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NEW VISIONS FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS (NVPA) is an interdisciplinary, student-produced, peer-reviewed journal that publishes scholarly material offering new perspectives on public affairs. We operate as a student organization within the School of Public Policy and Administration at the University of Delaware.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SUBMISSIONS

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Note from the Editors

The 2017-2018 NVPA Editorial Board is pleased to present the tenth volume of *New Visions for Public Affairs.* The articles in this volume were authored by current or former students of the University of Delaware's School of Public Policy and Administration (SPPA). The content of this journal is reflective of a wide range of topics and methods that students are exposed to during the course of their study programs. It further showcases interdisciplinary research on pressing issues ranging from the far-reaching impacts of incarceration on communities, to the strategies for women empowerment in South Korea.

This publication represents the 10th anniversary issue of the NVPA, a significant milestone for the students, staff and faculty members involved in the process of its compilation every year. This volume also marks the initiation of our collaboration with the Biden Institute, an arrangement that will allow the journal to draw in a higher volume of quality submissions as well as expand in scope in terms of its readership. The current volume has not only provided students with a platform to share their research with the campus community and beyond, it also features short commentary pieces on exciting conferences attended by the SPPA students, updates on partnerships across research centers, as well as a letter from Vice President Biden that shares his vision for the future of policy research at the University of Delaware.

Our exceptional editorial board consistently provided feedback and support to the authors, helping them polish their work into structured policy briefs and analytical papers. The collaborative efforts of the authors and editors have ensured that the research featured in this issue truly embodies the integration of theory and practice that has long defined the 'Delaware Model' of public affairs education. Finally, we sincerely thank Drs. Maria Aristigueta, Jonathan Justice, John McNutt, and Professor Leland Ware for their support of the journal.

Lastly, we welcome applications to fill open positions on the Editorial Board for 2018-2019 academic year, as well as submissions from continuing and incoming students. For more information, please visit our website at www.sites.udel.edu/cas-nvpa, or email us at nvpajournal@gmail.com .

Enjoy the read!

Hira Rashid
Editor-in-Chief

Melissa Micek
Executive Director

A Message from Vice President Joe Biden

Dear NVPA Community:

It is my pleasure to recognize the achievements of the 2018 NVPA authors; Andrew Gray, Stacy Burwell, Stephanie Mergler, Jeffrey Martindale, Eileen Young, Benjamin Chun, Yuliya Brel and Kalyn McDonough, as well as the NVPA leadership and editorial board. Drawing upon the rich academic traditions of the University of Delaware and the School of Public Policy and Administration, your contributions to this year's NVPA publication address with creativity and rigor, a particularly diverse array of important issues facing societies at home and abroad. I'm compelled to say once again that I could not be more proud of my alma mater.

It was the great privilege of my life to serve the State of Delaware as senator for 36 years, and before that, as a member of the New Castle County council. As an elected official, engaging constituents and learning about their most urgent needs is one part of the job. Generating and passing into law effective policies that address the needs of constituents is another. And as future leaders of our nation and our world, your demonstrated efforts to analyze and think critically about these issues reinforce my belief that the United States is better positioned than any other country to shape the direction of the 21st Century.

In my final year at the White House, I called for a "moonshot" to end cancer as we know it. And in his final State of the Union Address, President Obama tasked me with leading a new, national mission to get this done. The goal of the initiative, this "moonshot," was to seize the moment—to accelerate our efforts, to progress towards a cure, and to unleash new discoveries and breakthroughs for other diseases. What our Cancer Moonshot Taskforce found to be highly prohibitive in the science community was the existence of silos—a reality that has stifled the research field for decades. Incentives to break down these silos, share vast amounts of data, and foster interdisciplinary collaboration have since shown signs of meaningful progress.
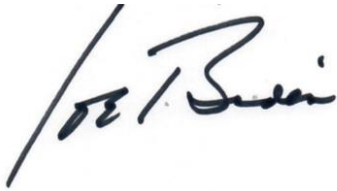
By now, you've learned just how intricately related so many of the issues are that we face as a country and as a global society. But it has always been the case that, as Americans, we show up and overcome obstacles that stand in our way. I've always said that America is at its best when we're optimistic and we think big. I urge you to find your "moonshot"— to identify and dissolve prohibitive barriers, and to apply your skills to your passion.

Attending the University of Delaware as an undergraduate student changed my life. It convinced me I could make a difference and that getting engaged mattered. It convinced me that a life committed to public service could be a worthy one. I owe so much to the incredible professors who shaped my future, and as such, would also like to recognize your faculty advisors—Maria Aristigueta, Jonathan Justice, Leland Ware, and John McNutt—for their ongoing guidance and support.

Congratulations on all that you've accomplished. I suspect you'll each maintain the sense of urgency exhibited through your writing as you continue throughout your academic careers. For this same urgency—the "fierce urgency of now," as Dr. King said— is the lifeblood of our democracy. I'm optimistic about the future, and excited to see where your leadership takes us.

Thanks for sharing your work.

Sincerely,

Joseph R. Biden, Jr.

Policy Blog

A Plan to Put Work – and Workers – First

Vice President Joe Biden
University of Delaware

My father used to say "don't tell me what you value, show me your budget and I'll tell you what you value." It's true in a family and it's true for a nation. He used to say something else, too: "If everything is equally important to you, nothing is important to you." It is all about priorities. What matters most. And that should determine what we invest in.

For me, our highest priority is clear as can be. We have to restore the basic bargain. There used to be a basic bargain in this country that if you contributed to the success of an enterprise you got to share in its profits so you could not only make ends meet but also get ahead.

This basic bargain has been broken. And as a result, too many workers are being left behind. Income disparities are increasing to dangerous proportions that can't sustain a democracy.

That's why last fall, I wrote about and convened a panel of experts to discuss the significant, legitimate anxiety millions of Americans are feeling regarding whether or not automation and globalization will wipe out middle class jobs. Whether hard-working middle-class people will be able to provide for themselves and their families.

I noted that some in Silicon Valley, whose fortunes are built on automation, have proposed a universal basic income on the theory that there will no longer be enough work to go around. But that misses the point. Americans have always defined themselves by what they do and how they provide for their families. What the idea of a universal basic income misses is that a job is about more than a paycheck. It is about dignity and one's place in their community. What Americans want is a good job and a steady paycheck, not a government check or a

consolation prize for missing out on the American dream.

The American people are willing to work and when they work they're entitled to be justly rewarded. That's the American promise. So the question is, how do we restore the basic bargain?

To put workers first, we have three promises to keep. First, we need to make sure hard-working Americans have the skills and opportunities to succeed in the jobs of the future. Second, we need to make sure people are paid fairly for their work. Those who work hard and do their part should share in the benefits, allowing them to earn a good living and get ahead. And third, we need policies that allow the

Editor's Note: This blog post, written by Vice President Joe Biden, originally appeared on the Biden Institute Blog on March 22nd, 2018. It was published in conjunction with the announcement of a policy advisory board to support the work of the Biden Institute, as well as a set of new policy proposals to ensure Americans are able to obtain quality jobs that will grow the middle class and our economy. For more information, please visit www.bideninstitute.udel.edu

middle class to maintain or improve their standard of living. A small pay raise doesn't help much if the costs of housing, health care, and education are rising significantly more.

That's why I put forward some ideas for how all of us – Democrats and Republicans, business and labor, employers and workers – can begin to restore the basic bargain by making good on the first promise of ensuring that hard-working Americans have the skills and opportunities to get a good job.

To start, we need to make sure our students get the education they need to succeed. Everyone knows that in the 21st century, 12 years of education is not enough. In 2014, when President Obama asked me to lead a year-long process on the workforce, we found that by the end of this decade more than six in 10 jobs would require some education beyond high school. Community colleges are a perfect vehicle for that – offering everything from short eight-week certificate programs to apprenticeships to associate's degrees. The wage boost for getting an associate's degree is $9,000, every single year. A lot of families need this raise.

Every American should have access to at least 14 years of public education. There are great state models to build on, like the one being set up by Republican Governor of Tennessee Bill Haslam making two years of community college tuition-free, whether individuals are right out of high school or have already been in the workforce. We should also allow students to keep existing financial aid like Pell Grants to help them pay for other expenses that too often make it impossible for them to stay in school.

In addition, in the new economy people need to build their skills so they can keep pace with the technological changes in their industries, whether they are a home health care worker wanting to use the latest tools to keep a patient healthy or an autoworker needing to understand the new technologies that will be building driverless cars. We need more community colleges working with businesses to develop certificate and credential programs that will retrain people, so they can adapt as quickly as technology is changing their job requirements. And finally, we need to shut down training programs that don't offer results for American workers and instead redirect that funding to community colleges with proven track records of success. A program that doesn't work isn't just a waste of taxpayer dollars, it also undermines the

"I KNOW WHY WE'RE STRONG. I KNOW WHY WE HAVE HELD TOGETHER; I KNOW WHY WE ARE UNITED: IT'S BECAUSE THERE'S ALWAYS BEEN A GROWING MIDDLE CLASS."

– JOE BIDEN

PHOTO: DAVID LIENEMANN

confidence that all taxpayers have in these important efforts and is a waste of the time and energy of those trying to get new skills.

But making continuing education more accessible and affordable is not enough in itself. In some cases, entire industries will be disrupted, and specific communities will be devastated by severe unemployment. Just look at the retail sector. In 2017, there were 7,000 retail store closings – more than three times the number in 2016.

We need to come together to form a jobs SWAT team that is on the ground 24/7 in communities hit hard by dislocations, because a factory closes or an industry is disrupted altogether. There are already good examples of companies, including Dick's Sporting Goods and Chobani, which have invested in areas where there is a shuttered factory but a talented and willing workforce. And, if that still doesn't work, we should fund employment opportunities that give Americans the dignity of work.

Lastly, we need to break down the barriers that keep workers on the sidelines of our economy or keep them from being paid fairly for their work. We have to remove obstacles that deprive workers of their bargaining power. For example, we need to get rid of non-compete agreements that prevent workers from seeking better job opportunities elsewhere. Nearly half of workers will be subject to these agreements at some point – not just engineers with trade secrets, but sandwich makers, pest control workers, and so many more. We need to prevent companies from denying workers overtime by mislabeling them as management. It's wrong. And, we need to support laws that allow labor unions to flourish and fight for basic worker protections.

There are all sorts of reasons people are unable to get hired or retain a job. Everyone should have a chance to get in the game. That means we need to end discriminatory policies such as those that allow an individual to get married to a same-sex spouse in the morning and get fired for it in the afternoon. We need to end policies that exclude from the workplace individuals who have served their time in prison

/And, we need to ban job applications that require a college degree for jobs people could do just as well without one.

I'm still an optimist. I believe America is better positioned than any nation in the world to own the 21st century, in large part because we have the most productive workers. But, we have to make an investment in our workers in order for our economy to continue to grow. And what I know for sure is that it has never been a bad bet to bet on American workers. When given a chance – just a fighting chance – they've never let us down.

Highlight: A Culture of Collaboration at UD

Strengthening Partnerships in Health and Education: Delaware and the Nation

Kalyn McDonough
University of Delaware

The University of Delaware and the Vision Coalition of Delaware partnered to host the 10th Annual Vision Coalition Conference at Clayton Hall on October 30, 2017. The conference, titled Strengthening Partnerships in Health and Education: Delaware and the Nation, highlighted the intersectionality of health and education and encouraged further collaboration between the fields moving forward. Community members, staff from non-profit organizations, university faculty and staff, and state and local officials gathered in the morning to hear from Delaware's Congressional Delegation: Senior U.S. Senator, Tom Carper; U.S. Senator, Chris Coons; and U.S. Congresswoman, Lisa Blunt Rochester.

University of Delaware President, Dr. Dennis Assanis also took the stage and introduced Former Vice President of the United States, Joe Biden. The speakers commended the great work being done in the state, and encouraged participants to think creatively about how the two fields can further work together to support the health and education of all Delaware residents.

In the afternoon, participants had an opportunity to engage in idea exchanges, which were centered around 24 different topics in health and education. The conference also served to launch the Partnership for Healthy Communities.

Partnership for Healthy Communities
A COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT INITIATIVE

The Partnership for Healthy Communities (PHC) is a part of the university-wide Community Engagement Initiative. PHC is inspired by a vision of equity in good health for all of Delaware's residents. Access to affordable and high-quality healthcare is critical to well-being. We also know that health is shaped largely outside of the doctor's office- in the communities where we live, go to school, work, play, and pray. All Delaware communities should have the resources needed to sustain health and well-being. As part of the University's Community Engagement Initiative, PHC seeks to improve the health and well-being of Delaware residents by connecting university resources to the vast network of community-based organizations and government agencies dedicated to health promotion.

Left to right; first row: Bethany Hall Long, Lieutenant Governor, DE; Kathy Matt, Dean, College of Health Sciences, UD; Rita Landgraf, Director, PHC; Dennis Assanis President, UD;
Second row; Dan Rich, Director, Community Engagement Initiative; Omar Khan, President & CEO, Delaware Health Sciences Alliance; Vice President Joe Biden

Interested in becoming a partner? Connect with PHC!

Rita M. Landgraf, Director
Erin K. Knight, Associate Director
Noel Duckworth, Coordinator

PHC-info@udel.edu | www.sites.udel.edu/healthy communities

Conference Feature

Transylvanian International Conference in Public Administration

Yuliya Brel & Benjamin Chun

University of Delaware

In early November, Yuliya Brel, Benjamin Chun, Cristina Stanica, Dr. Arno Loessner and Director Maria Aristigueta travelled to Babes-Bolyai University (BBU) in Cluj-Napoca, Romania to attend the 2017 Annual Transylvanian International Conference in Public Administration hosted by the Department of Public Administration and Management, Faculty of Political, Administrative and Communications Studies at BBU. The main goal of the conference was to bring together public administration academics, researchers and practitioners from around the world to create a platform on which they could exchange ideas, share best practices and develop networking opportunities for future teaching and research collaborations.

In addition to the University of Delaware, there were representatives from several other universities around the globe, including Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, the UK, Romania, Germany, Hungary, Austria, China, as well as several universities from across the United States.

The itinerary consisted of five themed panels with presentations given throughout the three-day conference on topics related to Innovation and Technology as drivers for Community Development; Strategic Planning, Management and Communication in Governance; Public Administration Education; Public Law & Public Health.

The main purpose of our presentation, under the Public Administration Education panel, was to emphasize the importance of exposing students to collaborative study abroad programs like the one conducted between the University of Delaware and Babes-Bolyai University. This model paired UD and BBU students in teams of two or three to work together on a research project. The projects drew upon the concept of the Engaged University, which emphasizes the public role of research universities in "addressing emerging social needs and priorities and engaging the resources of the university in the communities it serves" (Rich, 2013, p. 446). Students conducted interviews, collected data, wrote a brief research paper, and presented preliminary findings, conclusions, and recommendations on topics of mutual interest such as public health, public education,

Yuliya Brel is a third-year doctoral candidate in Urban Affairs and Public Policy, at the School of Public Policy and Administration, University of Delaware. Her research interests include; the emergence of modern dictatorships; the evolution of language policies in Eastern and Western European countries; and challenges and prospects of civil society as well as democratization processes in Eastern Europe, particularly former republics of the Soviet Union

Ben Chun is a second-year Masters candidate in Urban Affairs and Public Policy, with a focus on media policy, at the School of Public Policy and Administration, University of Delaware. His research interests include; Drug Abuse and Mental health; Media Policy; and issues related to Prison Reform/Criminal Justice.

economic and technological advancements, and social development of minorities, among others.

The goal of our presentation was to show that cross-cultural learning is essential to public administration education because graduate students in public policy must learn about other environments in order to understand and adopt alternative perspectives. Conference attendees from UD and our partners from BBU spoke about our collaborative research experiences and what we gained from participating in such a program. We also spoke about the challenges of interacting with students and interviewees whose primary language and culture were different from our own.

These challenges however, proved to be valuable lessons for us and our Romanian partners as we learnt to navigate an increasingly global community. It was also incredibly important to share our experiences at this conference so that other universities could learn and ask questions about this unique model that UD and BBU have been strengthening for over a decade.

This program was also unique in that it required us as public policy/administration students to act as advisors to an entity; whether it was the university, local/national governments, or businesses. It required us as academics to step out of our comfort zone and step into the role of a practitioner to assess and provide detailed recommendations on topics we weren't necessarily familiar with beforehand, in a short period of time. This afforded all participants a unique learning experience that simply could not be replicated in a classroom setting.

We believe this model of study abroad has the potential to increase the scope and range of engagement at the global level, not only for graduate students at UD and BBU, but at other universities around the world.

