of the ACA affected the uninsured rate? How does the change in the uninsured rate differ between expansion and non-expansion states? What other variables can explain the variation in the uninsured rate across states? This study combines data from three different sources: the Kaiser Family Foundation, the American Community Survey, and the U.S. Census Bureau. Data is analyzed for the years 2013 (pre-Medicaid expansion) and 2014 (post-Medicaid expansion). Statistical analysis and econometric methods, particularly multiple regression, are used to predict the effects of the ACA on the uninsured rate. My findings reveal that the Medicaid expansion provision has had a significant impact in reducing the number of uninsured citizens. Overall, states that expanded Medicaid indicated successful outcomes, with southern expansion showing even greater health coverage outcomes.

Introduction

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), commonly referred to as the Affordable Care Act (ACA), is a reform of the health care system in the United States passed into law by Congress in 2010. Also known as Obamacare,

the ACA was conceived by the Obama Administration and bears similarities to the state of Massachusetts' health care reform in 2006. The primary objectives of the ACA include reducing the amount of uninsured citizens, reducing the costs of health care, and improving the quality of health care. The current mixed system (private and government-provided health insurance) remains intact, but with pervasive alterations. The components of the ACA were met with considerable controversy. In particular, the individual mandate (the legal requirement to have health insurance) and Medicaid expansion provisions were heavily scrutinized and nearly halted the ACA's passage entirely. Many Americans and politicians view the individual mandate as unconstitutional; however, the individual mandate was upheld by the Supreme Court in 2012 (Clemmitt 2012). The state of Wisconsin did not accept the Medicaid expansion and the available federal dollars. However, additional state funds were allocated to BadgerCare Plus, the state's Medicaid program. The ACA also forces states to reimburse insurance companies for the fee that they charge to handle people insured by Medicaid. Texas, Louisiana, and Kansas filed a lawsuit that challenged this fee and Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Indiana followed suit. The Medicaid expansion provision was intended to be a national program, but the Supreme Court's 2012 ruling enabled Medicaid expansion to be left to each individual state's discretion. The ACA's implementation includes numerous stages, with some provisions effective since 2010, some of the most significant effective since 2014, and others in effect in 2020. The major provisions, or components, include the requirement by law to carry health insurance (effective 2014), Medicaid expansion (effective 2014), the extension of coverage of insurance plans that offer dependent coverage (effective 2010), and the reduction of inefficiency in Medicare spending.

The ACA is the United States' attempt to provide health coverage for everyone while simultaneously making health care affordable for citizens and the United States government. To achieve this, every citizen is required by law to have a health insurance plan, or they must pay a fee (the individual mandate). This is essentially a tax that will force everyone to pay for health care whether they have health insurance or not. This provision of the ACA was modeled after the Massachusetts insurance expansion bill in 2007. This bill contained a health insurance mandate and insurance exchange, which showed success in health insurance coverage outcomes.

In addition to comparing expansion and non-expansion states, this study also highlights the different outcomes for southern and non-southern states. This can be useful for policymakers, since southern states tend to have lower incomes and higher rates of poverty, both of which are incorporated into this study. The Medicaid expansion provision was designed to benefit states with higher uninsured rates and lower incomes, so outcomes of states with these characteristics can be observed.

The findings of this study suggest that Medicaid expansion can account for the differences in the resulting uninsured rate amongst states, and states that expanded Medicaid demonstrated greater success in providing more citizens with health coverage. States in the South have seen even greater benefits from expanding Medicaid. This study primarily focuses on the effects of the Medicaid expansion provision on the uninsured rate from 2013 to 2014. Econometric methods and, more specifically, regression analysis is used to determine the relationship, magnitude, and significance that the Medicaid expansion provision and other variables appear to have on the uninsured rate. Additionally, this report compares outcomes of expansion and non-expansion states in multiple categories.

Literature Review

The ACA is a relatively new policy that will take time to be fully implemented and reveal its effect on health care. However, numerous short-term studies have been conducted and used to analyze the ACA's effects on health-related outcomes. The following studies have suggested that states that expanded Medicaid had significantly greater decreases in the uninsured rate, improved access to health care, higher subsidized exchanges enrollment, and greater self-assessed health.

Courtemanche et al. (2015) examined the impacts of the fully implemented ACA on first-year health insurance coverage, access to health care, utilizations of preventative care, and self-assessed health. The main data was gathered from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, due to its large amount of observations and broad range of questions on health insurance and health care. They sampled adults ages 18–64 from 2011 to 2014. A differences-in-differences-in-differences model was used to examine the Medicaid and non-Medicaid components separately.

Courtemanche et al. (2015) estimated the influence that the ACA had on the insured rate with and without Medicaid expansion. They found that the fully implemented ACA (states that expanded Medicaid) increased the rate of insured by an average of 4.6 percentage points compared to an average increase of 2.5 percentage points in states that did not expand Medicaid. Furthermore, the rate of insured reached a maximum increase of 7.7 percentage points due to the fully implemented ACA in states that had the largest existing uninsured rates, and a maximum increase of 3.6 percentage points from effects of the ACA without Medicaid expansion. According to this study, the non-Medicaid expansion components increased the insured rate by 2.5 percentage points on average, while the expansion component generated an additional 2.1 percentage points increase, yielding 4.6 percentage points in expansion states.

