Model UN Banquet, 2014

Model UN at SFSU, 2014

Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi and Ryan Neach

Model UN Banquet, 2015

POLITICAL SCIENCE & GLOBAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT

2011-2016

Holly Sanderson-Founding Editor of Globus Mundi

Colloquium, 2015

Cohort dinner, 2016

End of Year BBQ, 2014

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WELCOME TO VOLUME VI OF GLOBUS MUNDI, THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND GLOBAL STUDIES AT COSUMNES RIVER COLLEGE.

This has been an interesting year and I'm not quite sure how to summarize it. We started the academic year low-enrolled in our major, struggled to recruit a new cohort of students and head into next year unsure of what the next two years look like. The strength of the economy has hurt us as has low enrollment in law schools across the nation. The trepidation, however, gives way to optimism.

Our transfers this year are few: **Olivia Askins, Mizielle Avina, Bamine Boye, Nicole Cameron, Brittany Cox, Shawn Feuerstein, Giselle Garcia, Amjad Hanifah, Naamveer Singh, Kaveh Toofan** and **Lupe Vizcarra**. They've all helped in keeping the program going through their contributions both in and outside of classes and, like their predecessors, will be missed.

This year was incredibly busy for the department. We hosted an orientation for incoming students, an alumni dinner ("Gators & Bears") for those students who transferred to SFSU and Cal (2015), respectively, hosted a writing workshop, screened "Inequality for All" in conjunction with CRC's Social Responsibility Committee, hosted a new majors reception, a program on the global immigration crisis ("Crossing Boundaries: The Immigration Crisis"), screened "East Side Sushi," and held Colloquium.

The department's orientation was held in late September and was highly informative for our new students. The two dinners we had – the alumni dinner in September at my home in San Francisco and the New Cohort Dinner in November at my home in Elk Grove - were fun and a great opportunity for social interaction outside of the confines of campus life. "Crossing Boundaries: The Immigration Crisis," true to the series' creator's wishes, allowed us show our students multi-disciplinary analysis in a manner we

don't normally get to. We were joined on a panel by our colleagues Gabe Gorman, Shannon Mills, Anastasia Panagakos and Donnisha Lugo as we discussed the Syrian refugee crisis. The highlight of that evening was hearing from the International Rescue Committee's intern, our very own **Kaveh Toofan**, as he discussed IRC's mission and his internship. The event was very well attended and student feedback was positive.

Multi Award Winning "East Side Sushi," a film by Anthony Lucero, is the story of a Mexican-American woman named Juana who runs a fruit cart with her father; both of them survive juggling part-time jobs. Juana has worked in taquerias for most of her career but when she passes a sushi restaurant called "Osaka" with a help wanted sign in the window, is intrigued by a glimpse of beautifully arranged Raiders Rolls she sees on a table. There, she finds that her true passion is sushi, something she's never tasted before. She trains on her own then proves herself to Osaka's head sushi chef; yet her dreams of standing behind the counter are opposed by her father and by Osaka's owner who believes the job can only be held by Asian men. The movie was shot entirely in Oakland. Lucero uses the movie to talk about the connection between ethnicity, expectations and economic opportunity especially for Mexican Americans. Our students loved this film as it lived up to Lucero's stated goals; it was the perfect way to kick off Women's History Month. We're grateful to Anthony for letting us screen his film at CRC and for his willingness to be interviewed. The big surprise for our campus was Diana Torres' participation at the screening. She delighted students with her warmth and humor as she took questions following the film.

Colloquium this year featured two students' work. **Brittany Cox** infused her study of medicine with foreign policy and undertook to write a policy proposal for Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF) addressing the need for it to consider reforms in the area negotiations prior to in-country station and, as well, in volunteer preparation; Brittany used the conflict in Syria as her case study. "Breaking the Vow of Silence: Reforming MSF" is driven by her desire to one day serve MSF as both surgeon and board member. **Olivia Askins** presented "Nationalism: Identity and Power Perceptions in the Global Arena." Her project explored the development of nationalism, its theoretical and conditional underpinnings and implications in international system. Her eight discipline analytical model examined the two main types of nationalism in four case studies (the US, DPRK, Ukraine and Egypt) and concluded that states don't need to be qualitatively strong to be perceived as such. Brittany and Olivia's presentations are supported by their articles. Our newer students, as well as the invited public, were impressed with the degree of knowledge both presenters demonstrated and happy they attended. Like prior colloquia, it can be viewed on the department's webpage along with the Crossing Boundaries event. (In this regard, and as with all events that are supported by CRC AV and IT staff, we'd like to thank both Jim Lovett and Michael Bittner for their hard work and commitment to our events.)