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Child Abandonment and Adoption in South Korea: A Post-Korean War and Present-Day Analysis

Stacy N. Burwell
University of Delaware

When a family member is faced with making the tough decision of relinquishing their child due to circumstances within the household, the options available to them should be alternatives that place the child's health, safety, and well-being as the highest priorities. Options, such as adoption and the ability to anonymously drop off a child one is no longer able to care for at a "safe haven" location, should be available and encouraged to ensure the optimal welfare of the child, as opposed to abandonment in the streets or any other unsafe environment.

This paper will discuss the issues of child abandonment and adoption that have persisted for several decades in South Korea. It will detail the historical evolution of child abandonment in South Korea, a country that once served as the world's largest source of unwanted children, driven by poverty, governmental regulation, a culture of racial purity, homogeneity, family bloodlines, shame, and taboos against domestic adoption (South Korea Child Law Sees More Babies Abandoned, 2017, para. 4). This analysis will also review the state of child abandonment and adoption in the post-Korean War era, in comparison to present-day South Korean society. Furthermore, the consequences of the current tightly restricted adoption policies - that have reduced both international and domestic adoptions while increasing ongoing child abandonment cases, will be discussed. This paper concludes with recommendations on potential policy reforms with respect to the protections provided to parents and families wishing to relinquish a child they are unable to raise.

Policy Problem and Historical Context

Child abandonment[1] and adoption in South Korea have had a troubled history. When the Korean War ended in 1953, bi-racial children, who were the product of foreign servicemen and Korean women, became known as, "waifs or dusts of the streets", because they were often abandoned and left to fend for themselves on the streets throughout the country (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 2). Consequently, South Korea soon became one of the largest sources of infants for international adoption, enabling thousands of foreign homes to take in abandoned children. In the 1950's alone, 11,000 South Korean babies were adopted

Stacy is a second-year Masters student in Public Administration with a concentration in non-profit management at the School of Public Policy and Administration. Her research interests include Human Services and Child Welfare, Prescription Drug Prices and Healthcare Expenditures in the US; and the Social Determinants of Health with a focus on Underserved Communities.

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[1] For the purpose and context of this paper, the term child abandonment refers to the desertion of a child by a parent to the extent that the child's welfare, health, and physical safety needs are not adequately cared for or met. Adoption refers to the voluntary choice to take another parent's child as one's own.

by families in the United States. The outflow of adoptions from South Korea served as one of the largest exoduses of infants from one single country and continued long after the Korean War (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 3). The total number of orphaned and abandoned children that South Korea has sent overseas into adoption is approximately 200,000 children, where three-quarters of those children were adopted by American families.

The incidence of child abandonment has been impacted by a number of factors including; an increase in unwanted children as well as government-imposed quotas limiting births and overseas adoptions. The South Korean government tailored its policy on child abandonment to prove that they can take care of their own children - by setting a limit on the number of overseas adoptions (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 2). On the other hand, the government also enacted birth restrictions which characterized families with more than two children as unpatriotic (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 4).

On August 4, 2011 the South Korean government amended its adoption laws and enacted the South Korea's Special Adoption Act. This adoption law had two purposes; first, the Act incorporates The Hague Convention's recommendation, which focuses on keeping children with their birth families, and second; the Act seeks to reduce the number of foreign adoptions and to promote domestic adoptions (Kim, 2015, p. 710 para. 2). Derived from these broad goals, several requirements contained within the Act created restrictions which increased child abandonment cases throughout South Korea. For example, Article 13.1 of the Special Adoption Act states that consent for adoption shall not be granted to birthparents no earlier than one week after birth. Furthermore, Article 13.3-4 requires that birth parents requesting adoption must receive counseling from an adoption agency about available resources should they decide to commit to raising the child themselves. Article 11.4 specifies that birth parents must appear in family court to

formally consent to placing their child up for adoption (Special Adoption Act of 2011, 2012, Article 11.4 & Article 13.4-13.4, p. 4). By implementing the Special Adoption Act, the government intended to reduce child abandonment and encourage domestic adoption.

Systemic/Legal Context: Revised Adoption & Citizenship Laws

Once the trend of high rates of international adoption became apparent, the Korean government adopted systematic policy changes to veer away from the country's reputation as the world leader in international adoptions. Therefore, hoping to show that the South Korean government "can look after all of its children", a quota was put into effect in 2007 – that limited the number of children that could be sent overseas for adoption, reducing international adoptions by 10% a year (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2010; 2015). This regulation further stipulates that any child put up for adoption must also remain in South Korea for at least five months, which is intended to allow agencies time to look for a local home with the hope that domestic adoptions will increase.

A few years later, in 2012, additional revisions were made to South Korea's adoption law. These changes mandate that all children who have been put up for adoption be registered in court. Before 2012, South Korean parents who wanted to give up their children were obliged to give adoption agencies written consent. However, there were circumstances where, either false information was given, or no records were provided (South Korea Child Law Sees More Babies Abandoned, 2017, para. 17). These requirements were implemented as an attempt to align with The Hague Adoption Convention, which South Korea eventually signed in 2013. This convention tied in the provision that all adoptions must be registered in the court to make the process more transparent and allowed all adoptive children the right to trace their birth parents. Ultimately, The Hague Adoption Convention was established to promote the idea that children should preferably be adopted by

families in their own country (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 5).

The South Korean government's revised adoption law has been only partially successful. The critical successes of the amended law include a reduction in international adoptions, adopted South Korean children being able to trace their birth parents, and the one-week counseling component as a condition of adoption has encouraged some parents to reconsider and choose to keep their children, as opposed to proceeding with adoption. These are tremendous accomplishments when compared to the previous system, characterized by a mass exodus of Korean children being sent overseas, and a system that lacked accurate record-keeping and transparency.

However, the law also has numerous shortcomings that have been associated with many adverse consequences for parents as well as children. For example, it established a new set of mandates making the adoption process more difficult for biological and adoptive parents. Because of the complex nature of the revised adoption law, many parents have resorted to abandoning children they are unable to raise, which has led to a large number of children needing families. In addition to a reduction in the number of international adoptions, the number of domestic adoptions has also declined. In 2016, international adoption fell to 334 from 916 in 2011. Meanwhile, domestic adoption dropped from 1,548 to 546 over the same period (Wei, 2017, para. 9-10). Consequently, the prospect of orphaned children finding homes remains a big concern even after several decades of government efforts to address this issue.

Another explanation for the increase in child abandonment cases in South Korea over the past several decades is related to the South Korean citizenship law. Before June 13, 1998, South Korean citizenship law conferred citizenship only to children born to a father who was a Korean citizen (the father had to legally validate paternity) (Peterson, 2017, para. 9). Children of Korean citizen women who either had a non-Korean citizen father or no known father (no Korean citizen father to confirm

paternity), were not deemed Korean citizens even if they were born within Korean territory. Although Korean citizenship is no longer based merely upon paternity established by a Korean citizen father, Korean citizenship was not, and is not, conferred based upon having been born in the country. Moreover, Korean citizenship is conferred based on a principle of nationality known as jus sanguinis ("right of blood"), according to which one is only deemed a Korean citizen if one or both parents are Korean citizens (Peterson, 2017, para. 10). Interestingly, children who were found within Korean territory but for whom "right of blood" cannot be determined, either due to having been adopted, abandoned, or orphaned, are deemed Korean citizens. Therefore, it is speculated that many single or unwed Korean mothers, prior to 1998, made the devastating choice to abandon their "fatherless" children so that they would have full rights and access to social services, education, and employment as Korean citizens (Peterson, 2017, para. 12). Strict adoption laws, and the "right of blood" principle, are only a few factors that have played a role in the incidence of child abandonment cases in South Korea. Social and cultural factors, such as taboos against adoption, racial purity, and conservative views of unwed women with children, have also contributed significantly to child abandonment in the country.

Social/Cultural Context

All societies have cultural norms that have an impact on the attitudes, values, and behaviors of its citizens. South Korea is often characterized as a socially conservative and homogenous society that has had a long-standing history of treasuring bloodlines to maintain racial purity. Another reason for the high rate of international adoption cases in South Korea is connected to Confucian values, where Korean families are reluctant to raise a child who does not share their bloodline (Borowiec, 2013, para. 6). Moreover, Confucian values are the underlying factors perpetuating taboos regarding adoption, causing domestic adoptions in South Korea to remain uncommon. Likewise, it is also taboo for women

to birth or raise children out of wedlock. Doing so would bring shame to the woman and her family. A single, unwed mother would receive nominal governmental financial support, and would stand to be rejected by the entire society (McGinnis, 2007, para 16). The unfortunate reality for women in South Korea is that the option to be a single, unwed mother does not exist. Since the 1950's, 80 to 90 percent of all South Korean children born to single mothers have ended up in orphanages and become eligible for adoption. (Peterson, 2017, para. 1).

The unwritten norms and prejudices rooted in Confucian values that make it taboo to adopt children outside of one's bloodline, or to raise a child out of wedlock have undoubtedly played a role in the decline in foreign adoptions. Likewise, they have caused an increase in the number of children who are abandoned, which subsequently has created an upsurge of children being raised in orphanages throughout South Korea. According to BBC, "South Korean orphanages are now brimming with children who might previously have found a new life in a foreign family" (Evans, 2015, para. 5). The cyclical effect of child abandonment and low domestic adoptions has led to crowded orphanages, which come at a cost to the children who are displaced, and to the Korean society.

Hollee McGinnis, a Korean-American who was adopted and subsequently conducted research on how adoption affected her personality later in life, told BBC, "Family is everything in Korea. Who you are and your character is based on your family, so if you do not have information about your family, you might find yourself having barriers in life" (Evans, 2015, para. 12). Some of the obstacles that abandoned and orphaned children may experience include: barriers to employment, difficulty accessing social services and support, and delays in cognitive and social development. Conversely, the impact on society involves increased abandonment, abortions, and infant deaths, youth homelessness, substance abuse, and human trafficking – to name a few.

Consequences

The consequences associated with abandonment and low adoption rates, both domestically and internationally in South Korea, are detrimental and complicated for the parentless children and the society left to care for them. As previously mentioned, overcrowded orphanages are the first hardship that South Korea has faced. Since the 1950's about 2 million abandoned children have ended up being raised in orphanages (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para. 10). Current research on child development in Romanian orphanages has provided "unequivocal evidence of the detrimental effects of institutional care on a child's development" (McGinnis, 2007, para. 8). Many children raised in orphanages often suffer developmental delays in areas such as speech development, social assimilation and relationship skill-building. This is a result of limited caregivers and staff who are unable to provide individual attention to each child. Research shows, children without a primary caregiver may suffer from mental and behavioral problems that impede the possibility of healthy relationships (McGinnis, 2007, para. 9).

The most significant impact of institutionalized care is the sad reality that thousands of children each year miss out on the opportunity to be raised in a loving home. Every year, there are hundreds of youth who "age out" of the system upon reaching their 18th birthday. Stephen Morrison, a young man who was raised in a Korean orphanage from age six to age fourteen, recalls his experience, "I experienced a lot of hunger to be loved. I was not a good student, but as soon as I was adopted into a family, I felt that immediate sense of care and love. All of a sudden, it was magical: I started to excel in school" (Evans, 2015, para. 25). Stephen compares his adoption experience to his "old street pals" that were not adopted, by stating, "they have not thrived. I grew up with my friends, my buddies and I'm still in contact with them. I feel so blessed with adoption. And yet my friends were not given that opportunity" (Evans, 2015, para. 27). Youth that "age out" of the system are provided with little housing, educational, or vocational support.

Consequently, these young adults are at a higher disadvantage in terms of having the opportunity to reach their full potential.

An increase in abortions and mothers delivering babies in the streets without medical care have also become familiar occurrences, with devastating consequences. More pregnancies are aborted in South Korea than any other OECD (Organization for Economic and Co-operation and Development) countries (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para 11). The fact that South Korea lacks legal protection for mothers to deliver anonymously is a leading factor contributing to the rise in abortions, in addition to abandonment cases. Also, legal policies are not clear and do not protect parents from being prosecuted by the government when they leave their unharmed child at a safe location (e.g., baby box). Concerns among unwed parents regarding the required registration of their baby's birth equally contribute to the rise in unsafe delivery, abortions, and incidents of abandonment. Moreover, parents of unwanted babies often do not want to register the child out of fear that the registration will not remain confidential.

In South Korea, "potential employers can gain access to family papers to gauge the suitability of candidates. Worse, relatives can also see these records too. Parents often ostracize a daughter who has a child out of wedlock" (South Korea's Orphans Pity the Children, 2015, para 9). For decades, South Korean social and cultural taboos regarding adoption and pregnancies out of wedlock have compromised child welfare, safety and, in some instances, an unwed parent's ability to secure employment. In order to reverse the negative stigma that "adoption is bad," a multi-faceted approach that includes government intervention, is necessary to decrease the incidence of child abandonment, abortion, and overcrowded orphanage cases.

Discussion and Recommendations

There is no "one-size fits all" solution to the very complex issue of child abandonment and adoption in South Korea. A variety of solutions or a multi-faceted approach will need

to be implemented to address these long-standing concerns effectively. Below is an outline of proposed solutions by category, with an overview of the recommended intervention that the Seoul Metropolitan Government, in collaboration with the necessary national governmental entities, may consider.

Support to Baby Box Facilities: Temporary Shelter for Abandoned Babies

A solution that has served as a temporary haven for unwanted babies in South Korea since 2009 is known as a "baby box." Pastor Jong-rak Lee built the first baby box on the side of his house in South Korea in 2009 after discovering an unexpected arrival of a baby in a cardboard box on his doorstep one freezing winter evening (Shim, 2016, para. 2). The baby box, or baby hatch, is an insulated drop box facility that serves as a safe alternative where parents can give up their child anonymously as opposed to abandoning the child in the streets. The baby box facility in Seoul operates 24-hours a day, seven days a week, and is supported by donations. The center is run by full-time staff that works 12-hour shifts to assess babies upon arrival, as well as to counsel birth parents and provide resources as needed. Volunteers work in shifts to provide 24-hour supervision of the infants (Shim, 2016, para. 6). Eventually, the babies are transported to Seoul's Metropolitan Office of Children's Welfare Center to be placed in an orphanage.

Between December 2009 and August 16, 2016, a total of 1,000 babies have arrived at Pastor Jong-rak Lee's baby box facility (Shim, 2016, para. 2). Pastor Jong-rak Lee's experiences that led him to open the baby box facility "opened his eyes to the desperation of young mothers in South Korea and[…] the need for an option to protect the safety of infants" (Borowiec, 2013, para 11). One welfare ministry official is quoted as stating that the baby box, "saves the lives of newborns" (South Korea Child Laws See More Abandonment, 2017, para. 23). Despite the safe haven and support that Pastor Jong-rak Lee's baby box idea has provided, his facility's services have been met with government resistance. Furthermore, direct

government support has not been provided and the Gwanak district office has repeatedly urged the pastor to shut down the baby box, since it is deemed as "an illegal facility (since it has been unlicensed for years) that encourages baby abandonment" (South Korea Child Laws See More Abandonment, 2017, para. 24).

While the baby box facility does not directly eliminate the issue of child and infant abandonment, the services provided help to foster the health, safety, and welfare of children who are not able to be cared for by their parents. Additionally, the baby box ensures that infants and children do not have to be left on the streets, where there is a higher risk for mortality. Pastor Lee's organization can, in essence, serve as an extension to other local government child welfare services. In many ways, the facility is already an extension, as babies are cared for temporarily at the baby box facility before they are transported by police escort to the hospital for a check-up before being taken to an orphanage for placement, where the child will hopefully be placed for adoption. One significant step in Pastor Lee's facility receiving governmental support, either at the local (Seoul Metropolitan Government) or the national level, would be for the federal and local governments themselves to reach a shared agreement about who is responsible for supporting child social welfare projects and services.

Collaboration among National and Local Governments

It is unclear whether the national or local Seoul Metropolitan Government holds responsibility for the oversight and financial support of the South Korean child protection system. A recent study found that Korean federal government failed to functionally operate the child protection system as a consequence of which the national budgets for child social welfare projects were turned over to local government (Kim, 2013, para. 41-42). Local governments, on the other hand, state that the "central government has a double standard for child welfare, leading to confusion" (Kim, 2013, para. 43). According to a Seoul City government official, "the central government continues to

provide financial assistance to nurseries but refuses to do the same for raising abandoned babies, choosing instead to shift responsibility to the local government. Measures need to be devised on a central government level" (Kim, 2013, para. 43). Lack of intergovernmental clarity and collaboration has not helped the growing issue of child abandonment cases and the need for solutions. It is imperative that decisions regarding oversight, level of financial support, and priorities be devised and agreed upon at all levels of government. Otherwise, the problem of abandoned infants will continue to persist and may ultimately hinder the implementation, as well as the success of other proposed viable solutions.