Additionally, Courtemanche et al. (2015) suggested that the ACA produced better primary care access, increased utilization of preventative services, decreased forgone care due to cost, and improved self-assessed health. According to this study, a state that fully implements the ACA is expected to have an increase of 3.7 percentage points of citizens having a primary doctor, a decrease of 4.8 percentage points of forgone health care due to cost, and a 1.5 percentage point increase in citizens reporting excellent health.

Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) estimated the change in insurance coverage by state due to the ACA, through the two main channels of Medicaid expansion and subsidized state health insurance exchanges. Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) gathered data from the 2010 Current Population Survey, which was used to indicate the health care coverage in states at the time the ACA was passed. The effect of states choosing to opt out of the Medicaid expansion was tested as well.

Findings by Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) estimated the expansion and subsidized exchanges component produced an 8 percent and 10 percent increase in the rate of insured, respectively. The Medicaid expansion and subsidized exchanges were positively correlated, suggesting that expansion states received greater gains in insurance coverage through subsidized exchanges.

Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) also discussed the impact of the Supreme Court's ruling that allowed each state to decide whether to expand Medicaid. As reported by Richardson and Yilmazer (2013), if Florida had expanded Medicaid, an additional

12 percent and 14 percent would have been covered by Medicaid and state exchanges, respectively.

Wong et al. (2015) studied the changes in health care use among young adults after the expansion of dependent insurance coverage in 2010. More specifically, it focused on the changes in routine care and usual sources of care due to the previously mentioned dependent provision. Wong et al. (2015) gathered data from the Medical Expenditure Panel Survey (MEPS) from 2006 to 2012 to evaluate trends in the use of primary care, and focused solely on young adults ages 19–35 years old. Wong et al. (2015) began by pooling data from the 2006 to 2012 MEPS, and used logistic modeling to estimate the likelihood that young adults with a usual source of care routinely visited their provider.

The results of their analysis revealed that from 2006 to 2012, there was an increase of 7.2 percent of young adults who received routine health care. They also found that the coverage of young adults increased from 75.5 percent in 2006 to 77.4 percent in 2012.

The studies discussed above focused on multiple health-related outcomes in addition to the Medicaid expansion provision. Courtemanche et al. (2015) considered all provisions of the ACA, while Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) confined their analysis of the change in the uninsured rate to a couple of components of the ACA. In this study, the Medicaid expansion provision is the primary focus; however, other factors are considered and modeled when determining the effects on the uninsured rate. Additionally, this study compares expansion and non-expansion states amongst multiple state categories.

Data and Methodology

Data Description

This study utilizes data from the following three sources to analyze the uninsured rates across the United States pre- and post-Medicaid expansion, for the years 2013 and 2014.

The first data source is the Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF), a non-profit organization that focuses on U.S. health issues. The KFF provides national and individual state data. The following variables were constructed using data from the KFF website: *employer provided insurance*, *Medicaid expansion*, *insured by Medicaid*, and *Medicaid eligibility*.

The next data source is the U.S. Census Bureau and the American Community Survey. The U.S. Census Bureau provides data concerning numerous business- and economic-related categories. The American Community Survey is part of the U.S. Census Bureau, which conducts surveys on population, geographic, housing, and economic data. The U.S. Census Bureau was used to define which states are southern states and construct the variable *South*. The data for the variables *median household income* and *senior citizen* were collected from the American Community Survey.

The third data source is the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), which collects data on labor market activity, working conditions, and price fluctuations. The BLS was used to collect data on the state unemployment rates.

Description of Variables

The following variables (excluding year) contain state-specific data on all 50 states and Washington, DC, from the years 2013 and 2014.

Uninsured Rate: *Uninsured rate* is the dependent variable, expressed as a percentage of uninsured people in each state.

Year: *Year* indicates the time (year) of all other variables. *Year* is a dummy variable, coded with a 0 for 2013 and a 1 for 2014.

Employer-Provided Health Insurance: This is a percentage of all types of “providers.” Providers include employer provided (this variable), Medicaid, Medicare, non-group, other public, and uninsured.

Senior Citizen: This is a percent of the total population that is at least 65 years old.

South: *South* is a binary dummy variable, set equal to 1 if a state is in the southern United States and set equal to 0 if the state is not in the southern United States. The southern states are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Medicaid Eligibility: *Medicaid eligibility* indicates the state’s income requirement to qualify for Medicaid relative to the Medicaid expansion level of 133 percent of the Federal Poverty Line (FPL). This is a dichotomous variable; states with a level equal to or greater than 133 percent of the FPL are set equal to 1 and states with a level lower than the 133 percent FPL are set equal to 0.

Median Household Income: This is the median household income in each state.

Unemployment Rate: The *unemployment rate* as a percentage of the labor force.