Colloquium was an opportunity to announce five new courses we'll be introducing into our curriculum next year. These courses will be rotated with our other offerings and bring increased currency to our curriculum and students. Our new courses will include "IR in Film," created for our IR students, using film and documentaries to call attention to content visually – beyond lectures and readings; "Introduction to Political Sociology," designed to address changing demographics and the political ramifications thereof; "Great Power Relations" is an opportunity to study the established system of alliances created from 1815's Congress of Vienna and extrapolate how international systems can be structured in the future based on different strategic considerations; "War & Strategy in the 21st Century" will study how conflicts arise between states and analyze different defense doctrines focused on modern warfare; "Peace, Conflict and International Law" will provide students the opportunity to study how international law is applied to peace post conflict. With the addition of these courses, our department will offer students and the community twenty-five classes – up from the original three offered in 2003.

This year's Model UN was given the enviable task of representing the People's Republic of China. To say our team had its work cut out for it would be an understatement. Our team was led by **Olivia Askins** and **Kaveh Toofan**, veterans from last year's MUN. They recruited students and mentored them through the process of researching and writing country profiles, resolutions, parliamentary procedures and debate. We are very grateful to the People's Republic of China's San Francisco Consular staff for inviting our team to the Consulate for an in-depth discussion on agendized issues. Without their assistance, our team would not have been as effective on the Security Council, the General Assembly and their committees. **Amir Terovic** and **Josh Slowiczek,** both alumni and members of prior teams, graciously donated their time to rehearsing this year's team and to them we owe special thanks. Lastly, we acknowledge the contributions of alumna **Taylor Martin** for her editorial contributions to the team's written work. As President of CRC's first and award winning Model UN, her assistance was invaluable.

As with prior years, we've been able to attend several local (SF) cultural events and films with students. Campus tours for this year's transfers were not necessary as decisions were already made based on familiarity with institutions.

Thanksgiving 2015, Washington DC

The highlight of this year, for me, personally, was Thanksgiving. I flew to Washington, DC and spent an incredible week with alumni culminating in a magnificent Thanksgiving feast. **Marius Iordache**, currently with the Department of the Treasury, picked me up at Reagan National Airport and took me to "Mari Vana," a lovely Russian restaurant. The next day, after sightseeing, we went to **Ryan Neach's** home and were treated to a home cooked Italian meal followed by dessert at "Founding Farmers," a local restaurant. Ryan recently concluded his internship in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) and is now back in California. We were joined by **Taylor Martin**, a May '16 graduate of the American University. She, too, will be back by the time this issue is printed. Her immediate plans are to prepare for graduate school. On Thanksgiving, we all went to our friend **Ryan King's** home and celebrated Thanksgiving together. That night, as always, I gave thanks for their friendship and generosity: I am so lucky to have them.

Speaking of dear friends ….

Olivia Askins, my Teaching Assistant since 2013, will be sorely missed. I first met Olivia in a US government class and was immediately impressed with her innate intelligence, writing skills and her intellectual curiosity. I asked her to become my TA and have benefitted from her contributions ever since. Olivia helped with rewriting portions of lectures across our curriculum, taught section to hundreds of students every semester, proctored exams (for me and colleagues) and helped both plan and manage events - in addition to assisting us with endless pointless administrative tasks we're assigned. As if this wasn't enough, Olivia participated in several extra-curricular activities last year which she ended up leading this year. Last year, Olivia represented Turkey as a delegate at Model United Nations; this year, Olivia led Model UN as we represented China. Her work as President has been nothing short of outstanding. Olivia is also Managing Editor for this issue of *Globus Mundi*. Her article, *"Nationalism: Identity and Power Perceptions in the Global Arena"* is the basis for her presentation at colloquium. The quality of research, the skilled writing and intellectual query that drove all of it to fruition are the mark of an outstanding scholar. Outside of our department, Olivia was asked to represent the CRC Honors Program by interviewing Seth Holmes, Martin Sisters Endowed Chair Assistant Professor of Public Health and Medical Anthropology at UC Berkeley, and author of CRC's current OneBook, *"Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies."* The request came from my friend, colleague and Honors Chair Rick Schubert. Rick had Olivia this year in his Honors Seminar, "Philosophy of Martial Arts." For her immense contributions to CRC, Olivia was awarded CRC's Outstanding Leadership & Service Award. Olivia leaves us for UC Davis to complete her studies. I will miss her presence, grace and laugh; I will miss my friend.

As many of you know, Wednesday nights are reserved for pre-Global Studies class dinners at local venues. This year, **Brittany Cox** introduced a new variant centered around bringing food to share before class. "The Brittany Buffet," as it has become known, has made my end of the hall in the SOC building yet more fun! Brittany also introduced us all to hiking last summer. Many of us have been dragged up and down California's beautiful peaks on weekends leading to increased interest in California and global environmentalism. Hopefully, this activity continues.