Support to Unwed Mothers and Parents

Experts have agreed that there is a need to offer sex education and contraceptive use programs for adolescents in South Korea. In addition to pregnancy prevention, the proposed sex education program should also focus on HIV/STD prevention. Incorporating teachings about abstinence as a form of birth control will be helpful as well. Implementing education classes that discuss the fundamentals of child-rearing, as well as provides resources and options for how to handle an unwanted or unexpected pregnancy may be the best source of support to mothers/parents that are faced with making a decision about parenting their unborn child.

Additional funding, services, and support being made available to single, unwed women and parents would be an invaluable asset to Korean citizens. Currently, more than 90 percent of all abandonment cases are connected to a single, unmarried mother who on the one hand is afraid of societal rejection; and on the other hand, would not be able to support the baby financially given limited financial resource options. Presently, "the government offers 70,000 Korean Won in monthly assistance for unwed mothers. The assistance rose by an additional 20,000 Korean Won in August 2013, the first increase in eight years" (Kim, 2013, para. 39). Furthermore, "when a baby gets sick or hurt, an unwed mother is in trouble. Without help

from her maternal family or outside supporters, an unwed mother cannot afford to bring up her baby" (Kim, 2013, para. 40). Therefore, any support or assistance the government can provide to single, unwed mothers may be the first step to changing societal views of unwed mothers (Borowiec, 2013, para. 23).

Revised Adoption Laws & Implementation of Safe Haven Laws

To address the abandonment and low domestic adoption issues in South Korea, much consideration needs to be given to revising the current adoption policies. The challenge with changing current adoption laws is that they require policy and decision makers to "balance the need to respect a child's right to know his or her ethnic identity and cultural background against the known detrimental effects caused by the early deprivation of a primary caregiver" (McGinnis, 2007, para. 20). Policy revisions, as well as social, societal, and cultural norms, and perceptions would need to shift to encourage adoption as an option.

One fundamental change for South Korea to consider is the adoption of Safe Haven Laws similar to those in place in the United States and Austria. Safe Haven Laws serve as a safe alternative to child abandonment and enable citizens, whether mother, father, or caregiver, to relinquish an unharmed child (a child that shows no signs of abuse) with personnel at designated locations (i.e., police stations, fire stations, hospitals) with no questions asked. The benefit of this law is that it is safe and anonymous (Baby Safe Haven).

Conclusion

Safety, security, educational and vocational training, love, and support are just a few essential elements that contribute to the growth and developmental needs of all children. Likewise, parents who find themselves in the unfortunate position of being unable to raise their child stand to benefit from options that enable them to ensure the health, safety, and well-being of the child. Despite a history of high child abandonment and international adoption cases,

South Korea, given its economic growth and development, is equipped now more than ever to undertake comprehensive reform initiatives with regards to policies, funding, and the oversight of child welfare programs and services. In order to reduce the number of abandonment incidences, along with the high rates of youth being raised in orphanages, a collective, holistic approach characterized by governmental and societal interventions will not only benefit the children and youth in South Korea, but the society as a whole.

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Communities Behind Bars: A Review of Mass Incarceration and the Coercive Mobility Hypothesis

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The community that one resides in has a substantial impact on their life. Communities that are disadvantaged – with high rates of poverty, joblessness, family disruption, and racial isolation –experience crime and criminal justice responses at higher levels. With the evolution of mass incarceration and its racially-biased practices, poor and largely minority communities continue to experience its effects and repercussions most heavily. That is, incarceration has disproportionately affected disadvantaged communities that house large portions of the U.S.'s racial-ethnic populations. The coercive mobility hypothesis contends that this concentration of incarceration has two negative effects on communities. First, incarceration forcefully removes community members who likely offered some social support; and, second, the communities to which they return must bear the burden of accommodating large portions of the population with few opportunities given their criminal label. This dual effect destabilizes the ability for communities to form strong social cohesion and, thus, informal social control, which is argued to be more important to communities than formal forms of control (i.e. police, incarceration). Contrary to providing safety and order, incarceration may disrupt communities; especially those already struggling from various social disadvantages. Previous research has shown that incarceration detrimentally affects the community and creates a cycle by adding to the conditions that foster criminal activity. This essay reviews the effects of mass incarceration on communities through the theoretical lens of the coercive mobility hypothesis and informal social control literature.

Introduction:

A defining characteristic of the United States is its reliance on criminal imprisonment and the subsequent unprecedented number of persons locked behind bars. This use of confinement has been highly concentrated and stable within communities that have already suffered and are suffering from various forms of disadvantage – joblessness, poverty, family disruption, and isolation (Alexander, 2011; Clear, 2007, 2008; Massey & Denton, 1993; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Sampson & Loeffler, 2010; Wilson, 1987, 1996). In addition, communities that experience these disadvantages are also concentrated in those places that house large portions of the U.S.'s racial and ethnic minorities (Alexander, 2011; Clear, 2007, 2008; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Sampson & Loeffler, 2010; Wacquant, 2001; Wilson, 1987). Due to historical forces and the lasting effects of policies, these communities remain highly segregated from white America, which further deepens the concentration of disadvantage (Alexander, 2011; Massey & Denton, 1993; Peterson & Krivo, 2010; Wacquant, 2001; Wilson, 1987). The intersection of such disenfranchisement and high

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rates of incarceration breaks down social cohesion and the capacity for informal social control within the community (Rose & Clear, 1998; Clear, 2007, 2008). Incarceration has also been identified as a process that exacerbates crime within communities (Clear, 2007); the opposite of what it is supposed to achieve.

Due to these negative consequences resulting from mass incarceration, it has become immensely important to begin to consider whether imprisonment is really a benefit to the U.S. as advocates of "get tough" and "law and order" ideologies purport (Clear, 2007, 2008; Sampson, 2011). In this paper, I discuss in detail the literature that has explored the negative consequences of imprisonment. First, I historically situate mass incarceration as a form of racialized social control and briefly touch on its impact on the individual and family. Then, I move on to the main focus of this paper – the detrimental effects mass incarceration has on the community, based on evidence from criminological and sociological literature. The paper will further outline the coercive mobility hypothesis which posits that the forced removal of persons and the later reentry of those previously incarcerated back into communities weakens the ability for these communities to form informal social control; thus, exacerbating crime and disadvantage (Rose & Clear, 1998).

Mass Incarceration

In the 1970s, President Richard Nixon declared the War on Drugs in the United States, the impact of which is still being felt today (Alexander, 2011; Pager, 2007). With the declaration of the drug war, the criminal justice system was bolstered, and we began to incarcerate members of our society at unprecedented rates (Alexander, 2011; Pager, 2007). This reliance on prisons and jails has led to, what is now called, mass incarceration. There have been three major contributors to the rise of mass incarceration. First, there was the general growth and reliance on incarceration as the dominant strategy of control, including the focus on retribution, law and order, and the notion of "getting tough on crime," which has had

widespread public support over other focuses such as rehabilitation (Pager, 2007; Western, 2006). Second, we have seen the implementation of longer and stricter sentences through mandatory minimums and "three-strikes" laws (Alexander, 2011; Pager, 2007), which means those incarcerated are spending more time behind bars. Finally, there was a boom in drug offense prosecution and the reliance on prison, over treatment; particularly with reference to black males (Clear, 2007; Pager, 2007). Therefore, mass incarceration has not been driven by increases in crime rates or the prevalence of violent crime rather, by changes in the law – especially drug laws – and the conflation of race and crime (Alexander, 2011).

According to Wacquant (2001) there have been four historical eras, or "peculiar institutions," of racialized social control in the United States. First among these was slavery and the subsequent abolition of slavery. Second, there was the era known as Jim Crow (1865-1965) in the South (Wacquant, 2001) which comprised of a set of Black Codes and systematic exploitation of black labor, as well as the forced segregation of the races and the use of lynching as a form of social control (Wacquant, 2001); Third, was the rise of the ghettos prompted by racialized social control between the years of 1914 and 1968 (Wacquant, 2001). The promise of industrial jobs and an escape from the racial caste system of the South, caused large numbers of African Americans from the South to flee North resulting in, what is popularly known as the Great Migration (Wacquant, 2001). This large influx of African Americans into northern industrial cities, necessitated the creation of the ghetto to physically separate them from white populations that harbored increasing animosity towards the black migrants (Wacquant, 2001). Importantly, Wacquant (2001) likens the ghetto to prison by stating that it "is a manner of 'ethnoracial prison' in that it encloses a stigmatized population…" (p.103). Finally, this evolution of ghettos along with the rise of prisons, or *hyperghettoization*, has become the fourth peculiar institution of social control - with both existing symbiotically (Wacquant, 2001).

This symbiotic relationship arose through the combined forces of class and racial segregation, since the hyperghetto houses a surplus population with no economic function, the state now provides institutions of social control instead of the community, and there is a lack of buffers for community residents from external forces (Wacquant, 2001).

The War on Drugs and the rise of mass incarceration - the fourth peculiar institution, has been accompanied by clear racial-ethnic biases in enforcement and sentencing (Alexander, 2011; Wacquant, 2001; Western, 2006). Michelle Alexander (2011) explains that this war was waged against dealers and users, and attention was especially focused on "others" that were defined racially and as undeserving. In fact, Bruce Western (2006) reported that, "Black men are six to eight times more likely to be in prison than whites" (p.16). The current state of racial-ethnic biases in the implementation of mass incarceration has been referred to as modern-day Jim Crow (Alexander, 2011). This "new" Jim Crow is upheld through racial-ethnic biases, but in a manner that is "colorblind," which means that mass incarceration is covertly racialized (Alexander, 2011). That is, while there is a racialized character, the law and its enforcement may not be overtly racist (Walker, Spohn, & DeLone, 1996) but, rather, it relies on coded race-neutral language and imagery which lends credence to the notion that the law is applied fairly and justly (Alexander, 2011). As Alexander (2011) points out in her work, the enforcement of status relations is adaptable, and this includes racism and the enforcement of the racial hierarchy. This malleability stems from the development of new forms of rhetoric and language (i.e. coded, race-neutral terms) that conceal the racialized nature of previously used rhetoric and language (Alexander, 2011). These codes often refer to negative stereotypes and stigmatizations regarding racial and ethnic minorities; especially, the conflation of blackness with criminality (Alexander, 2011; Clear, 2007; Pager, 2007; Western, 2006).

As Bruce Western (2006) points out, mass incarceration, as a "uniquely American system of social inequality" (p.8), has an immense and lasting impact on the lives of individuals; it completely alters their life-course. Alexander (2011) discussed this idea of "second-class citizenship," which starts once the label of felon has been applied to an individual (Alexander, 2011, p.94). A criminal record symbolizes a form of second-class citizenship, that leads to discrimination in the job and housing markets based on legal sanctions and social barriers, as well as various civic activities such as serving on juries and voting (Alexander, 2011; Pager, 2007; Western, 2006). Black men that are young and those that are less educated have been especially impacted (Morenoff & Harding, 2014; Western, 2006). In fact, incarceration "…has become a normal life event for many disadvantaged young men…" (Sampson & Loeffler, 2010, p.1; see also Pager, 2007 and Western, 2006). Additionally, there is evidence that a criminal record may stigmatize blacks more than whites (Pager, 2007). For example, the amalgamation of being black and having a criminal record produces employment blockades that are seemingly insurmountable (Pager, 2007). This is of great importance since there is a link between being unemployed and recidivating, which alludes to the ineffectiveness of the reentry process and how employment barriers likely lead to further crime (Pager, 2007).

Not only does incarceration negatively affect those who have been imprisoned, it also has a secondary impact on their families (Rose & Clear, 1998; Foster & Hagan, 2007). For instance, Foster and Hagan (2007) contend that children who have had an incarcerated father are at risk of social exclusions in their own lives such as less educational attainment and homelessness. In addition, children who have had parents or siblings incarcerated have a higher risk of incarceration themselves (Clear, 2007). This line of enquiry is essential to the study of the ecological makeup of communities, given the fact that the impact of imprisonment on households leads to significant distortions within the neighborhood ecology (Fagan, West, & Holland, 2002). A deeper study of this intersection lies beyond the scope of this paper,

the remainder of which offers a review of how mass incarceration impacts the community by focusing on the coercive mobility hypothesis and its impact on informal social control.

Mass Incarceration and the Community

One of the most common assertions in criminological literature is that place matters. Where we live determines our quality of life and mediates our access to social institutions – such as schools, healthcare facilities, libraries, parks and more. (Clear, 2007; Wilcox, Cullen, & Feldmeyer, 2018). Similarly, crime and the use of formal social control varies across communities (Wilcox et al., 2018). Notably, structural forces across places work in a manner that privileges whites over other racial-ethnic groups (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). For instance, segregation is embedded within deeper structural issues and social disadvantages – a key outcome of which is the spatial concentration of crime within disadvantaged communities (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). That is, crime patterns are differentially distributed across communities and racial-ethnic groups, and these patterns do not result from individual criminality or concentrations of criminals within these geographic areas (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Instead, crime patterns are a result of structural forces within communities (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). In fact, Peterson and Krivo (2010) found that violence occurs at much higher rates in the typical black neighborhood than it occurs in the typical white-majority neighborhood, while differences in property crimes are less extreme but still present. In addition, law enforcement organizations have considerable discretion in which individuals and communities they target, which further increases the likelihood of racially biased outcomes in the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2011).

In addition to its impact on the prevalence and geographical concentration of crime, social context also correspondingly influences imprisonment. Moreover, the effects of mass incarceration reach beyond the walls of prison facilities, serving to perpetuate social disenfranchisement geographically (Rose & Clear, 1998; Western, 2006). This is because mass incarceration is highly concentrated and stable over time within communities; especially communities with high-levels of disadvantage, even after controlling for crime rates (Clear, 2007, 2008; Sampson & Loeffler, 2010). As Alexander (2011) explains "Today, the War on Drugs has given birth to a system of mass incarceration that governs not just a small fraction of a racial or ethnic minority but entire communities of color. In ghetto communities, nearly everyone is either directly or indirectly subject to the new caste system. The system serves to redefine the terms of the relationship of poor people of color and their communities to mainstream, white society, ensuring their subordinate and marginal status… The nature of the criminal justice system has changed. It is no longer concerned primarily with the prevention and punishment of crime, but rather with the management and control of the dispossessed" (p.188). Importantly, these patterns of geographic concentration and stability are also observable in the subsequent release of those previously imprisoned back into the same disadvantaged communities (Clear, 2007; Sampson & Loeffler, 2010).

The disadvantage of communities has often been defined by concentrated poverty, joblessness, family disruption, and racial isolation (Pager, 2007; Wacquant, 2001; Wilson, 1987, 1996). Additionally, it has been defined by segregation and *hypersegregation* (Massey & Denton, 1993). Segregation and the ghetto concentrate poor minority populations within communities that have little interaction with those of other social statuses and this has hidden their plight (Alexander, 2011; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wacquant, 2001). Further, whites rarely live in neighborhoods similarly situated to African American neighborhoods regarding *hyperdisadvantage*," which is defined by a minimum of four out of six factors of disadvantage being at extreme levels – poverty, joblessness, presence of low-wage jobs, families that are female-headed, presence of nonprofessional workers, and presence of non-college graduates (Peterson & Krivo, 2010, p.62). This pattern of *hyperdisadvantage* is generally

consistent when considering predominantly white neighborhoods in comparison to those with a concentration of racial-ethnic minority populations (Peterson & Krivo, 2010). Taken together, these factors have made "convenient targets" out of poor racial-ethnic minorities when it comes to police tactics since there is little political or economic power within these communities (Alexander, 2011, p.124). Evidence further suggests that while disadvantaged communities have relatively higher crime rates, incarceration rates are substantially higher there in comparison to other neighborhoods – especially when they are majority-black (Dhondt, 2012). Thus, racial-ethnic minority communities are at a clear disadvantage when it comes to various social factors and the use of formal social control.

The incarceration of predominantly male members of minority communities living in neighborhoods that are consistently impoverished and crime ridden has further been criticized for being potentially futile (Clear, 2007, p.5). To highlight this, Sampson and Loeffler (2010) refer to "…a mutually reinforcing social process: disadvantage and crime work together to drive up the incarceration rate…" and "this combined influence in turn deepens the spatial concentration of disadvantage…" (p.5). Specifically, "communities that experienced high disadvantage experienced incarceration rates *more than three times higher* than communities with a similar crime rate" (Sampson & Loeffler, 2010, p.5). Similarly, Pager (2007) refers to the prison system as a "revolving door" where "the prison has become its own source of growth, with the faces of former inmates increasingly represented among annual admissions to prison" and this is further supported "by the social contexts in which crime flourishes" – communities of disadvantage (p.2). As others have stated, the ghetto has become more like a prison (Wacquant, 2001), where disproportionately high rates of incarceration do not substantially impact crime rates, but continue to funnel returnees with limited employment and social assimilation prospects into disadvantaged communities – increasing the risk of recidivism, and creating a

"prison cycle" (Clear, 2007). Therefore, "incarceration may be a self-defeating strategy for crime control" (Western, 2006, p.5).