Medicaid Expansion: This is a binary dummy variable set equal to 1 if a state expanded Medicaid as of January 2016, and set equal to 0 if a state did not expand Medicaid. January 2016 was used because it is the most recent data available and the year this study was conducted. The states’ expansion decisions, apart from the states that were initially decided, are not believed to have changed their decision since 2014.

Percent Insured by Medicaid: This is a percent of the total population insured by Medicaid.

Table 1. Summary statistics.

Variable	Mean	Number of observations	Minimum	Maximum	Units
<i>Uninsured Rate</i>	10.95% (3.58%)	102	3%	20%	Percentage
<i>Year</i>	50%	102	0	1	0 = 2013 1 = 2014
<i>Employer-Provided Health Insurance</i>	50.51% (5.51%)	102	37%	61%	Percentage
<i>Senior Citizen</i>	14.55% (1.78%)	102	8.90%	19.10%	Percentage
<i>South</i>	29.41%	102	0	1	1 = South, 0 = Not South
<i>Medicaid Eligibility</i>	37.25%	102	0	1	1 = \geq 133% of the FPL 0 = $<$ 133% of the FPL
<i>Median Household Income</i>	53,830.74 (8,854.59)	102	39,031	74,149	Dollars
<i>Unemployment Rate</i>	5.87% (1.37%)	102	2.70%	8.80%	Percentage
<i>Medicaid Expansion</i>	62.74%	102	0	1	1 = Expansion, 0 = No Expansion
<i>Percent Insured by Medicaid</i>	17.55% (4.31%)	102	9%	29%	Percentage

Note: Standard deviations are listed in parentheses below the mean values. The descriptive statistics indicate the average uninsured rate to be about 10 percent, ranging from 3 percent (Massachusetts in 2013) to 20 percent (Texas in 2013). The mean for Medicaid expansion (about 63 percent) shows that a majority of states (32) decided to expand Medicaid. Also note the average for employer-provided insurance, indicating that just over half of the population receives health insurance through their employers.

Empirical Framework

The following baseline economic model shows the dependent variable (uninsured rate), and its explanatory variables. The expected sign of the estimated regression coefficients are shown in table 2.

$$UI = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Y_{i,t} + \beta_2 EPHI_{i,t} + \beta_3 Sr_{i,t} + \beta_4 Sth_{i,t} + \beta_5 ME_{i,t} + \beta_6 MHI_{i,t} + \beta_7 UE_{i,t} + \beta_8 MX_{i,t} + \beta_9 MI_{i,t} + U_i$$

where “i” is a state and “t” is a time index which represents 2013 or 2014.

Figure 1. Economic Model.

Table 2. Expected sign of coefficients.

Variable	Expected Sign
<i>Year (Y)</i>	Uncertain
<i>Employer Provided Health Insurance (EPHI)</i>	Negative
<i>Senior Citizen (Sr)</i>	Negative
<i>South (Sth)</i>	Positive
<i>Medicaid Eligibility (ME)</i>	Negative
<i>Median Household Income (MHI)</i>	Negative
<i>Unemployment Rate (UE)</i>	Uncertain
<i>Medicaid Expansion (MX)</i>	Negative
<i>Percent Insured by Medicaid (MI)</i>	Negative

Year: This captures any other changes in the *uninsured rate* that are not the results of independent variables included in the model.

Employer Provided Health Insurance: People who have health insurance coverage through their employer will already be insured. Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) found that states with higher percentages of *EPHI* had lower *uninsured rates*.

Senior Citizen: A greater portion of the population being comprised of senior citizens is expected to decrease the *uninsured rate* because many will have health insurance through Medicare.

South: States in the *South* are expected to have a greater *uninsured rate*, due to preexisting uninsured rates and resistance to Medicaid expansion. For the year 2013, southern states had an average uninsured rate of 14.5 percent, and non-southern states 11.3 percent.

Medicaid Eligibility: States with *Medicaid eligibility* greater than or equal to 133 percent of the Federal Poverty Line are expected to have greater enrollment and fewer uninsured.

Median Household Income: A greater *median household income* is expected to decrease the *uninsured rate*, since health care will be more affordable.

Unemployment Rate: A higher *unemployment rate* could be correlated with more or fewer people having health insurance coverage. People who are unemployed may be insured because they qualify for Medicaid. On the other hand, fewer people will have health insurance through their provider, and health care will be less affordable.

Medicaid Expansion: Previous studies done by Courtemanche et al. (2015) and Richardson and Yilmazer (2013) have found that states that expanded Medicaid showed greater decrease in the *uninsured rate* than states that did not expand Medicaid.

Percent Insured by Medicaid: States with a higher preexisting percent of people insured by Medicaid are expected to have a lower *uninsured rate*.

Results and Discussion

Regression Model Analysis

The regression model listed below is created using data from pre- and post-Medicaid expansion for the years 2013 and 2014. The log-transformation is used on *median household income* for the purpose of percentage interpretation (as opposed to a unit change in dollars). Furthermore, in order to capture whether there is a significant change in *uninsured rates* between 2013 and 2014 in expansion and non-expansion states, the interaction term between a dummy variable for year and that for *Medicaid expansion* is included.

Table 3. Regression results.