Social Control and Coercive Mobility

The cyclical process of incarceration and community disadvantage has been highly theorized To discuss the coercive mobility hypothesis, it is important to situate it within the theoretical tradition that it grew from within the criminological literature. With the rapid changes felt across many U.S. cities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries – industrialization, demographic shifts, etc. – social theorists began to focus attention on communities and crime (Wilcox et al., 2018). This was especially true of Chicago since this city not only felt these transitions, but also housed a collection of academics interested in this area of study (Wilcox et al., 2018). These forces in Chicago led to the development of the Chicago School tradition within the field of sociology, and later - criminology, which focuses on how the social environment impacts individuals – poverty, urban decay, demographic shifts – particularly in relation to crime (Wilcox et al., 2018). Leading scholars at that time in Chicago include: William Isaac Thomas, Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth, and Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay (Gottdiener, Hutchison, & Ryan, 2015; Wilcox et al., 2018). This focus on factors that were altering cities and communities, and the works of the scholars noted here led to the development of the theoretical tradition know as social disorganization theory (Gottdiener et al., 2015; Wilcox et al., 2018).

The social disorganization theory proposes that there are three forces that contribute to the breakdown of informal social control and, thus, lead to crime when they are felt at high-levels: 1) poverty; 2) population heterogeneity; and 3) residential mobility, all of which often lead to little attachment to the community, a lack of relationships among neighbors, and little upkeep of the property (Clear, 2007; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Building on this foundational work of Shaw and McKay (1942), Bursik and Grasmick (1993) focused extensively

on the idea of social control – behavioral regulation efforts from residents in pursuit of community safety – and brought it into their "systemic" model that focuses on the ways that disorganization limits social networks and, thus, limits social controls (Clear, 2007, p.85). The social controls they discussed were three-fold: private (i.e. informal control from primary socializing agents: family, friends, significant others), parochial (i.e. informal control from members of the community and presence of institutions such as churches and schools), and public (i.e. access to formal social control beyond the community) (Clear, 2007; Frost & Gross, 2012). They hypothesized "that instability within (due to processes of mobility) and heterogeneity of (due to ethnic and socioeconomic composition) communities would affect all three levels of control," and, consequently, crime and delinquency would occur (Frost & Gross, 2012, p.461). Ultimately, social disorganization impedes these forms of control and residential mobility takes center stage since the constant churning of the population destabilizes social ties (Frost & Gross, 2012). Where informal controls are weak, there is a greater dependence on formal control and therefore, more contact with agents of control – such as the police - within these communities (Frost & Gross, 2012).

The theoretical conceptualization of the impact of incarceration on communities also draws from the concept of collective efficacy (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). Collective efficacy refers to social cohesion within communities, along with the willingness of neighbors to intervene in pursuit of the common good, or normative consensus, of the neighborhood (Clear, 2007; Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997). Specifically, collective efficacy is concerned with the formation of mutual trust among residents within a neighborhood, which acts as a mechanism of informal social control (Sampson et al., 1997). When communities have strong social ties among residents, they are better able to informally control each other. This informal control occurs through community members' participation in community monitoring as well as their willingness to intervene (Sampson et al., 1997). Where collective efficacy, or social cohesion is strongest, informal social control can be expected to be strongest (Sampson et al., 1997). Formal forms of control (i.e. prisons, police) may be needed where neighborhood controls are limited (Rose & Clear, 1998). It is important to note that both "informal and formal social controls regulate behavior and control crime within ecological areas" (Martin, Wright, & Steiner, 2016, p.63); however, formal controls may negatively impact communities (Rose & Clear, 1998). Existing research in the field has supported the proposition that where collective efficacy is most prevalent, the effects of social disorganization – in the forms of violent crime, residential instability, disorganization and disadvantage – are mediated, and crime may deteriorate (Frost & Gross, 2012; Sampson et al., 1997).

The intersection of high crime, incarceration and social disenfranchisement has also been studied through the theoretical lens of coercive mobility. This concept has been heavily influenced by the work of Bursik and Grasmick and the development of the concept of collective efficacy (Frost & Gross, 2012), and refers to a dual process that has been theorized and discussed heavily by Dina Rose, Todd R. Clear, and colleagues. Coercive mobility, on one hand, refers to the forced removal of persons from the community, and on the other hand, it captures the disruption associated with the release of those previously imprisoned back into the community (Clear, 2007, 2008). Rose and Clear (1998) first outlined this concept to bring attention to the ways institutions designed to control criminality may in fact intensify the factors that prompt crime. Specifically, social networks in communities may be destabilized by incarceration heightening social disorganization (Clear, 2007). It should be noted that this is not to suggest the use of incarceration is always unwarranted; rather, it is the concentration of many persons being imprisoned and released that may have consequences for the community (Frost & Gross, 2012). The forced removal of persons to prisons and their later release follows the general destructive process of residential

mobility; thus, the stability of communities is jeopardized by coercive mobility (Clear, 2007). For either of these processes to occur, those being removed and those reentering must exceed a substantial amount, or reach a tipping point, to affect the community (Clear, 2007, 2008). Specifically, "the most deleterious effects of coercive mobility would take effect after a certain large number of people are caught up in the removal and return cycle" (Clear, 2007, p.159). That is, there is a linear effect and a curvilinear one (Clear, 2007). The linear relationship suggests the number reentering leads to a positive and direct effect on crime in the community (Clear, 2007; Clear et al., 2003). The curvilinear relationship indicates that where incarceration is low, it has little or no relationship with crime; however, when communities have high rates of incarceration, rates of crime will likely be higher (Clear, 2007; Clear et al., 2003).

Overall, coercive mobility and the concentration of incarceration have weakened the capacity for informal social control (Clear, 2007; Clear, Rose, & Ryder, 2001). First, the forced removal of residents through incarceration dismantles collective efficacy within communities. For instance, some of those incarcerated likely provided some sort of support for their family – money, childcare, and the like – and/or the community – through social capital networks (Clear, 2007). However, as interviews with people from communities in Tallahassee, Florida with high-levels of incarceration indicate, there has been some evidence that incarceration may help in some instances by removing problem family members (Clear et al., 2001). That is, persons reentering the community after incarceration place additional strains on collective efficacy. Those returning from prison "…tie up the limited interpersonal and social resources of their families and networks, weakening the ability of the families and networks to perform other functions…" (Clear, 2008, p. 118).

Therefore, considering the impact of coercive mobility on informal social control is important given informal control is more crucial for public safety than formal controls (Clear, 2007). In addition, communal deficiencies resulting from the impact of concentrated incarceration on informal social controls may prove to be criminogenic (Clear, 2007). Ultimately, "the normative consensus and interpersonal connectedness that are the foundation of collective efficacy are undermined by high levels of concentrated incarceration and reentry" (Clear, 2007, p.84). In the end, the effect of high levels of imprisonment may destabilize the organization of communities, especially their capacity for informal social control, generating environments that are even more criminogenic (Morenoff & Harding, 2014). This process, in turn, weakens prospects of effective reentry for individuals released back into the community (Morenoff & Harding, 2014, p.412). That is, due to the limited social and economic opportunities after incarceration, returning to crime is an enticing offer (Western, 2006) and, unfortunately, most released end up back in prison (Alexander, 2011). Clear (2007) aptly captures this and states that "concentrated incarceration in those impoverished communities has broken families, weakened the social-control capacity of parents, eroded economic strength, soured attitudes toward society, and distorted politics" (Clear, 2007, p.5). Thus, a cycle is created involving community disadvantage, crime, incarceration, reentry, and recidivism.

Evidence of Coercive Mobility

Given the complex nature of incarceration and re-entry after release, attempts made by researchers to document whether and how coercive mobility impacts communities have yielded mixed results (Clear, 2008). Some studies have found that high rates of incarceration within communities consequently lead to increases in crime within these communities. For example, Clear, Rose, Waring, and Scully (2003) found a direct and positive increase in crime with the reentry of those previously incarcerated. That is, in Tallahassee, Florida neighborhoods, Clear et al. (2003) found support for the curvilinear hypothesis which states that incarceration will lead to a decrease in crime; however, if there are

substantially high-levels of incarceration, then crimes are also likely to be higher. In 2005, this analysis of Tallahassee was replicated with additional years of data and the findings regarding coercive mobility were identical to Clear et al.'s (2003) earlier analysis (Waring, Scully, & Clear, 2005; Clear, 2008). In addition, Clear (2007, 2008) points out that this curvilinear hypothesis has been similarly replicated and generally supported in other cities including Columbus (Powell, Peterson, Krivo, Bellair, & Johnson, 2004) and Chicago (George, LaLonde, & Schuble, 2005) – both studies are unpublished though.

Similarly, Renauer, Cunningham, Feyerherm, O'Connor, and Bellatty (2006) studied 95 neighborhoods in Portland, Oregon to assess the curvilinear relationship between incarceration and informal social control proposed by Rose and Clear (1998). That is, the authors tested whether there is a tipping point that must be reached before incarceration within neighborhoods leads to more criminal activity. In support of this notion, they found that where rates of incarceration were moderate, violent crime rates decreased; however, high-levels of incarceration were related to more violent crime in neighborhoods (Renauer et al., 2006). Renauer et al. (2006) also considered property crime rates but found no support for the curvilinear hypothesis.

While there has been some evidence of a nonlinear relationship between incarceration and crime, as noted in the studies above, not all the coercive mobility research has conceded on the nature of this relationship being curvilinear. Fagan, West, and Holland (2002) observed New York City neighborhoods and found evidence of incarceration leading to more incarceration and liken this to a spiral dynamic. When they considered the impact of incarceration over time, they noted that incarceration rates are connected closely to crime to start, but eventually become independent of crime to some degree (Fagan et al., 2002). The authors also delineate how incarceration deepens racial residential segregation and how it rearranges the social networks of a community in negative ways –

alluding to the impact of incarceration on informal social control (Fagan et al., 2002). More recently, Dhondt (2012) revisited neighborhoods in Tallahassee, Florida for the time-period of 1995-2002. In this study, the author considered both rates of prison admission and the combined effect of admission as well as release, commonly conceptualized as "prison cycling" (Dhondt, 2012). The author found that high levels of admissions and cycling are related to crime rate increases in neighborhoods that are disadvantaged (Dhondt, 2012).

In addition to the impact on crime, DeFina and Hannon (2013) found that incarceration has increased poverty significantly based on their statewide analysis using data collected from 1980 to 2004. They found that had incarceration related laws and policies been executed in a different manner, poverty would have likely fallen across the United States (DeFina & Hannon, 2013). Based on several analyses that examined different measurement metrics of poverty, the authors concluded that if rates of incarceration had not risen at such extreme heights since the 1970s, poverty rates would have decreased (DeFina & Hannon, 2013). This analysis supports the notion of "two-way causality," or that imprisonment is both caused by and exacerbates poverty in the United States (DeFina & Hannon, 2013, p.582).

Coercive Mobility and Collective Efficacy

In addition to the studies noted above, there has also been some (direct and indirect) support for the contention that coercive mobility negatively effects collective efficacy, or informal social control, specifically. Hipp and Yates (2009) considered how the influx of persons released on parole impacted crime in Sacramento, California census tracts, and found that as parole populations increased, so did rates of crime within the tracts. This was especially true of the effect of parolees with violent histories on increases in rates of burglary and murder (Hipp & Yates, 2009). Regarding informal controls, they found that tracts with more residential stability were able to moderate, or lessen, the effect of parolees on crime rates (Hipp & Yates,

2009). Furthermore, the authors postulate that families who are reunited after a parent's release from prison may increase the capacity for informal social control within communities (Hipp & Yates, 2009).

Drakulich, Crutchfield, Matsueda, and Rose (2012), in their study of Seattle, Washington, found that highly concentrated returning populations are associated with lower capacity for collective efficacy. That is, the stability of the neighborhoods – residential and economic – are negatively affected by large reentering populations and this restricts a community's ability to form informal social control (Drakulich et al., 2012). However, the effect of reentry proceeds through the turmoil felt within labor and housing markets due to the aftereffects of incarceration (Drakulich et al., 2012). Overall, these factors create an environment that is further criminogenic (Drakulich et al., 2012). Therefore, where reentry is concentrated, recidivism increases; however, when parolees enter neighborhoods that are stable they are less likely to recidivate (Chamberlain & Wallace, 2016). Thus, improving residential stability may reduce reoffending among those returning to neighborhoods on parole (Chamberlain & Wallace, 2016).

Some research has gone beyond incarceration and release and used the concept of coercive mobility to examine the effects of other formal controls concentrated in the community. For example, Martin, Wright, and Steiner (2016) found general support for the contention that formal social control has unintended consequences within neighborhoods across U.S. cities when they considered arrests, but no evidence regarding incarceration. Specifically, police arrests exacerbated the connection between extreme disadvantage in neighborhoods and violent crimes whereas the risk of incarceration within jails tended to reduce violent crime in the localities considered. They did not, therefore, find direct evidence that incarceration negatively affected the community as originally hypothesized by Rose and Clear (1998); however, other formal controls proved important. In a similar vein, some research has pointed to the detrimental effects on the community that exposure to violent police tactics have on citizens (see Desmond, Papachristos, & Kirk, 2016).

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has provided a critical analysis of scholarly literature on the effects of incarceration on American communities, against the theoretical backdrop of coercive mobility and collective efficacy. The body of literature reviewed in this analysis reflects widespread recognition of the lasting negative impact of high incarceration rates among communities of low income and minority population subgroups. Communities that are highly disadvantaged are also those that are likely to experience incarceration at higher rates, which exacerbates the probability of forthcoming disadvantage. Furthermore, these communities also must cope with an influx of individuals returning from overcrowded prisons with limited prospects for gainful employment and social assimilation. This cycle of crime and incarceration may be doing more harm than good within communities across the United States. The complexity of these phenomenon as well as their detrimental socioeconomic impacts are well captured by the theoretical concepts discussed in this paper. These include coercive mobility, collective efficacy and the intersection of the two.

Coercive mobility allows for the understanding of incarceration as having disproportionately impacted communities experiencing various forms of disadvantage, frames incarceration as a vicious cycle that reinforces patterns of segregation and well as socioeconomic marginalization and acknowledges the role of incarceration as a mechanism for social control. As Western (2006) concludes, mass incarceration has confined poor blacks to a lower echelon of American society and it "has significantly subtracted from gains to African American citizenship hard won by the civil rights movement" (p.194).

The theoretical nuance within the concept of collective efficacy allows for the identification of the multiple mechanisms through which incarceration has become debilitating force for

social cohesion between community members, as well as their interaction with social and law enforcement institutions. This paper explains how formal forms of social control, such as the use of incarceration do little to create safer environments and may be causing lasting and irreparable harm to disadvantaged communities. Imprisonment destroys networks of informal social control by forcefully removing parents, friends, neighbors, and significant others from communities, which further exacerbates criminal behavior.

The paper further draws attention to the disparate law enforcement and criminal justice system practices embedded within racial, ethnic, class, gender, and educational biases, that concentrate the risk and effects of incarceration amongst populations and communities already experiencing notable disadvantages. It discusses the conditions under which incarceration has been found to reduce crime and poses questions with respect to the relative impact of incarceration given its known social and economic costs.

It may be time for researchers to approach mass incarceration by considering its costs and benefits within our society. As Clear (2008) pointed out, "despite the absence of a single, definitive study, it is hard to see how incarceration cannot be implicated as a problem for poor communities. There are simply too many studies that point to the problem for the hypothesized connection to be ignored" (Clear, 2008, p.122). For future research, concepts such as coercive mobility and collective efficacy should also be applied to examine the effects of other mechanisms of formal social control (Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003), such as concentration of arrests, exposures to police brutality, and lethal force.

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The Role of Public Libraries in Disasters

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This paper addresses the role of libraries in building a more disaster-resilient society through community support and in fostering access to critical information and resources in the wake of disaster. The role of libraries in disasters, as well as our understanding of it, has evolved over time, particularly with reference to the space they can fill in community response. A large component of that space is helping those community members impacted by disasters to fill out E-government forms, either by rendering assistance or providing the computers, electricity, and Wi-Fi necessary to connect to online resources. Other roles include avenue for escape and source of information.

This paper surveys the existing literature on libraries' disaster response, identifying both strengths and gaps which require further academic research, and provides a brief overview of extant data that libraries can use to help develop disaster plans. Existing academic literature on this subject is analyzed using the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) framework. The paper finds that there is still a gap in scholarship persists with regards to the current and future role of libraries in disaster preparedness and response. Consequently, the need for a coherent framework aimed specifically at American libraries to help them develop disaster plans has been identified as one of the salient findings of the paper.

Introduction

In 2005, a representative of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in Cameron Parish, Louisiana went on record as saying that libraries were not an essential service. Over the next five years, the roles undertaken by libraries saw considerable expansion, as they started to provide numerous non-traditional services. In the 2010, this led to a revision of the Stafford Act, where libraries were officially recognized as an essential community organization by FEMA for the first time in history (National Library of Medicine, 2017). This reclassification made libraries eligible for FEMA aid, both in terms of monetary aid and in terms of relocation during the immediate aftermath of a disaster so that they could continue to offer their services as best as possible. The attitude towards and understanding of the function of libraries has changed and continues to evolve as further studies are done on the role of public libraries in disasters (Williams, 2012). This paper applied a SWOT analysis, a well-recognized evaluation technique that in this paper will facilitate a systematic understanding of the current state of science with

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respect to the academic literature surrounding and pertaining to public libraries in disasters.

Strengths

The September 11 terrorist attacks spawned a frenzy within the disaster science field and gave rise to a new wave of research, particularly centered in North America, making organizations more distinctly conscious and self-reflective of their vulnerability to and roles in disasters (Matthews, Smith, & Knowles, 2016; Todaro, 2009). Prior to this unfortunate and deadly event, there had been little research centered on the study of libraries in disasters (Todaro, 2009). This swell in the volume of published literature is an important component of not only what makes up the current body of science, but also what laid the foundation for that science to be done to more fully explore how libraries function in disasters.

Libraries play an important role at the individual and community level by providing escapism and comfort during the everyday bustle (Begum, 2011). This could also be true during a disaster, when patrons could be expected to, quite possibly, seek more comfort. Libraries also provide access to electronic resources, from charging stations to computers and Wi-Fi. This public access to computers and the internet has been found to be "wholly unique and immeasurably important" (Jaeger, Langa, McClure, & Bertot, 2006, p. 206). During or in the aftermath of a disaster, this importance grows significantly – as libraries become the sole point of access to the outside world. This access is an indispensable service for disenfranchised communities who have little to no access to their own devices or Wi-Fi, and can rely on libraries, equipped with generators, to maintain essential communication during a power outage.

The importance of public libraries in providing access to the internet has yet not received the recognition it deserves. The 2010–2011 Public Library Funding and Technology Access Survey found that 64.5% of public libraries reported being the only providers of free public access to computers and the internet in their communities (Hoffman, Bertot, Davis, & Clark, 2011). In the 2011-2012 survey, which reiterated the questions of the previous year, the percentage of public libraries reporting as the only provider of free public access to computers and the internet in their communities had fallen to 62%, and no results were found indicating that an identical survey has been performed since (Hoffman, Bertot, & Davis, 2012). One can assume that number has dropped even further, particularly with some municipalities themselves offering free access to wireless networks (Tapia, Kvasny, & Ortiz, 2011). There are a greater number of public, free access points to the internet, but we have no data about the robustness of municipal wireless networks or whether public access to computers themselves has increased similarly. We are left with the idea that many libraries are likely to be among the few if not the only providers of free public access both to computers and the internet in their communities, and that this is an important service during regular operations as well as during a disaster. Escapism, electricity, and internet access are all regular rather than disaster-specific services, but as services whose relevance persists, they bear a mention.

An important step in understanding the role of libraries in disasters is understanding what role librarians see themselves as fulfilling or being obligated to fulfill, since that impacts prioritization as well as which services will be reported most frequently. A disaster-relevant study was conducted by Lisl Zach, who took a national survey of librarians and their priorities in the context of disaster. The librarians interviewed articulated a set of 8 common priorities, the most frequently cited of which were collection, preservation or patron service (Zach, 2011). This survey however, included medical libraries and private collections, and the role of libraries in responding to public need during a disaster must, by necessity, be focused on public libraries. Librarians associated with private collections have no mandate for public service, and therefore, no responsibilities related to disaster preparedness. In contrast, a separate study looking exclusively at public libraries who had had relevant recent experiences yielded more relevant and qualitative results, but with a

significantly smaller sample size due to the narrow parameters at work (Veil & Bishop, 2014). This study was based on interviewes with 22 librarians and community members, from areas that had been hit by tornadoes recently, and subsequently had public libraries active in recovery. Part of Veil and Bishop's (2014) conclusions were that libraries were in part well-equipped to help in the aftermath of disasters because of the preparations that were frequently in place to deal with non-disaster emergencies, such as power outages. Libraries that planned ahead were better able to do both, collection preservation and patron service, during a disaster.

Librarians also contribute specific services: 91.8 percent of libraries reported in 2011 that they helped patrons understand and use e-government websites (Hoffman et al., 2011). E-government is considered any part of interaction with government bureaucracy that can be accomplished through official online channels, from the official petitions on the White House website to electronically filing taxes. Since many FEMA documents are available exclusively online, this becomes extremely relevant during. The public not only requires physical access to electronic resources in order to access FEMA aid, they require the expertise to navigate the websites and forms they encounter. If a library patron does not possess that expertise on an individual level, librarians can help bridge that gap.

Weaknesses

Libraries possess considerable untapped potential to serve their communities in disasters, which could be effectively utilized with additional integration into community disaster planning. A recent study however, found that libraries could also overstretch their resources and capacity to help, and become FEMA command centers during emergencies – a task they are not necessarily well-prepared to undertake (Veil & Bishop, 2014). Serving as command centers may further interfere with the function of libraries as community centers and

derail efforts to provide unfettered public access to electronic resources.

Existing literature on the role of libraries in disasters is ambiguous, not only because of a dearth of research on the matter but also because this role may vary based on the composition and layout of the communities they serve. Some communities for example, may have a library that can serve as the best possible staging ground for a FEMA command center, even if it detracts from other purposes. On the other hand, a community may be better served by utilizing a more resourceful community center or school – depending on the range of resources available in these alternate facilities.

The role of libraries in disaster preparedness and response also differs across communities due to the perceptions and knowledge of the community members. This is because the communities within which they operate may differ in the degree to which they recognize libraries as key preparedness locations (Zach, 2011). They are also not consistently considered or acknowledged as part of a community's disaster response assets. As Bishop and Veil (2013) note; "[a]fter spending several hours in one community interviewing librarians and users about all the library's disaster-response activities, the research team interviewed the local fire chief who stated that he had no idea that the library had been involved in the recovery effort" (p. 39). This community dynamic is particularly worth examining in light of the role libraries play as a safe, comfortable and familiar space, with librarians providing a sympathetic ear. This may have a long-term community wide mental health benefits that could aid in community resilience - but that are difficult to quantify and easy to overlook in the presence of more immediately life-threatening hazards (Zach & McKnight, 2010).

Opportunities

As noted earlier, despite the exact role allocated to public libraries during disasters, their presence provides patrons and community members with a range of benefits that are directly or indirectly tied to disaster response and

recovery. The acknowledgement of this role of libraries has been increasingly recognized in research. For instance, the potential of public libraries in emergency preparedness was a key focus of discussion in a 2009 conference on conservation and collaboration in Salzburg, Austria - attended by conservation professionals from 32 countries. The conference attendees acknowledged the fact that library priorities revolved around staff safety, collection preservation, and resumption of normal services (Stoner, 2010). Roundtable discussions and working groups further developed recommendations for more effective conservation techniques during, and in the aftermath of, disasters (Stoner, 2010). The discussions also touched on community stakeholders - a distinct facet of disasters for libraries which also offers opportunities for further integration into a community disaster response plan (Stoner, 2010).

Libraries are major sources of information during disasters, one of the specific services that many public libraries already offer. However, untimely or incomplete information can cause additional confusion and chaos during an emergency. Libraries, given a significant degree of role confusion, and a lack of monitoring and oversight mechanisms, have been found to mismanage information dissemination. For example, a study of library websites during the H1N1 flu epidemic specifically assessed the internet-based information dissemination of libraries in the 50 largest US cities as ranked by population (Zach, 2011). The CDC released a widget with links to information about H1N1 which included several listservs. One such listserv was maintained by the National Library of Medicine, which was able to contact additional libraries. Over a period of approximately two weeks, only 15 of the libraries surveyed featured either the widget or links to the CDC or similar disease-related resources on their websites, and only 10 featured those links on the front page. Multiple libraries also took down that information before the H1N1 warning was officially lifted. This mismanagement of information is at odds with the public service

mandate of libraries as well as their expanding role as community resource centers during disaster recovery.

Threats

The American Library Association (ALA), recognized mold as a potential disaster for libraries (RUSA, 2010). It is one of the most significant threats to any library collection, since it can extensively and expensively damage printed materials. The risk for mold not only increases during and in the aftermath of a disaster, it may go unnoticed or unaddressed if the library's personnel and resources are being overstretched to complete tasks related to disaster preparedness, response and recovery (Skinner, 2006). The vulnerability of all physical systems and library resources is a concern, particularly during a disaster. This is because the management of library assets may determine the ability of community members to communicate with the outside world, to take refuge in the space provided by the library, access to resources such as generators, and the long-term well-being of the community Finally, "money is the major connecting tissue for all library activities" (Holt & Holt, 2016, p. 7). Funding and in particular budget cuts continue to be a persistent threat to public libraries and their ability to deliver services. A library is ill-equipped to provide any of their services, particularly during an emergency, if they themselves do not have power, personnel or resources.

State of Practice and Policy

A facilitating factor in the study of libraries is that they are inclined to produce extensive self-documentation, which serves as the baseline for exploring the state of practice and policy. The set of policy guidelines defined by the ALA are publicly available and clearly laid out. Disaster-related policy, a small section of the ALA's official policy states:

> When a disaster occurs that affects one or more libraries, the staff or friends of those libraries are encouraged to contact the ALA for assistance. Such assistance shall include, at a minimum: (1) the

provision of information to the public about the disaster, its effect on the library, and where contributions can be made and (2) information to the library on dealing with disasters. (ALA, 2013a, p. 38)

The role of libraries as trusted sources of information is tacitly acknowledged, but guidance for preparedness or a more structured reaction is minimal. After-the-fact reaction is presented as the expectation as opposed to mitigation or preparedness action. Furthermore, the ALA has neglected to develop any recommendations that advise individual libraries to develop their own local disaster readiness plans. However, Reference and User Services Association (RUSA), a division of the ALA, has developed a strategy for resource-sharing after disasters, focused primarily on libraries that will be helping other libraries in need (RUSA, 2010). The section on preparedness further includes the recommendation to develop a disaster plan – linked to the disaster preparedness page on the main ALA website. These resources however, are not as readily as they could be, and include no additional materials - such as books or academic literature – that could help libraries develop or implement disaster preparedness plans.

The ALA website has significantly more accessible and extensive resources in the disaster preparedness section dedicated to e-Government, an area where libraries can materially and substantively contribute to disaster response. The knowledge of this possible contribution is also reflected in Section B of the ALA Policy Manual, wherein the ALA neglects to define e-government but does urge "governments at all levels to acknowledge and support the essential role local libraries play in providing e-government and emergency response/recovery services" (ALA, 2013b, p. 38).

The role of libraries in disasters is also sign--ificantly impacted by the lack of clear definitions in official policy. Skinner (2006), based in the library of Xavier University, in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, documented feeling like individual librarians could do nothing to help

with recovery because only specifically trained and hazmat-equipped professionals were helping with the preservation of the collection and prevention of mold. This meant that a library in a closed university campus, was not accessible to the public during a storm. This highlights the issue of the lack of clear guidelines on how responses to internal library disasters (such as mold) should be different from community wide-disasters. Therefore, there is no policy-based difference between recommended response for these two scenarios.

The practical role of libraries in response to community disasters is still evolving, even as policy races to catch up - having started in a place where library roles in disasters were unacknowledged. For most public libraries, their roles in disasters are perceived as inchoate extensions of normal services. In order to document the discrepancy between practice and policy, Featherstone et al. (2008) conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with librarians who had been active in disaster response settings. The results of this study were also expected to shed light on the degree to which librarians had played an active role in disaster response prior to FEMA's acknowledgement of libraries as an essential service in 2010 (Featherstone et al., 2008). Interviews with 23 North American librarians who had responded to terrorist attacks, epidemics, and natural disasters were transcribed and quantified, and researchers identified eight categories of library roles: institutional supporters, collection managers, information disseminators, internal planners, community supporters, government partners, educators and trainers, and information community builders (Featherstone et al., 2008). Researchers concluded that librarians made significant contributions to preparedness activities for and recovery after disasters, and that in practice libraries were active in their communities beyond what had been delineated in policy (Featherstone et al., 2008).

A significant gap between policy guidelines and practice with respect to the role of libraries pertains to the lack of a clear distinction between

normal service and disaster response – as they relates to helping patrons with government forms and other paperwork. While this service is more prominently highlighted in relation to FEMA guidelines, helping patrons with government paperwork in general is both a normal service and an emergency response, and the delineation between the two is a matter of scale and primary focus.

The timeline and severity of a disaster also significantly impact which services are given precedence by libraries. According to one study, libraries prioritize staff safety and collection preservation during the disaster, and the resumption of normal service, in its aftermath Zach (2011). The study also found that many librarians deal with questions related to services, pressing issues and addressing patron needs locally rather than in consultation with a library board (Zach, 2011). This implies that future disaster preparedness cannot be implemented as a top-down approach in a library setting because of the variation in local context.

Existing literature has recognized the potential of public libraries as Disaster Recovery Centers, defined as disaster-specific information dissemination points (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2018). A significant barrier to libraries realizing this potential is the lack of disaster readiness and response training available to library staff (Todaro, 2009). Where disaster response is recognized as a role for public libraries, seminars on disaster preparedness tend to focus on the larger community, as opposed to highlighting the role of the library (Muller, 2013). The discordant notes between ALA policy and practice echo the overall differences between the state of academic literature and policy, as they relate to the role of public libraries in disasters.

Analysis and Conclusions

Disaster response in the United States is not a singular, discrete unit of policy actors. It is comprised of smaller and purpose-driven units that can be assembled as needed when disaster strikes. Disaster response units, like Voluntary Organizations Active in Disasters and National Guard units and FEMA teams are the building

blocks that form collaborative networks of essential and timely response strategies. Libraries are not inherently different from other disaster response units in that respect: each public library comprises of individuals with a variety of attitudes and abilities, has different resources and facilities, and must operate within its unique community context. As with disaster preparedness plans, libraries could benefit from broad guidelines that leave room for adaptation. Disaster science literature is saturated with conversations about preparedness which reflect the understanding that holistic planning, conversation, and critical thinking are more effective than piecemeal standards and fantasy documents (National Library of Medicine, 2017; Soehner, Godfrey, & Bigler, 2017; Stoner, 2010). The development of guidelines customized for public libraries, to enable them to write their own disaster preparedness plans, is an area where academia can contribute by working together with practitioners, particularly the ALA. Organizations that have the ability to disseminate higher-level guidelines and recommend their implementation must be engaged to utilize the full potential of libraries in disaster planning. Blending academia and practice offers ways forward that would result in improved disaster management protocols and ultimately reduce the loss of life and property caused by mismanaged emergency responses.

Librarians should also be included in the community disaster planning processes- at the very least - to provide them with a platform to communicate the nature and scope of services their libraries will be able to provide (Veil & Bishop, 2014). Training opportunities should also be made available to librarians to help them better understand the disaster-specific tools available to them and their communities and to provide impetus to develop in-house disaster preparedness plans with greater understanding of the nature of the hazards and appropriate response strategies (Todaro 2009). One opportunity to do so could be the incorporation of a seminar on disasters into library sciences programs. This could be incorporated into a public library's continuous role as an information

hub, in that training brought in for the working librarians could also be open to the community, enhancing community-wide resilience. Libraries are invaluable information hubs during a disaster, but that value may diminish, disproportionately so in disadvantaged communities, if infrastructure is damaged or absent (Straubhaar, Spence, & Tufekci, 2012; Zach, 2011).