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Year</i>	-.0099* (-1.94)	-.0156** (-2.04)
<i>Employer-Provided Health Insurance</i>	-.6577*** (-12.50)	-.3964*** (-6.04)
<i>Senior Citizen</i>	-.6002*** (-6.10)	-.6833*** (-4.64)
<i>South</i>	-.0011 (-0.26)	-.0056 (-.87)
<i>Medicaid Eligibility</i>	-.0081 (-1.42)	
<i>Median Household Income</i>	.0113 (.74)	-.0053 (-.23)
<i>Unemployment Rate</i>	.4532*** (3.16)	.0432 (.21)
<i>Medicaid Expansion</i>	-.0029 (-.57)	-.0136* (-1.83)
<i>Percent Insured by Medicaid</i>	-.5866*** (-9.91)	
<i>Year * Medicaid Expansion</i>	.0013 (0.17)	-.0137 (-1.44)
Number of observations	102	102
Adjusted R ²	.8153	.6151

Note: t-statistics are in parentheses. ***, ** and * represent statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10% levels, respectively.

The results of regression for model 1, which includes all variables, indicate that the variables *year*, *employer-provided health insurance*, *senior citizen*, *unemployment rate*, and *percent insured by Medicaid* are statistically significant. Model 2 was created using an interaction term of variables *year*, and *Medicaid expansion* was added to determine the effect of *Medicaid expansion* from the years 2013 and 2014, which is the focus of this report. Model 2 excludes the variables *Medicaid eligibility* and *percent insured by Medicaid* due to a moderately strong correlation between the two variables and *Medicaid expansion*. In this model, the interaction term with *year* and *Medicaid expansion* still holds insignificant, but the sign is as expected and can explain significant variance in the *uninsured rate* in a state that adopts the Medicaid expansion. The greater magnitude and now statistically significant *Medicaid expansion* imply that the variations of *Medicaid expansion* in 2014 can be partly explained by *Medicaid eligibility* and *percent insured by Medicaid*. Specifically, states that adopted *Medicaid expansion* in 2014 experienced on average a 1.3 percentage point reduction in *uninsured rates*.

Generally, the correlation between the independent variables and *uninsured rates* are in agreement with economic intuition (table 2). All of the variables except *unemployment rate* have a negative relationship with the *uninsured rate*; that is, an increase in one of these variables is associated with a decrease in the *uninsured rate*, ceteris paribus. Southern states were expected to have higher *uninsured rates* on average, due to resistance to *Medicaid expansion*. However, southern expansion states achieved an average decrease in the *uninsured rate* of 20.03 percent, greater than the average mean decrease of 16.73 percent for all expansion states.

Other significant variables from model 2 include percentage of *senior citizens* and percentage of *employer-provided health insurance*. A 1 percentage point increase in *senior citizens* is associated with a .68 percentage point decrease in *uninsured rate*. Similarly, a 1 percentage point increase in *employer-provided health insurance* is correlated with a .40 percentage point decrease in *uninsured rate*.

In summary, the findings suggest that the Medicaid expansion from 2013 to 2014 has lowered uninsured rates amongst states. Other factors, such as employer-provided health insurance and percentage of senior citizens appear to be statistically and economically significant determinants of a state's uninsured rate.

State Comparisons in the Change in the Uninsured Rate

The following tables describe comparisons in the change in the uninsured rate from 2013 to 2014 for specified subsets of the data set. The data were categorized and organized based on the case of interest. Then, the states' changes in the uninsured rate were calculated as the change from 2013 to 2014. These changes were then averaged within each category.

Table 4 considers all states, and compares the average change among states that expanded Medicaid and states that did not expand Medicaid. Table 5 only examines southern states, and shows the average change among expansion and non-expansion states. Table 6 categorizes states by the preexisting (2013) level of the uninsured rate. Low, average, and high were the three categories assigned to states. Low represents an uninsured rate less than the sample average (less than .11), average is from .11 to .14, and high is between .15 and .20. The low and average groups are compared to each other, as well as the low and high groups.

A t-test of equal means was used to determine if the average differences in the changes in uninsured rate between particular groups is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level.

Table 4. All states: Medicaid expansion and non-Medicaid expansion.

All States Comparison**	Average Change in the Uninsured Rate (2013–2014)	Number of Observations
Medicaid Expansion States	-16.73%	32
Non-Expansion States	-22.85%	19

Note: **Statistically significant at the 95% confidence level (t-statistic = 2.4275).

Table 5. Southern states: Medicaid expansion and non-Medicaid expansion.

Southern States Comparison**	Average Change in the Uninsured Rate (2013–2014)	Number of Observations
Expansion States	-20.03%	6
Non-Expansion States	-22.87%	10

Note: **Statistically significant at the 95% confidence level (t-statistic = 3.4169).

Table 6. States with low, average, and high preexisting uninsured rates.