Libraries have become important communal spaces that serve as access points for technology and modern methods of communication, particularly for disadvantaged populations. In light of their growing significance in community planning, disaster readiness and response, the recently proposed budget cuts stand to cause long term harm to communities (Albanese, 2017). Budget expansions paired with the systematic roll out of training initiatives and policy driven change to introduce strategic planning guidelines could reinforce the network of community partnerships that serve as cohesive units for organized disaster response and recovery. For this to happen, it is imperative that libraries be acknowledged as key stakeholders to be considered in academic examinations of disaster response (Bishop & Veil, 2013; Todaro, 2009). In this regard, the changing scope of services provided by libraries has necessitated an increased focus on their role in disaster response by revisiting and revising old scholarship as well as introducing new literature (Hoffman et al., 2011; Hoffman et al., 2012). This means that attention should also be paid to the increasing role of social media in disaster response and the potential for libraries to maintain a presence on these platforms as a means to reach their communities (Zach, 2011). Lastly, by facilitating equitable access to the internet for disadvantaged communities, libraries can also help bridge the digital divide. This means that as key players in the planning and implementation of community disaster readiness plans, libraries can help ensure that vulnerable groups have the skills and infrastructure to gather essential information - such as evacuation plans – during an emergency.

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Merging Developing and Developed Worlds: The Blockchain Revolution's Impact on Collective Global Growth

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The purpose of this research is to investigate the productive ways in which blockchain technology can impact the world in both private and public sectors. This paper begins with a short description of how blockchains were initially conceptualized and how they work, which the author expresses in a more universally understandable manner for non-experts in the fields of coding and computer science. Then the larger implications of world changes in both developing and developed countries through myriad blockchain technology application possibilities in corporate industries and public agencies are explored in detail. Specifically, Internet accessibility is not as limited to wealthier people and countries as it was at the turn of the century, so, while only developed states seemingly experienced overwhelming benefits from the initial Internet revolution, sectors of all countries from an array of differing developmental levels currently maintain the ability to collectively benefit, grow, and thrive during the blockchain revolution. Finally, this paper concludes with a warning to corporations and governments alike and a petition that public and private entities learn from the mistakes of those who did not initially see the Internet for the world-altering disruptive force it proved to be. Blockchain technology has the potential to make an enormous portion of traditional corporate practices and services obsolete, as well as potentially challenge the worldwide legitimacy of governments' central authority through its use of distributed ledgers and online expanse.

Introduction

A blockchain, in the most basic terms possible, is a non-centralized encrypted digital ledger that allows transactions to occur between parties in a manner that is currently safe from outside hacking. The transactions established through blockchain technology are publicly and chronologically disseminated to all servers on the blockchain network. If a specific server on the network were hacked to show transactions different from those shown on the remaining unaltered servers after a specific period of time, the transactions recorded on the unaffected servers become legitimized and built upon, thus rendering the compromised transactions illegitimate and disregarded. As such, barring a hack of a majority of the network servers within a short period of time, which is nearly impossible, altering transactions after acceptance among all vested parties is unlikely (Nakamoto, 2008). This process will be thoroughly explained in the following section.

The advent of blockchain technology came in 2008 when the secretive person or group known only as Satoshi Nakamoto developed

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methods to create the Bitcoin blockchain. With this new technological development came opportunities for numerous economic sectors and public organizations to become more efficient and effective. Specifically, many aspects of traditional transactions and record keeping are outdated compared to the possibilities offered by blockchains and are likely to be replaced by blockchain technology in the next several years. While this process will surely be a disruptive occurrence across nearly all public and private industries, resulting in massive job cuts and an eradication of several current financial and documentation processes, citizens in both developing and developed countries will benefit extensively from the world's embrace of blockchain technology. Furthermore, if blockchain technology is emphasized and utilized mutually and immediately by governments and private corporations in both the developing and developed worlds, the technological gap between the financial markets and public sectors of the two worlds can be collectively addressed and reduced for the further betterment of all global citizens.

Before the economic, political, and social implications of global blockchain distribution are further addressed, the fundamentals of blockchain technology must be investigated and understood. Currently, most of the information regarding blockchains is known only by those that understand the computational properties of the technology and its coding processes. Through greater collective comprehension of how blockchain technology works, policymakers and corporations can respectively regulate and integrate this technology before it completely surpasses the understanding of legislators and executives, leaving gaps between regulatory and technological advancements as well as traditional and blockchain-utilizing business practices.

Blockchain Technology Overview

In 2008, the secretive individual or group known as Satoshi Nakamoto disseminated an article conceptualizing blockchain technology. In the article—"Bitcoin: A Peer-to-Peer Electronic Cash System"—Nakamoto asserted that, since the Internet's inception, Internet commerce required banks or other financial entities to act as third parties during transactions to process electronic payments. To Nakamoto, this process worked satisfactorily given the state of electronic transactions in the late 2000s, yet suffered "...from the inherent weaknesses of the trust based model," and, as such, "completely non-reversible transactions [were] not really possible, since financial institutions cannot avoid mediating disputes" (Nakamoto, 2008, p. 1). Mediation costs, along with other fees from financial institutions, raise the price of electronic transactions, while the possibility of payment reversal through mediation, lack of funds, or other transaction hindrances force banks to require extensive amounts of private information from customers to ensure credibility and trust (Nakamoto, 2008, p. 1).

Instead of continuing to use an antiquated transaction process, Nakamoto called for "an electronic payment system based on cryptographic proof instead of trust, allowing any two willing parties to transact directly with each other without the need for a trusted third party" and in a manner that is "computationally impractical to reverse" (Nakamoto, 2008, p. 1). This system, now known as a blockchain, involves a peer-to-peer (P2P) network wherein numerous nodes—network users tapped into the system—receive information regarding all transactions broadcasted over the network and collect the transactional information into a block of data—a compilation of all the transactional history within the network over a certain period of time (Nakamoto, 2008, pp. 2-3). The nodes then work to solve extensive cryptographic (coding) "puzzles," or computational assignments, to have their block of data become the next block "mined" for the chain. In other words, the network requires a specific number of zeroes in the next block's header, which always ends in "SHA-256^2," to become the validated block upon which the chain continues. Once a node figures out the correct number of zeroes for the block's header (i.e., generates a "proof-of-work" (PoW)), that node's version of the block is able to become the version accepted across the

entire network. After all the other nodes on the network confirm that the transactions within the block are valid, the block finalized by the node providing PoW is legitimized and becomes the next block on the chain (Christidis & Devetsikiotis, 2016, p. 2294; Nakamoto, 2008, p. 3).

Finally, the creator of a block (i.e., the node that generates PoW to finalize the block holding data added since the preceding block was completed) is awarded a pre-determined amount of Bitcoin—the first and most renowned cryptocurrency (digital/virtual currency)—for their efforts, thus incentivizing nodes to continue attempting to have their blocks mined (Nakamoto, 2008, p. 4). Other blockchain platforms have since been created as well, each with their own unique cryptocurrency payout for mining, such as the Ethereum platform and its cryptocurrency Ether ("Ethereum: Blockchain App Platform," 2017).

Through providing PoW and having nodes accept and build upon previous blocks, the opportunities for hackers to retroactively alter amounts transacted diminish, since each node in a system maintains an individual copy of all previous blocks (and thusly all previous transactions). In other words, each block of data chronologically orders the transactions recorded between the block's inception and completion, while the dissemination of every block to all network servers helps ensure that the transactions recorded are legitimate. Altering prior transactions would require the modification of a majority of nodes' block histories, which is virtually impossible, especially as a blockchain gains interest and more nodes enter the system (Nakamoto, 2008, pp. 1-2). It is for this reason that blockchain technology is also referred to as distributed ledger technology—non-trusting nodes record each transaction simultaneously across the globe, thusly ensuring proper documentation of transactions mutually by an array of strangers (Kshetri, 2017, p. 1710).

Transactions within a block also ensure privacy and security within a trustless P2P structure. A transaction between two parties on a blockchain operates as such: party A digitally signs a transaction using a "private key," known only to the user, that decreases her/his amount of one asset and increases her/his amount of another asset by the amount agreed upon with party B. Party A's transaction sets up for the allotted amount of the asset being traded to go to party B's "public key," which is similar to a user name or other online address. Once party B also signs away the amount of an asset being traded using her/his private key, while crediting party A's account using her/his public key, the transaction is finalized, documented, and ultimately distributed across the network in an irreversible manner (Christidis & Devetsikiotis, 2016, p. 2295).

A final innovative transactional aspect of blockchains that this paper will discuss is smart contracts, which are "self-executing scripts that reside on the blockchain... that allow for the automation of multi-step processes" (Christidis & Devetsikiotis, 2016, p. 2292). For example, if a blockchain user needs asset Y, but only has asset X, she/he can craft a smart contract asking for three units of asset Y for five units of asset X. The user relinquishes her/his five units of X to the smart contract and the smart contract announces the offer to other network users. Should another user accept the terms of this transaction, she/he gives three units of Y to the smart contract and is immediately rewarded with five units of X, while the initial user gains the desired three units of Y and the smart contract ends. If, after a predetermined amount of time, no other users agree to the terms of the smart contract, the smart contract ends and the user's five units of X are returned. Essentially, a smart contract acts as an automated and reliable extension of a network user, which, in turn, reduces the user's time and energy spent trying to find and acquire an asset. A practical example of this concept is a taxi company or ride-sharing service utilizing a blockchain: a smart contract is crafted offering a ride of a certain distance for a certain price (i.e., a bid), a network user agrees to the terms and hires the driver who created the smart contract, and the driver transports the passenger and the smart contract ends or is reposted.

Implications of a Blockchain Revolution

As of 2016, forty-eight percent of all global citizens (approximately 3.385 billion people) had some level of Internet access through either fixed-broadband or mobile-broadband subscriptions, up from only eight percent (about five hundred million people) in 2001—an increase of nearly seven hundred percent over fifteen years. 70.6 percent of all individuals aged fifteen to twenty-four around the world also had access to the Internet in 2016 ("ICT Facts and Figures 2017," 2017, pp. 1-3; "Statistics," 2017). Additionally, the total global number of business pages on Facebook alone reached fifty million in 2015, while Facebook users made an estimated 2.5 billion comments monthly on these pages (Chaykowski, 2015). As a result of the large growth in overall Internet users and applications during the twenty-first century, and especially of the enormous proportion of young people utilizing Internet services, the need to globally recognize and embrace the technological revolution that the Internet continues to present is apparent.

Specifically, blockchain technology has the potential to reshape the manner in which all public and private entities interact with one another and with customers and constituents. Greater blockchain accessibility for people living in countries of all levels of development may also come to fruition in the near future, as Internet accessibility is projected to be more equitable than ever before. Although the rate at which people gain Internet accessibility in the future is not likely to keep up with the approximate seven hundred percent increase in global Internet users between 2001 and 2016, it is arguably likely that the majority of all global citizens will have access to some form of usable Internet at some point in 2018 or 2019. Furthermore, current global efforts aimed at improving access in under-connected regions are expected to expedite global broadband connectivity (*The State of Broadband 2017*, 2017).

Through this new Internet revolution presented by blockchain technology, interactions between individuals and organizations from across the globe can become more instantaneous, documentable, and permanent. Additionally, as the proportion of young people utilizing the Internet, many of whom maintain adequate understanding of current Internet technologies, increases and as these young people become the majority of the global populace, the need to keep up with technological advancements will be necessary for companies and governments to survive the new Internet revolution. Strategists working on Wall Street assert that those born in the "Baby Boomer" generation (between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s) helped drive the stock market "rally" of the 1980s and 1990s, while "Millenials"—those born between the early to mid-1980s and the mid-2000s—are more apt to develop a blockchain/cryptocurrency-based economy due to their capability to understand new technologies and identify digital business opportunities (Cheng, 2017). It is for this reason that, as of November 2017, "...about 30 percent of those in the 18-to-34 age range would rather own $1,000 worth of Bitcoin than $1,000 of government bonds or stocks" (Russo, 2017).

Potential Opportunities and Challenges of Global Blockchain Utilization

Currently, governmental agencies and consumer service corporations rely on constituents and customers adhering to a strict centralized authority structure wherein a perceived need for government and company approval and/or assistance is required for a transaction or other activity to occur. Any action undertaken by an individual or organization outside of the strict regulations set by governments or corporations is often deemed illegal or against corporate policy. Blockchain technology, on the other hand, is not in-and-of-itself illegal to utilize, yet the lack of current regulation regarding and understanding of blockchains make this technology a potential threat to policymakers and business executives.

More precisely, blockchains utilize a decentralized network of cooperating nodes from around the world to allow reliable trustless transactions to occur, whereas traditional banking and financial institutions act as

centralized authorities to facilitate customer transactions between one another. As such, corporations within the financial sector hinder their opportunities for growth in the long-term by fighting against the shift in transactional processes presented by the blockchain revolution. By preparing for and embracing blockchain technology prior to its potential global takeover, financial institutions will gain the ability to maintain relevance post-blockchain expansion and possibly thrive.

For instance, a bank utilizing blockchain technology could theoretically reduce or eliminate its intermediary services between customers and businesses. While this would reduce the amount that banks could charge in fees for transactions (since blockchain transactions are instantaneous and decentralized), the savings such a feat offers banking institutions are numerous. Blockchains offer ways to improve "back-end processing efficiency" and a "potential to reduce operational costs" (Guo & Liang, 2016, p. 2). As discussed earlier, a large issue within the banking industry involves post-transaction disputes and subsequent mediatory measures (Nakamoto, 2008, p. 1). Banking on a blockchain basis significantly reduces the likelihood of fraudulent disputes since all transactions require both parties to sign on to the terms of an agreement with a public and private key, meaning all parties knowingly sign on to and validate transactions, and all transactions are immediately processed and irreversible. Additionally, since blockchain users' keys are encrypted on the network, there is limited ability for hackers to steal an individual's key for unauthorized transactions. While some authors theorize that the advent of quantum computing - another revolutionary technological prospect that is far outside the scope of this paper—in the near future will allow hackers to bypass cryptographic security, current technology is fundamentally unable to hack and alter transactions on the blockchain (Cermeño, 2016, p. 19). So even if a party finds a transaction unfavorable in hindsight, the transaction is legitimately processed and documented, thusly diminishing any viable claim of fraud or other devious activity.

Banks in developing countries with large populations, such as China, often struggle to adequately judge customers' personal credit standings due to the sheer numbers of people and transactions occurring within the country. Additionally, financial industries in China and similar countries frequently maintain inadequate data sharing protocols between businesses or with the government. For Chinese banks, a majority of the data used to assess credit standings comes from checking account activity, loans, or other direct monetary actions between the banks and their customers (Guo & Liang, 2016, pp. 1-3). While this may make up a significant proportion of the needed data to accurately assess an individual's credit situation in many cases, many customers' financial transactions that should influence credit assessment may not be as readily recognizable to banks in other instances. Blockchain technology provides a remedy for such hindrances in the assessment of credit worthiness. Simply by the design of distributed ledgers, data of all past transactions and activity are embedded within the blockchain and shared across all nodes in a system (Guo & Liang, 2016, pp. 1-3). As such, data regarding customers' economic activity across numerous financial institutions can be shared, if agreed upon by consumers and different agencies, to better address individuals' credit standing for improved loan and financing opportunities. Also, as previously mentioned, due to the cryptographic nature of blockchain, this data can be encrypted when shared with government agencies to protect consumers' privacy.

In addition to the potential cost-savings associated with preventable dispute mediations, the distributed ledger concept decreases the necessity for bookkeeping within financial institutions, or any company using blockchain technology, since every past transaction relating to a business is recorded and saved in a manner that is safe from manipulation (Guo & Liang, 2016, p. 6). Consequently, nearly all industries gain the ability to save money on bookkeeping

and other associated accounting costs through blockchain utilization.

Furthermore, regulations regarding high-volume payment clearing activities, such as the sale and purchase of securities—primarily stocks and bonds—vary from country to country, while brokerages and security exchanges typically have up to three days to process distributions of assets (Guo & Liang, 2016, p. 6). The United States' Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) adopted an amendment in March of 2017 to "shorten by one business day the standard settlement cycle [of three business days] for most broker-dealer securities transactions" to "enhance efficiency... and ensure a coordinated and expeditious transition by market participants to a shortened standard settlement cycle" ("SEC Adopts T+2," 2017). While advocates of a shortened settlement cycle praised the switch to a two business day timeline for likely "reduc[ing] credit and market risk, including the risk of a trading counterparty defaulting," many investors still believe that this shortened amount of time for settlement processing is lengthy for Internet-age financing where "modern technology lets investors make trades in a matter of milliseconds" (Lynch, 2017). Since transactions are validated and processed immediately on a blockchain, both businesses and investors gain options for speedy and reliable asset attainment through a blockchain settlement system. Utilizing blockchains could bolster the economic health of companies by improving investment cash flows and reducing information technology and operations costs (which currently total hundreds of billions of dollars annually), while providing investors increased incentive to continually place money into securities markets (Bajpai, 2017).

While expedited investment in private and public securities is surely beneficial to the economic stability of corporations and governments alike, the investment improvements offered through blockchains do not end with the exchange of securities. Crowdfunding efforts consist of business startups asking the public, typically via the Internet, to donate small amounts of capital in order to fund new business ventures. Within a blockchain network, giving money to startups through crowdfunding endeavors is much safer for investors and forces greater accountability on startups, while still allowing these businesses to gain the funds necessary to engage in their new ventures. On a blockchain platform utilizing smart contracts, startups can petition that people fund their ventures, but funds can only be taken if the pre-determined monetary goal is reached. If the goal is not reached, the funds are returned ("The great chain," 2015). This potentially reduces investors' concerns about fraud and wasted funds for startups in developed and developing countries, which could bolster innovative technological advancement through more consistent funding for startups and encourage businesspeople in developing countries to engage in more global fundraising efforts.

While some skeptics argue that crowdfunding efforts may inherently retain fraud concerns in the form of startups misusing funds after achieving fundraising goals, there are theorized variations of crowdfunding techniques to alleviate investor fears. One such technique—equity crowdfunding—features an exchange of money from investors for a defined share of the startup, like a stock share from a publicly traded company. In theory, attaining equity in a startup would give an investor a greater sense of security when giving money to fundraising efforts—the investor retains a similar amount of wealth, but in the form of equity (Zhu & Zhou, 2016, pp. 2-3). In conjunction with a "...voting system for crowdfunders, which enables [investors] to be involved in the corporate governance" of a startup (i.e., money cannot be spent or decisions cannot be made without shareholder consent), new crowdfunding techniques could provide practical fraud safeguards (Zhu & Zhou, 2016, pp. 1-2).

This concept of crowdfunding applies to the not-for-profit realm of the public sector as well. If a smart contract is created for a non-profit organization to raise funds for needed supplies to achieve the organization's mission, the ambiguity regarding where raised funds are

being used dissipates, allowing more not-for-profit entities to truly shape a better world. Additionally, distributed ledgers put transactional information on display and disseminate it publicly. By recording which funds are being used for which purposes, non-profits using blockchains give donors a level of accountability that is rarely seen today (Conway, 2017). It is even possible to track the precise money donated to the exact operation funded or supply purchased by a not-for-profit organization. Through this improvement pertaining to fundraising and expenditures, non-profits, especially throughout the developing world, can finally gain desperately needed capital and supplies to help those who need it most, while maintaining the trust and support of an array of donors. The potential of non-profit funding in the "global south"—the developing world in the southern hemisphere—via blockchains was aptly captured by Nir Kshetri, a professor at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro's Bryan School of Business and Economics: donors can "buy electricity for a South African School using Bitcoin. A blockchain-enabled smart meter makes it possible to send money directly to the meter... Donors can [then] track electricity being consumed by the school and calculate the power [of] their donations" (Kshetri, 2017, p. 1711). The prospects of direct result-based blockchain funding do not stop with electricity; various other necessities such as women's sanitary products, food, water purifiers, and medicine can also be purchased for communities throughout the developing world and then analyzed online to determine the impact such donations made.

Conclusion

The lives of billions of people now consist of a duality of online and in-person personas and interactions, while a growing population raised in the Internet-era is becoming more and more entangled with the online realm of the world. However, a divide still exists between many of those born prior to and after the first Internet revolution. While this divide currently only hinders some individuals' understanding of complex phenomena related to the pre- or post-Internet age, this divide will likely expand upon the mass acceptance of blockchain technology.

Similar to the ways the first Internet revolution eradicated or temporarily disrupted numerous long-standing industry staples, such as cable television, video stores, and print journalism, this new Internet revolution—the blockchain revolution—has the potential to make currently accepted business practices, investment patterns, and governmental processes obsolete. Blockchain technology challenges many fundamental business tactics, such as the implementation of transaction fees for customers sending or receiving money through a bank, while also offering operational cost alleviations for recordkeeping, security improvements, and so on. These multi-industry opportunities could quickly redefine the manner in which consumers interact with businesses and each other. Safeguards against fraud also yield the potential for greater global investor confidence and investment opportunities, either in the form of small startups or large publicly-trade corporations. In the last few years alone, blockchain technology investment throughout the private sector has rapidly expanded due to the increasing number of companies seeking to capitalize on the many financial opportunities presented by blockchains. The most notable companies currently investing in blockchain business integration options include: Microsoft, IBM, JPMorgan Chase, Toyota, Nasdaq, Overstock.com, and even the Long Island Iced Tea Corporation (which rebranded itself as the Long Blockchain Corporation in December 2017) (Cheng, 2017; Ervin, 2018; Fink, 2017).

However, as with numerous other technological advancements, governments have demonstrated a casual interest, at best, in investing in blockchain technologies and planning for the possibility of its widespread adoption. With the exception of the United Kingdom, China, and a small number of other states scattered across the world that are actively involved in the development of blockchains and facilitating innovative entrepreneurship opportunities for blockchain-utilizing startups,

most governments have disregarded the notion that a new Internet revolution is underway (Quentson, 2016; *Regulatory Sandboxes*, 2015, pp. 2-13). Opportunities to improve numerous aspects of government in both the developing and developed worlds exist through distributed ledger technology application: land registry documentation, motor vehicle registrations, arrest records, citizenship statuses, and even laws could be digitized for blockchains. The socioeconomic growth prospects of such digitization of government records are immense. By freeing up enormous amounts of capital currently being expended for registration and documentation, funds could be distributed elsewhere within the government or to not-for-profit organizations. In conjunction with improved scrutiny of international aid from donors and other states, utilizing blockchain technology for basic government activities offers developing countries the ability to bypass current financial shortcomings and truly focus on bettering the lives of citizens. Similarly, developed countries using blockchains can generate methods to further improve government effectiveness and efficiency, while also freeing up capital to invest in development internally or abroad, providing greater benefits to citizens, or making additional payments on debts.

Whereas the first Internet revolution initially only truly benefited those with extensive wealth, most of whom lived in developed countries, this will not be the case during the blockchain revolution. Having a computer was a requirement for Internet access in the 1990s and most of the 2000s, and buying a computer was an extremely expensive endeavor; today, nearly half the world has access to the Internet in the form of fixed- or mobile-broadband and gaining access is much less costly than at the turn of the century. Specifically, global mobile-broadband subscriptions increased by about twenty percent between 2012 and 2017—subscriptions in developing countries grew by over fifty percent over the same period—mainly due to the increased affordability of mobile-broadband compared to fixed-broadband (worldwide mobile-broadband prices as a percentage of

gross national income per capita dropped by about fifty percent between 2013 and 2016) ("ICT Facts and Figures 2017," 2017, pp. 4-5). As such, the opportunities for citizens of developed and developing countries to use and benefit from blockchain technology are much greater than they were at any time in the past.

In light of this, corporations and governments would be well-advised to plan for the long-term implications of the advent of blockchain—such as diminished state authority and loss of jobs to technology. Furthermore, blockchain technology can provide a welcome opportunity for fast-paced technological advancement in developing countries, which would otherwise lag further behind the developed world than ever before.

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Policy Brief

Using Film Industry Subsidies to Influence Cultural Perceptions of Women in the US and Seoul

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Research has shown that media representations of gender can have a profound impact on the formation of gender stereotypes and the cultural perception of women and their role in society. This policy brief therefore outlines a framework for using film industry subsidies to influence cultural perceptions of women in the Republic of Korea, a country where a staggering gender pay gap and deeply ingrained cultural deterrents to women's inclusiveness have posed a significant challenge to women's empowerment initiatives in the City of Seoul. The policy intervention recommended by this brief is a subsidy that could be implemented by the Seoul Metropolitan Government and other cities with thriving film industries to incentivize the development of feature films that include the following elements: 1) positive portrayals of women in a lead role, 2) portrayals of men and women who are equally responsible for childcare and domestic work, and 3) place women in roles where they are empowered to write, direct, and/or produce feature films. By instituting this policy, Seoul could help break barriers for women in film and encourage media portrayals that show women and the city of Seoul in a positive and inspiring light.

Introduction

Research has shown that media representations of gender matter. They help create cultural stereotypes that influence the creation of gender identity (Cheryan, Plaut, Handron, & Hudson, 2013), which not only influence how we see ourselves, and how we envision our futures; but also influence how we perceive and treat one another (Ferguson, 2012).

The purpose of this policy brief is to establish the rationale for and outline a framework to facilitate the use of film industry subsidies to influence cultural perceptions of women and their role in society. The focus of this brief is the Republic of Korea (ROK), a country on a path of rapid advancements in the political and economic domains, but where a staggering gender pay gap, and cultural deterrents to women's inclusiveness have posed a significant challenge. For reference, this document also presents a comparative analysis of women's film representations in ROK and the United States, where recent events have caused an uproar over the mistreatment of women in the entertainment industry.

This brief combines two main concepts: changing cultural perceptions of gender and enhancing women's economic participation by

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subsidizing Korean films that feature the following elements: 1) positive portrayals of women in a lead role, 2) portrayals of men and women who are equally responsible for childcare and domestic work, and 3) place women in roles where they are empowered to write, direct, and/or produce feature films.

Recent developments in ROK and the US

The city of Seoul serves as both the political and cultural capital of ROK. In 2015, the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) announced a "Comprehensive Plan for Film Culture Development," which involves expanding support for independent filmmakers, establishing a ₩50 billion fund to support the production of films in Seoul, and becoming an "ideal city for filmmaking" (Seoul to be a "Major Film Capital in Asia", 2015). The SMG has also declared an intention to transform Seoul into a world leader in gender equality. It acknowledges the importance of challenging cultural norms in achieving gender parity by addressing the concept in its Framework Ordinance on Gender Equality ("Seoul Metropolitan Government Framework Ordinance on Gender Equality," n.d.). Article 19 (Raising Awareness and Creating a Culture of Gender Equality) proposes changing culture through educational programs ("Seoul Metropolitan Government Framework Ordinance on Gender Equality," n.d.). Article 16 (Promotion of Participation in Economic Activities), establishes policies to enhance women's participation in economic activities, including encouraging women's employment and enhancing workplace equality ("Seoul Metropolitan Government Framework Ordinance on Gender Equality," n.d.).

To achieve its vision of improving gender equality and promoting the health, safety, and independence of women in the city of Seoul, SMG has designed a series of 10 projects in six major areas to promote a female-friendly sociocultural environment and enhance female residents' standard of living through empowerment (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2017). The policies generated from these projects serve a concrete purpose of improving women's lives and a latent purpose of influencing culture. By enacting policies that prioritize women, the government sends a message to society that women's needs are important. Such messages are critical to achieving true gender equality by challenging cultural norms and breaking down traditional gender roles.

A cultural shift is also necessary in the United States, which is currently experiencing a moment of awareness regarding sexual harassment and assault committed by men in power. This is particularly evident in the entertainment industry, where Miramax producer Harvey Weinstein allegedly raped, abused, harassed and intimidated numerous women for decades (Farrow, 2017). Allegations have also been made against other Hollywood power players, including Woody Allen (Chval, 2016), Louis C.K. (Buckley, Kantor, & Ryzik, 2017), Bill Cosby (Etehad, Kim, & Littlefield, 2017), Brett Ratner (Kaufman & Miller, 2017), James Toback (Whipp, 2017), Roy Price (Koblin, 2017) and John Lasseter (Barnes, 2017). In response to these revelations, and due to significant public backlash, the '#MeToo', and 'Time's Up' movements have gained significant momentum. The #MeToo hash tag encourages women to share experiences of sexual assault and harassment in order to illustrate how widespread the epidemic of abuse has become. Time's UP on the other hand, is a legal defense fund created for survivors of harassment and assault.

Media Representations of Gender

Positive Portrayals of Women

Media portrayals of women can have a profound effect on audiences' perceptions of themselves and others as well as their behaviors. These ideas are supported by multiple psychological theories (Steinke, 2017). According to Social Cognitive theory, gender identity is formed by observing and imitating the behavior of others, including those portrayed in the media, through a process known as identificatory learning (Bandura, 1969). The Gender Schema theory explains how gender

stereotypes are subconsciously formed at young ages and persist in memory (Bem, 1981). Additionally, the Possible Selves theory explores how media representations of one's gender can motivate future behavior (Steinke, 2017). These theories lend support to the proposition that if young girls only see women portrayed as accessories or subordinates to male characters, they will be less likely to envision themselves in powerful roles.

This theoretical framework has informed the design of multiple studies aimed at exploring the role of media in influencing young women's likelihood of pursuing careers in science, technology, engineering or math (STEM). A 2015 study of 350,000 participants throughout 66 countries found that women's participation in STEM careers strongly correlated with "gender-science stereotypes," defined as the pervasive association of science with one gender (Miller, Eagly, & Linn, 2015). This study showed that if a nation held stereotypes associating men with science, then its female citizens were less likely to be employed in STEM careers. These trends have also been observed in studies conducted in the US, where despite significant increases in women's participation in STEM over the past 50 years, it continues to lag behind that of men's in computer science and engineering (Cheryan, Plaut, Handron, & Hudson, 2013; Miller et al., 2015). A 2015 study found that media portrayals of computer scientists, such as those in *Real Genius, The Big Bang Theory,* and *Silicon Valley,* painted a picture of socially awkward and reclusive young men that tended to subconsciously dissuade college-aged women from pursuing computer science (Cheryan, Master, & Meltzoff, 2015).

Research has also captured how portrayals of women in media can influence viewers' attitudes and behavior towards them. A 2014 study found that men who were exposed to television clips that portrayed women as subordinate sexual objects were more likely to engage in sexually-harassing behavior towards them, compared to men who were exposed to television shows that neutrally portrayed men and women, such as nature documentaries, or

television shows that portrayed women as professionals (Galdi, Maass, & Cadinu, 2014). Likewise, a 2012 study found that a woman's role in the story influenced both male and female reactions to sexual violence inflicted on the character (Ferguson, 2012). If the female character was portrayed as weak or subordinate, then male viewers in the study were more likely to express negative views of women, and female viewers were more likely to express feelings of anxiety (Ferguson, 2012). By contrast, when both men and women in the study viewed sexual violence committed against a strong and powerful female character, they were not likely to express negative or anxious views (Ferguson, 2012). While these widely pervasive trends in media are not easy to change, encouraging positive portrayals of women as a part of the strategy proposed in later sections of this brief is a step in the right direction.

Gender Equity in the Home

Media portrayals of women in predominantly domestic roles also reinforce stereotypes that subvert the idea that men and women are equals in the household, such as when caring for children, completing domestic housework, and participating in the workforce. The Organization for Economic Co-operations and Development (OECD) measured the gender pay gap in 2015 as 18.9% in the United States (U.S.), and a staggering 37.2% in the Republic of Korea (ROK) (OECD, 2018). This means men were being paid wages 18.9% more than women in the U.S. and 37.2% more in the ROK. Some experts believe that a significant contributor to the gender pay gap in the U.S. is the cultural assumption that women will carry the burden of childcare and household duties (Dubner, 2016). It is assumed women will take time off work to care for children and family members, consequently committing less time to their careers. Park (2016) similarly finds that cultural norms are a contributing factor to the pay gap in the ROK.

Survey data collected in the U.S. supports the assertion that employed women devote more time to childcare and domestic work than men.

In response to a 2013 Pew Research Center Survey, 39% of women reported taking a significant amount of time off work to care for a child or family member (compared to 24% of men); 42% reported reducing their work hours (compared to 28% of men); and 27% reported having to quit work entirely (compared to 10% of men) (Brown & Patten, 2017). Furthermore, in response to a 2016 United States Bureau of Labor Statistics survey asking how employed adults spent their time on an average day, 50% of women reported doing housework such as cleaning or laundry, compared to only 35% of men (American Time Use Survey, 2016). The gap increased in relation to food preparation and cleanup, with 70% of women reporting spending time cooking and cleaning up, compared to 45% of men. Women also reported spending 40 minutes longer than their male partners per day providing physical care (including feeding and bathing) to children under six years old. This brief proposes that one way of promoting a more equitable distribution of household labor could be through media portrayals of men and women as equally responsible for household duties.

Women in Film

Research has shown women are underrepresented in the film industry worldwide. The Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media studied a sample of 120 feature films released between 2010 and 2013 that were produced by industries located in 10 countries, including the Republic of Korea, and the United States (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2014). Globally, the study determined the following:

- 31% of speaking roles were played by women;
- 23% of the films featured a female protagonist;
- 7% of the films were directed by women;
- 20% of the films were written by women and;
- 23% of the films were produced by women.

Encouragingly, out of all countries in the study, ROK released the highest percentage of films with a female lead or co-lead, and the third-highest percentage of women in speaking roles. By contrast, the U.S. ranked seventh in films with speaking roles for women and in the middle for female leads and co-leads[2]. Table 1 provides a complete list.