Low and Average Preexisting Uninsured Rates Comparison**	Average Change in the Uninsured Rate (2013–2014)	Percentage That Expanded Medicaid	Number of Observations
Low Preexisting Uninsured Rate	-10.42%	70.59%	17
Average Preexisting Uninsured Rate	-24.88%	72.22%	18
Low and High Preexisting Uninsured Rates Comparison	Average Change in the Uninsured Rate (2013–2014)	Percentage That Expanded Medicaid	Number of Observations
Low Preexisting Uninsured Rate	-10.42%	70.59%	17
High Preexisting Uninsured Rate	-21.53%	43.75%	16

Note: **Statistically significant at the 95% confidence level (t-statistic = 2.3380).

Table 4 indicates that non-expansion states, on average, displayed a slightly greater decrease. These results do not support the notion that expansion states have had better outcomes; nonetheless, this could be contributed to a combination of other factors, such as percentage of senior citizens and other variables outside of the model, which also influence the uninsured rate.

Table 5 shows that Medicaid expansion provision had more substantial effects in the southern states. This effect can be attributed to factors such as larger preexisting uninsured rates, higher poverty rates, and a larger exposure of the population to the new Medicaid eligibility level.

Table 6 indicates that states with average levels of preexisting uninsured rates saw the largest changes, with an average decrease of about 25 percent. States with low preexisting uninsured rates experienced the smallest changes. The average and high groups had a similar average decrease. However, only 44 percent of states within the high category expanded Medicaid compared to 72 percent in the average category. If more states within the high category would have expanded Medicaid, it is likely that the average decrease would have been even greater for states with high preexisting uninsured rates.

Conclusions

The Medicaid expansion provision has played a vital role in health insurance coverage outcomes. States that opted to expand Medicaid have shown evidence of greater health insurance outcome, with southern expansion states experiencing more dramatic effects. Other economically significant factors that can explain the variation in the uninsured rate amongst states include the amount of employer-provided insurance and the percentage of senior citizens.

A notable find is the potential impact of Medicaid expansion in the South. Southern expansion states had a greater average decrease from 2013 to 2014 than the average for all expansion states. States with high preexisting uninsured rates (many of which are southern states) displayed significant results due to expansion. The Medicaid expansion provision has exhibited success in achieving one of the core goals of the Affordable Care Act; it has enabled millions of Americans to have access to health insurance and coverage for medical services.

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An Economic Comparison of Post-Communist States to Others in Europe

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Abstract

Communism fell in Europe in 1989, making it necessary for European countries that had been communist to transition to market-based systems and more democratic regimes in the years following. It has been over 25 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, which began the reforms in post-communist countries. The purpose of this study is to analyze how the economies of these post-communist European countries compare to other European countries between the years of 2002 and 2007, after this period of transition. The results suggest that post-communist countries experienced more economic growth during the period studied. The results also indicated that less democratic states experienced more economic growth than states that were more democratic.

Introduction

The Berlin Wall fell in 1989. From then on into the early 1990s, Central and Eastern European countries began making a remarkable change from communist state-run to market-based economic systems and democracy (Hollander 1993; Seleny 2007; Lipton 2014; Kušić 2010). This was an unprecedented shift—national re-privatization had never occurred before—and these states had to undergo massive social and economic transitions (Hollander 1993, 43). After 25 years, structural economic reforms are now generally complete for virtually all countries (Roaf et al. 2014). It took centuries for the West to get to where they are now, and the Western countries are the new benchmark for the post-communist states. However, some post-communist states have experienced regime and overall political instability following their transitions—something that other European states have not recently experienced on the same level, and which could hold dire economic consequences for the post-communist states.

Ukraine is one state that has experienced turmoil following its post-communist transition. Ukraine's privatization was more gradual than that of other states; a small group of elite rulers came to dominate politics, and the country experienced controversies with elections and the murder of a journalist who had been linked to President Leonid Kuchma. All of this led to political uprising in the country between 2004 and 2005, with "anywhere from one hundred thousand to upwards of a million" demonstrators flooding Kyiv (Hale 2005, 154). Civilians were not the only ones to join in the uprising—police and military forces came to join the crowds as well. Ukraine's post-communist transition was a remarkably rocky one with very little political stability.

The Balkans also experienced much instability after the breakdown of communism in the region. Stan (2012) found that beginning in 1997, "political disruption, corruption, states institutions collapsing and starvation caused by the failures" of the transition government hit Albania (153). The Balkan region as a whole also experienced extreme tensions between ethnicities, some of which has even resulted in armed conflict and threatening government authority (2012). Albania and the Balkan region as a whole present additional examples of post-communist political instability.

Given that political stability is favorable for economic growth, there may be concerns that post-communist states are not performing well economically, as there has been political turmoil following the transition, such as in Ukraine and the Balkans (Hall and Nishikawa 2014). The purpose of this research is to examine how the economies of European post-communist countries compare to those that had never been communist between the years of 2002 and 2007.