Country	% of Characters w/ Speaking Roles	% of Female Leads/Co-Leads	% with Balanced Casts	Total # of Characters
Australia	29.8%	40%	0	386
Brazil	37.1%	20%	20%	423
China	35%	40%	30%	514
France	28.7%	0	0	526
Germany	35.2%	20%	20%	443
India	24.9%	0	0	493
Japan	26.6%	40%	0	575
ROK	**35.9%**	**50%**	**20%**	**409**
Russia	30.3%	10%	10%	522
U.K.	37.9%	30%	20%	454
U.S./U.K.	23.6%	0	0	552
U.S.	**29.3%**	**30%**	**0**	**502**

Table 1. Prevalence of Female Characters by Country
Source: Adapted from Smith et al., (2014) "Gender Bias without Borders," pg. 3

[2] The researchers limited their sample to films rated G to PG-13 by the Motion Picture Academy of America (MPAA), and films that were considered appropriate for audiences 16-years-old and younger. They reasoned that such films would be more likely to be seen by children and young people, who are more vulnerable to subliminal messaging and stereotyping. The study therefore missed five films directed by Korean women.

Country	Directors	Writers	Producers	Gender Ratio
Australia	8.3%	33.3%	29.4%	2.5 to 1
Brazil	9.1%	30.8%	47.2%	1.7 to 1
China	16.7%	21.4%	25.3%	3.1 to 1
France	0	6.7%	13.6%	9.6 to 1
Germany	7.1%	22.2%	23.8%	3.7 to 1
India	9.1%	12.1%	15.2%	6.2 to 1
Japan	0	22.7%	7.5%	9.5 to 1
ROK	**0**	**15.4%**	**20%**	**5.2 to 1**
Russia	0	13.6%	17.7%	6.3 to 1
U.K.	27.3%	58.8%	21.8%	2.7 to 1
U.S./U.K.	9.1%	9.1%	21.6%	4.7 to 1
U.S.	**0**	**11.8%**	**30.2%**	**3.4 to 1**

Table 2. Prevalence of Women behind the Camera
Source: Adapted from Smith et al., (2014) "Gender Bias without Borders," pg. 5

Both countries performed worse when considering the percentage of women behind the camera. Women directed none of the American or Korean films in the study, and both countries ranked near the bottom of group better when observing writers and producers (Smith et al., 2014). Figure 2 shows how the two countries compare globally.

As noted by the British Film Institute (BFI), the Republic of Korea is home to many talented female directors (Paquet, 2017). According to some of the female directors interviewed by the BFI following the London Korean Film Festival this year, it can be difficult to break through in the Korean film industry (Paquet, 2017). BFI notes that many of the breakthroughs made by female Korean directors have emerged under the guidance of powerful female producers (Paquet, 2017). In recent years, more films are being made by mega-studios such as CJ and Lotte, and, as a result, independent female producers are losing their clout (Paquet, 2017). In the BFI interview, internationally acclaimed director Lee Hyun-joo said that large studios are often hesitant to entrust female directors with the large budgets needed for so-called 'genre films', an umbrella term referring to projects laden with expensive special effects, such as action, adventure, fantasy, and superhero movies. Therefore, women are often relegated to making lower-budget melodramas (Paquet,

2017).

In the United States, women are also rarely given the reins to major genre films. Acclaimed female directors, such as Sofia Coppola and Jane Campion, are often known for high-profile melodramas, such as *The Piano* and *The Beguiled*. Others, such as Nancy Meyers and Nora Ephron, are associated with romantic comedies, such as *It's Complicated* and *Sleepless in Seattle*. While *genre* films are very rarely directed by women, Patty Jenkins recently defied expectations with her adaptation of *Wonder Woman*, which cost $149 million to make and reaped approximately $821 million worldwide during its theatrical release. As of November 2017, it was the second-highest grossing film of the year. *Beauty and the Beast*, and *Guardians of the Galaxy Volume II*, were also amongst the top three films and also featured female leads or co-leads (2017 Domestic Grosses, n.d.).

Policy Recommendations

The Seoul Film Commission (SFC) currently offers subsidies up to 25% of production cost of internationally co-produced movies and foreign movies filmed in Seoul. SMG, which funds these subsidies, endeavors to promote the city and support the local film industry. This strategy could also be used to promote the empowerment of women in the ROK; funds from the "Women's Development

Fund" established by the Framework Ordinance on Gender Equality could potentially finance a subsidy based on production costs for domestic movies filmed in Seoul that 1) show positive portrayals of women in a lead role, 2) show portrayals of men and women who are equally responsible for childcare and domestic work, and 3) are written, directed, and/or produced by Korean women.

Before developing a rubric to determine whether a project should receive a subsidy, it is important to define the concept of "positive portrayal." SMG has a stated goal of increasing women's economic participation and establishing gender equality in overall employment (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2017). Therefore, a definition of "positive portrayal" would reasonably include portrayals of women who are employed outside the home, especially in the traditionally male-dominated and profitable STEM fields. Furthermore, for reasons defined above, it is important that the women portrayed be employed in decision-making roles, rather than simply in subordinate or clerical positions. Finally, because gender stereotypes are formed at a relatively young age, it is particularly important that these portrayals be included in films likely to be seen by younger audiences.

A definition of "positive portrayal" could also conform to the so-called "Bechdel Test," which was popularized by cartoonist Alison Bechdel in 1985 and is now often used by movie aficionados and critics to determine whether a movie has adequate representation of women (Garber, 2017). Its standards are as follows: (i) Are there at least two women in the film who have names? (ii) Do they talk to each other? (iii) Do they talk to each other about something other than a man?

These standards are incorporated into the rubric provided below in Table 3. If a proposed project scores at least 28 out of a possible 40 points, then the project would qualify for a subsidy. This scoring allows for a film to still receive a subsidy if it does not portray domestic life, an important allowance due to many higher-budget genre films not including scenes of domesticity, and if the film is not appropriate for audiences under 12-years-old. Although positive messaging would be most valuable to those under 12, it is still important for older audiences.

In the United States, many cities and states offer subsidies to production companies who film movies in their jurisdictions in an effort to promote local economic development and tourism. However, two recent University of Southern California studies found that these subsidies have had little effect on local wages and employment growth (Thom, 2016). Additionally, they provide little return on investment for states (Thom & An, 2017). If this is also the case in Seoul, the money currently being spent on foreign subsidies could be repurposed for the new domestic, gender-based subsidy. This approach would also be salient to American states and cities who may be considering discontinuing their film subsidy programs. If a state or city were looking to help proliferate positive portrayals of women and enhance opportunities for female filmmakers, then the subsidy would still be a worthwhile investment.

Two cities in the United States have declared an interest in promoting gender equality. The first, San Francisco, became a "City for CEDAW" in 1998 by enacting an ordinance institutionalizing the principles outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Cities for CEDAW, n.d.). The second, Boston, works toward achieving gender equality through its Office of Women's Advancement (Women's Advancement, n.d.). Both cities have a rich cinematic history, with films such as *Bullet, The Maltese Falcon, 48 Hours,* and *Dirty Harry* filmed in San Francisco, and *The Departed, Good Will Hunting* and *The Social Network* filmed in Boston. Each of the above-listed films stars a male protagonist. As part of their women's initiatives, these cities may wish to become associated with

Criteria	Rating			Points
Roles	Does the script have a female lead or co-lead? (4 pts.)		Does the female lead have a conversation with another woman about something other than a man? (4 pts.)	8 possible
Employment	Is the female lead employed outside the home? (1 pt.)	Is she a decision-maker or person in power? (2 pts.)	Is she a decision-maker or person in power employed in a STEM field? (3 pts.)	5 possible
Target Age Group	Is the film appropriate for audiences under the age of 12? (2 pts)			2 possible
Domestic Equity	If domestic life is portrayed, are men shown equally participating in tasks such as cleaning and cooking? (5 pts.)		If domestic life is portrayed, are men shown participating in the physical care of children, such as feeding, bathing, attending doctor's appointments, taking the child to school, etc.? (5 pts.)	10 possible
Women behind the Camera	Will the film be directed by a woman? (5 pts.)	Was the script written or co-written by a woman? (5 pts.)	Is the film being produced or co-produced by a woman? (5 pts.)	15 possible
Total:				40 possible

Table 3. Rubric for Determining the Distribution of Domestic Subsidies

female-centric narratives.

The city of Seoul has made remarkable strides toward achieving gender equality. However, true change must come from within the hearts and minds of its citizens. The proposed policy in this brief could help enact such a change by shifting cultural perceptions of gender roles and encouraging female participation in the economy. The recommendations proposed here would also be relatively cost-effective and easily implemented. The framework for offering film subsidies is already in place, as is the funding source - the Women's Development Fund or repurposed funds currently used to subsidize foreign films. By instituting this policy, Seoul could help break barriers for women in film and encourage media portrayals that show women and the city of Seoul in a positive and inspiring light.

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Book Review

Kennedy, D.M. (2011). Don't shoot: One man, a street fellowship, and the end of violence in inner-city America. New York, NY: Bloomsbury USA.

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In the book, *Don't Shoot: One Man, A Street Fellowship, and the End of Violence in Inner-City America*, author David Kennedy describes his intimate experience with gang violence through work with law enforcement, neighborhood residents, and gang members in cities across the United States. He highlights that although crime in America is down, the violence in America's inner-cities has steadily increased; and it is devastating to the predominantly poor, black neighborhoods serving as the battlegrounds for drug and gang wars. Kennedy (2011) details the devastation through homicide rates: "Whites far outnumber blacks in the population, but the black homicide rate is so high that there are, in absolute numbers, more bodies: over 2,200 black men eighteen to twenty-four in 2005, against the 1,400 whites. Almost another four hundred between fourteen and seventeen. It's just about the death toll for the World Trade Center attack, every year" (p. 12).

The astronomically high numbers reveal the brokenness of a system; the failure of informal social control to dissuade offenders from violence, and the inability of law enforcement to get a handle on the crime (Kennedy, 2011). Between 2010 and 2012, America's murder rate was 5.2 deaths per 100,000 people; it's murder rate among black Americans was 19.4 per 100,000 (McCarthy, 2015). These numbers are accentuated when compared to other industrialized nations: Canada

had 1.5; United Kingdom had 1.1; and France also had 1.1 per 100,000 (McCarthy, 2015). Violence in America's inner-cities, specifically gun violence, is massive and can seem too complicated to resolve, but Kennedy brilliantly reduces the problem to digestible pieces leaving readers, and communities, hopeful for a solution.

Kennedy identifies a critical paradigm early on in the book and continually revisits it throughout the book: the fracture between communities, law enforcement, the neighborhood (residents), and the streets, contribute to the persistent nature of gun violence in inner-cities. His theory is that the misunderstanding, mistrust, and the lack of communication between these three communities is at the heart of the problem. The problem is the disproportionate rate of gun violence deaths among black men in America, and despite the overall decline in crime, specifically homicide in America, black men are dying from gun violence at a terrifying rate (Kennedy, 2011).

Kennedy details how the fracture in this paradigm helps to perpetuate the violence. He explains that the police see the gang members as monsters for the terrible acts they have

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committed, and the neighborhood as corrupt – believing that the residents condone the crime due to the lack of cooperation with law enforcement. The "streets" on the other hand, see police as racist predators, similar in nature to the overseers of slave plantations. Kennedy vehemently protests that these perceptions are all wrong and proposes that if we can change how these three communities relate to one another, we can drive down the violence.

However, changing how communities relate to one another still seems like an enormous and long-term resolution. In this book, Kennedy and his team from Harvard outline a violence prevention strategy, Operation Ceasefire, in which changing relationships and attitudes toward the different communities is born out of the collaborative work. Operation Ceasefire started in Boston in the mid 1990's to address the high rate of youth gun violence in the city, predominantly committed by a small group of individuals who were connected through a gang affiliation or a drug network. Kennedy famously exposed this dynamic and postulated that it exists in most cities plagued with high rates of gun violence. In his plan for Boston, Kennedy proposed that community resources and the attention of the law enforcement authorities should be focused on this small group of active offenders.

The Operation Ceasefire team consisted of researchers from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the Boston Police Department, specifically, its Youth Violence Strike Force. This team eventually grew to include the District Attorney's Office, the U.S. Attorney's Office, community service agencies, social workers, community members, ministers, federal agents, probation, and parole. The team, according to Kennedy, could only effectively accomplish its mission with interagency and community collaboration.

In Boston, implementation of this plan required the intimate knowledge of the Youth Strike Force officers, which helped researchers identify and map youth gang activity responsible for a majority of shootings in the city. The officers provided information on gang affiliation,

and current rivalries between gangs, as well as other aspects of gang activity – a comprehensive understanding of which, Kennedy argues, is key to the success of such operations. This information allowed the team to strategically select the "hottest" gang, and pressurize gang members by putting them under surveillance, increasing arrests for petty crime, working with probation officers on home visits, and re-arresting gang members for violations. The purpose of this strategy was to get the attention of individuals in the most high-risk street crews and motivate them to participate in a meeting with law enforcement agencies and community residents (Kennedy, 2011).

A meeting was then hosted by law enforcement, social service agencies, and neighborhood residents - with each group advancing their own agendas. Gang members were informed by the law enforcement officers that they are being put on notice, and that the violence must stop, otherwise strict enforcement for all other criminal activity will continue. Social service agencies were present to offer employment and educational opportunities, housing services, and other resources. Lastly, community residents informed gang members of their strong stance against the presence of violent gang activity in their neighborhood. The gang members in the room adopted the role of messengers – who were expected to inform the rest of "the street" of the new plan.

In 1995, before the implementation of Ceasefire, forty-six young people ages twenty-four and under had been killed. In Ceasefire's first full calendar year starting in May 1996, there were 15 killed. In November 1996, no young person was killed in the city (Kennedy, 2011). A formal evaluation showed that there had been a 63 percent reduction in homicide victimization among those twenty-four and under, and homicide among all age groups was down 50 percent (Kennedy, 2011). The reduction of shootings in Boston was not a fluke, as the book detailed, they would experience similar results in future implementations in Minneapolis, Minnesota; Baltimore, Maryland; Indianapolis, Indiana; High Point, North Carolina; Winston-

Salem, North Carolina; Providence, Rhode Island; Cincinnati, Ohio and other cities across the United States (Kennedy, 2011).

The style of Kennedy's writing is informal, authentic, direct, and easy to digest. He takes incredibly complicated, value-laden issues, and simplifies them into solvable problems. However, this style also highlights a weakness in Kennedy's work; there is an oversimplification of the ability for interagency collaboration, and a shallow conversation on the racial implications of the gang activity and gun violence. He notes the challenges of politics, and that it can be hard to get the "good guys" working together, yet for the most part his efforts yield resolution and success. Furthermore, Kennedy's work disregards the difficulty associated with getting local, state, and federal agencies, as well as community organizations to work together. The text also fails to present a comprehensive discussion on how to cultivate interagency collaboration – even though the presence of such a collaborative framework is cited as essential to the operation's success. Additionally, Kennedy's work does not reflect recognition of that fact that sentiments related to racial injustices dated back to the era of slavery cannot be resolved within the span of one meeting with neighborhood members. The book would have benefited from acknowledging healing from structurally embedded racial oppression as a process instead of a direct product of the work.

Although the text could benefit from a more in-depth discussion on the racial dynamics of gang violence, Kennedy is not afraid to discuss the ugly truths underlying violence in America's inner-cities. For example, he is unreserved in expressing how he perceives law enforcement officials view the community and gang members, and the reciprocated mistrust that the community holds toward law enforcement. This is an incredible strength of Kennedy's work. Kennedy makes the case that no one wins when America's inner-cities are war zones ridden with guns and street shrines for those murdered. However, when stereotypes are changed through open communication, mistrust turns to trust through teamwork; and stakeholders can acknowledge that they all have the same goal of safe, and healthy neighborhoods.

The book's significant contribution to the field of criminology and urban studies is in emphasizing that the old way of policing is not only ineffective in decreasing violence, but it harms the neighborhood and fuels the vicious cycle of mistrust between the three communities. Kennedy's book would be a beneficial text for practitioners and researchers alike. His honest accounts of the mistrust between communities is an important discussion to inform the work of practitioners, engaged in this work today. Furthermore, the book shines a spotlight on the flaws in our nation's traditional policing policies and highlights a new path forward. Kennedy suggests a targeted deterrence strategy has been found to have promising results in reducing crime (Braga & Weisburd, 2011). These strategies warrant the attention of policymakers and researchers in order to thoughtfully address the issue of gun violence in our nation's inner-cities.

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