Literature Review

According to public choice theory, private ownership is more efficient (Nellis 1994). It has indeed been found that private firms generally have better performance outcomes than public ones (Nellis 1994). This should mean that countries transitioning from state-controlled economies should see greater economic outcomes following privatization. However, according to Nellis, the problem is that some post-communist countries have not made full reforms or have reverted, leading to outcomes that are not as progressive as they otherwise would be (1994). Hashi and Xhillari found that privatization in Albania was not implemented well, and it did not lead to as much economic improvement as expected (1999). Post-communist privatization also led to issues in Montenegro—Koman et al. found that many firms had been asset-stripped during the transition and ended up disappearing (2015). Similarly, Crivelli's 2013 study showed that privatization actually had a negative fiscal impact in transitioning countries. On the contrary, Gugler, Ivanova, and Zechner found that privatization had positive effects on the post-communist economies—the private sector was found to perform better than the state-run sector (2014).

In 1993, Hollander argued that the transition from communism led to some severe economic problems or even "chaos" due to the massive transformations and economic restructuring that had to take place (51). However, Hollander's article was written just a few years after the fall of communism. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) did find that all of the countries experienced recessions at the beginning of the transition (Roaf et al. 2014). However, these recessions seem to be the transformational

recessions caused by the transition to the market economy as identified by da Rocha (da Rocha 2015). Other literature shows that some countries have experienced extreme economic progress in their relatively short post-communist periods, even after experiencing initial economic hardship. Bulgaria and Romania were two of the hardest hit countries, but, along with others, they were able to join the European Union (Seleny 2007). Seleny argues that many post-communist countries, particularly those that have joined the European Union, have transitioned remarkably quickly and successfully (2007).

Some literature shows that post-communist transition countries still face issues with democracy. Informal practices that were common during communism, such as bribery and other forms of corruption, are still in existence in transition countries today (Seleny 2007; Roaf et al. 2014; Blagojević and Damijan 2012). Seleny found that movements to remove this corruption in Poland actually seemed to centralize government and that some states, such as Slovakia, have still leaned toward more authoritarian systems (2007). Peev and Mueller also note that “several former members of the Soviet Union have either not adopted democratic institutions at all, or quickly reverted to some form of authoritarian rule after a brief interlude of democracy” (2012, 371). Similarly, *Freedom House* discovered that the majority of the former Soviet Union is under authoritarian rule (2007). Literature shows that more democracy is a significant influence on economic growth and that democratic countries with minimum corruption experience faster economic growth (Peev and Mueller 2012; Zajenkowski, Stolarski, and Meisenberg 2013).

Some scholars believe that foreign direct investment is an important factor for creating economic growth and development in post-communist countries (Curwin and Mahutga 2014; Soulsby and Clark 1996). The influence of foreign direct investment is debated, however, as the findings of Curwin and Mahutga show that there is not a positive relationship between foreign direct investment and economic growth (2014).

Natural resources are also shown to have an impact on economic growth. Upreti argues that “a country rich in natural resources can benefit from the production and sale of such wealth” (2015, 39). However, other poor countries have fallen into a “resource trap” if they have an abundance of natural resources (Upreti 2015, 40). This trap leads states to invest a majority of capital, both human and physical, in the production and sale of natural resources, which in turn diminishes other industries. Exchange rates also rise with the export of natural resources, making their other exports more costly (Upreti 2015). The impact that natural resources have on economic growth can therefore be debated, as an abundance of resources can both be beneficial or harmful to a state.

Hypotheses

Post-communist states in Europe underwent massive economic reforms and experienced transformational recessions, both of which would seem to set post-communist states back further in terms of economic growth, especially when compared to other states in Europe. Post-communist states overall also have lower levels of democracy—and democracy generally correlates with economic growth. Decades have now passed since the beginning of the transition from communism in Europe. This period of time should allow for the strengthening of transition economies. Given all of these elements post-communist transition states should have slightly lower

rates of economic growth than those that had never been communist. It is also expected that countries that are more democratic should experience more economic growth. Based on the literature, hypotheses were formulated about the expected economic growth of European post-communist transition states in relation to the growth of others. The possibility that there may not be a relationship between post-communist status and economic growth was taken into account in the first hypothesis. Specifically, it is expected that:

1. Post-communist transition states will not have lower rates of economic growth than states that had never been communist.
2. Post-communist transition states will have slightly lower rates of economic growth than states that had never been communist.

Methods

The purpose of this research is to compare the economies of post-communist states in Europe to the economies of others in Europe following a period of transition. The control variables are *foreign direct investment*, *level of freedom* as a measure of democracy, and *total natural resource rent* as a percent of GDP.

The measure of economic comparison that will be used for the dependent variable is the *growth in GDP per capita* in current US dollars. The growth was calculated between the years 2002 and 2007. This time period was chosen since it allows for an initial transition period for the post-communist states following the shift away from communism in Europe that began in 1989. This is also the ideal period to assess since it falls between the burst of the dot-com bubble and ensuing recession in the early 2000s, and the recession that began in 2007. The growth was calculated by subtracting the GDP per capita in 2002 from the GDP per capita in 2007, and dividing that amount by the GDP per capita in 2002. This value was multiplied by 100 for interpretation purposes. The data on GDP per capita was retrieved from the World Bank's World Development Indicators databank and was collected by the World Bank and the OECD. The mean growth in GDP per capita is 125.61%. The standard deviation is 60.477.

The primary independent variable for analysis is whether a state is or is not post-communist. This data was retrieved from the IMF's special report on regional economic issues, titled "25 Years of Transition: Post-Communist Europe and the IMF" and published in 2014. This report was put together by James Roaf, Ruben Atoyan, Bikas Joshi, Krzysztof Krogulski, and an IMF staff team. The variable for whether a country is post-communist is coded as 1, and 0 for countries that have never been communist. Out of the 33 countries included in the analysis, 16 had never been communist and 17 are post-communist. Of the countries included in the sample, 52% are post-communist. Table 1 shows the countries included in the analysis and their relationship with communism.

Table 1. Countries included in sample.

Post-Communist (1)	Not Post-Communist (0)
Albania	Austria
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Cyprus
Bulgaria	Denmark
Croatia	Finland
Czech Republic	France
Estonia	Greece
Hungary	Iceland
Latvia	Ireland
Macedonia	Italy
Moldova	Netherlands
Poland	Norway
Romania	Portugal
Russia	Spain
Serbia	Sweden
Slovakia	Switzerland
Slovenia	United Kingdom
Ukraine	

A control variable that is included in the analysis is how free the state is. It is used as a measure of democracy since “freedom is possible only in democratic political environments where governments are accountable to their own people” (“About Us”). The literature demonstrated that democracy is a significant influence on economic growth, making it an important variable to include in the analysis. The data on freedom was retrieved from *Freedom House’s* “Freedom in the World 2007” survey, which assesses democracy and political freedom in terms of political rights and civil liberties. This freedom variable is coded from 1 to 7, with 1 meaning that a country is totally free and 7 meaning not free at all. The mean level of freedom is 1.58, and the standard deviation is 1.039.

Net inflow of foreign direct investment is also included as a control variable. Some scholars argue that foreign investment increases economic growth; some believe that foreign investment leads to dependence that ultimately slows economic growth (Curwin and Mahutga 2014). Including foreign direct investment inflow in the analysis will offer some evidence for one school of thought or the other. Foreign direct investment net inflow is measured in current US dollars. This data collected is from the year 2002. It was retrieved from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators dataset and was based on balance of payments data that had been reported by the IMF. The mean foreign direct investment net inflow is \$7.61 billion; however, the median is far less at \$1.66 billion. The standard deviation of foreign direct investment net inflow is \$12.45 billion.

The last control variable that is included in the analysis is *total natural resource rent* as a percent of GDP. *Total natural resource rent* is the sum of oil, hard and soft coal, natural gas, mineral, and forest rents. This variable was included in the analysis as abundance of natural resources can either benefit, or harm, states’ economies (Upreti 2015). This data was from 2007. It was retrieved from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators dataset and was based on sources and methods described in “The Changing Wealth of Nations: Measuring Sustainable Development in the New Millennium” (World Bank 2011). The mean total natural resource rent as a percent of

GDP was 3.103%; however, the median is lower, at 1.3%. The standard deviation is 5.98386%.

The test that will be used to analyze the data is a linear multivariate regression. This test was chosen for the analysis since the dependent variable, *growth in GDP per capita*, is continuous, and there are multiple independent variables. The linear regression will allow for controlling and comparing the possible competing explanations for economic growth—whether or not the country is post-communist, *level of freedom*, *foreign direct investment inflow*, and *total natural resource rent* as a percentage of GDP.

Regression equation

$$\text{GDP per capita growth} = a + b_1 \cdot \text{post-communist status} + b_2 \cdot \text{level of freedom} + b_3 \cdot \text{foreign direct investment inflow} + b_4 \cdot \text{total natural resource rent as a percent of GDP} + \text{error}$$

Data Analysis

Table 2. Post-communist status influencing growth of GDP per capita.

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients
Post-communist status	66.831*** (17.949)	0.561
Foreign direct investment net inflow	-1.130E-10 (0.000)	-0.023
Level of freedom	6.190 (10.280)	0.106
Total natural resource rent as a percent of GDP	3.216* (1.573)	0.318
Constant	72.313 (16.122)	
N=33		Adjusted R-Square = .576
Cells report coefficient of a logistic regression, with standard errors in parentheses. *** p < .001 ** p < 0.01 * p < 0.05		

The linear regression reveals that there is a statistically significant relationship between economic growth and post-communist status. A state being post-communist corresponds with 66.831% *growth in GDP per capita*, controlling for *foreign direct investment inflow*, *level of freedom*, and *total natural resource rent* as a percentage of GDP. Post-communist countries actually experienced more economic growth between 2002 and 2007 than countries that had not been communist. However, this does not support the hypothesis that post-communist countries would have slightly lower growth rates than countries that had not been communist.

There is also a significant relationship between *total natural resource rent* as a percentage of GDP and economic growth. A 1% increase in *total natural resource rent* corresponds with a 3.216% change in GDP per capita, controlling for whether or not the country had been communist, *level of freedom*, and *foreign direct investment inflow*.

There is no significant relationship between freedom and economic growth, most likely due to the small sample size and little variation among the sample. As the freedom variable is coded from 1 to 7, with 7 symbolizing the least amount of freedom, less free states actually experienced more economic growth between 2002 and 2007 than more free states did, which was unexpected. With the small sample size and little variation among the sample, it is hard to be significant. There is also no significant relationship between *foreign direct investment inflow* and economic growth.

Discussion

The results of the multivariate linear regression show that between 2002 and 2007 the European post-communist countries were actually experiencing more economic growth than countries that had never been communist. As previously stated, this does not support the hypothesis that the growth rate of post-communist countries would be slightly lower than that of countries that had never been communist. This is most likely because post-communist states had more room to grow in their economies than states that had never been communist. Presumably, this would mean that post-communist economies are beginning to reach where the economies of states that had never been communist are at, which is important as many may be moving out of the “developing” world and into the “developed” world. This seems to be in accordance with the literature showing that many of the transition states are beginning to join organizations like the European Union, which is seen as an indicator of progress.

The results of the regression show that the less free European states were actually experiencing more economic growth between 2002 and 2007. This makes sense since the literature shows that many of the post-communist states leaned toward less democratic, more authoritarian regimes, and the post-communist states experienced more economic growth than the other European states. It is intriguing, however, because many scholars argue that democracy should promote economic growth. Based on the analysis, this does not seem to be the case in Europe between 2002 and 2007. One possible explanation for this could be that the less democratic countries have a higher level of integration with the Russian economy. This could be a direction for further research.

It is interesting that there was no relationship between foreign direct investment inflow and growth of GDP per capita. As previously stated, some scholars argue that foreign investment increases economic growth. Based on this study’s analysis, this does not seem to be the case. The countries that received the most foreign direct investment, including France, Spain, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, are among those that experienced the least amount of economic growth. Oddly, the four countries that received the most foreign direct investment are also countries that had not been in transition. Some scholars argue that foreign investment leads to dependence, which slows economic growth, so this could certainly be why there is no significant relationship between foreign investment and GDP per capita growth. Since there is still much debate, foreign direct investment influence on economic growth would be an area for further research.

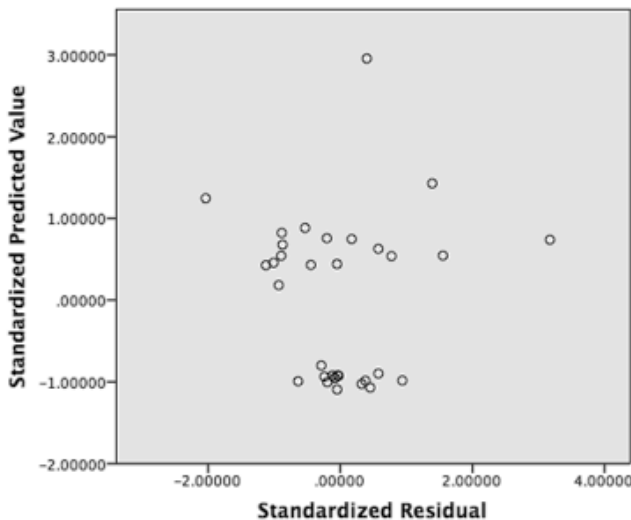
One limitation to this analysis is the low sample size, which does not allow for more independent variables to be added into the equation. With the variables included in the study, 57.6% of the variation in GDP per capita change was able to be explained,

which is fairly good explanatory power. However, if more independent variables were added into the equation, perhaps the amount of variation in GDP per capita change that can be explained would increase. The availability of data ultimately caused the low sample size, as not all states had data available for the same variables or years. Ideally, all European countries would have been included in the study. However, it was necessary to work with what was available.

A caveat to the analysis relates to assumptions drawn from the multivariate linear regression. The variance inflation factors were calculated and ensured no multicollinearity. However, Romania is a statistical outlier as shown by Cook's distance (a measurement that estimates the influence of data points). This could potentially be problematic since Romania has an influence on the analysis. Small sample sizes do have limitations, and Romania may be an exemplification of this. However, since the sample size was already so low, it was necessary to leave Romania in the analysis. If more variables could be included in the analysis, it could help explain Romania's statistical difference. Unfortunately, with the small sample size, not every possible explanation could be captured.

In checking for omitted variable bias with the error term plot, there does seem to be a slight pattern (as seen in figure 1). Unfortunately, as previously stated, no more independent variables can be added into the analysis as data availability limited the number of countries that could be included in the study.

Figure 1. Checking for omitted variable bias.



The multivariate linear regression worked well for the research question in examining how post-communist states compare with states that had never been post-communist in economic growth. The regression allowed for controlling and comparing other factors in GDP per capita growth. It would be interesting to do a time-series analysis to see at what point in the transition period the post-communist states began experiencing more economic growth than those that had never been communist. This would be a great direction for further research.

Conclusion

Between 2002 and 2007, a period with no severe recessions, post-communist transition states were experiencing more economic growth than other European states that had never been communist. Certainly some states need to continue economic reforms; however, with many post-communist countries joining the European Union it seems that the situation of the transition states is improving. Decades following the fall of communism in Europe, these transition countries are experiencing remarkable economic growth, which is beginning to put them on the same playing field as the rest of Europe.

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