Volume V of this journal was designated as the "Alumni Issue." It was our intention to include photos inside the issue but weren't able to as our space was consumed with a dedication to our prior Dean and an alumni association advertisement. Accordingly, this year we include photos dating back to 2011 – the first year of *Globus Mundi.*

Volume VI begins with an alumni contribution by **Josh Slowiczek**, *"The Way Forward: Addressing Urbanized Crisis in Medellin."* Josh examines the urbanization of crisis and potential solutions to problems of urbanization in the global south. Josh attends UC Berkeley studying Peace & Conflict Studies.

Olivia Askins' *"Nationalism: Identity and Power Perceptions in the Global Arena"* explores the development of nationalism, its theoretical and conditional underpinnings and implications in the international system. Olivia leaves CRC for UC Davis to double major in IR and Cultural Anthropology.

Rowan Jones submits *"The Economics of Racism"* in which she analyzes the consequences of FDR's domestic policies as it pertains to housing, employment and society. Rowan continues her study of IPE at CRC next year.

Sarah Gonzalez contributes *"Return Migration: The Struggle of Going Back Home"* an article focused on the considerations and difficulties faced by Chileans returning home in the wake of General Pinochet's death.

Brittany Cox addresses the need for MSF to consider reforms in the area negotiations prior to in-country station and, as well, in volunteer preparation in *"Breaking the Vow of Silence: Reforming MSF."* Brittany leaves CRC for Stanford University as a pre-med major minoring in IR.

Guadalupe Vizcarra's article, *"The Rise of Right-Wing Nationalist Groups and What it Means for Syrian Refugees"* examines the hatred that awaits refugees fleeing the civil war, ISIL and terror as they arrive in the EU. Lupe leaves CRC for UC Berkeley.

Adalynn Makihele examines federal maternity legislation in *"Having it all: An Exploration of Maternity and Parenthood in America."* Adalynn continues her studies at CRC next year.

Leo Alcazar examines the TPP in his article *"The New Trade Deal."* Leo leaves CRC for CSUS to continue his studies in Business Administration.

Future editions of *Globus Mundi* will follow, yearly. Alumni, students and faculty will be asked to submit papers for consideration on topics from international relations, economics, history and theoretical issues as they pertain to global affairs.

Inquiries regarding *Globus Mundi* should be directed to Professor Martin Morales, Chair of the Department of Political Science & Global Studies at (916) 691-7114 or, via email, at moralem@crc.losrios.edu

We look forward to your continued readership.

ALUMNI NEWS

YULEIMA LOZANO

Hello and welcome to Globus Mundi Volume VI ! This is my last "Alumni News." I've just graduated from Cal and am working in a San Francisco immigration law firm using my education and language skills in support of clients navigating our national immigration laws (thanks for the reference, Prof. Morales !). My plan is to take a year off, prep for the LSAT and then apply to law schools for admission to the Fall, 2018 term.

I'm pleased to report that this was a very busy year for the department. Starting with September, 2015's new student orientation, Professors Morales and Huffman hosted many events this year: the panel on the ISIL driven refugee crisis, "East-Side Sushi," "Inequality for All," and the 3rd Annual Departmental Colloquium. They also hosted two dinner parties and several off campus activities for their students. It was great attending some of these events and also hearing about other alums who were able to.

As a proud Cal graduate, I'm pleased to note that **Nicole Cameron, Amjad Hanifah, Kaveh Toofan** and **Lupe Vizcarra** will be attending the University of California Berkeley. Go Bears ! Even better is the fact that **Allissa Rasmussen**, whose parents John and Patricia are taking global studies classes with Professor Morales and have encouraged her to take classes with them, is transferring in from Cosumnes Oaks High School. Like I told last year's transfers, you follow in the footsteps of those of us who've come

here from CRC and are now graduates. You will adapt to Berkeley quickly and start succeeding immediately as you're well prepared. My two classmates, **Bruna Cuhna** and **Brendan Glapion** are excited for you and look forward to reading about your successes. We were very happy to be able to share our graduations with family and Professor Morales on May 15th at the Greek Theater.

My good friend and CRC classmate **Nimra Syed** graduated this month from UC Davis with highest honors. "The Nim" took a quarter off to volunteer on Kamala Harris' senatorial campaign, a position she's extended through the election; next year, she plans to attend UC Davis School of Law. Two other classmates, **Diego Rodriguez** and **Roberto Rizo** also graduated from UC Davis this year – both with IR degrees. **Emily Bills** graduated from UC Santa Barbara (IR & Women's Studies) and **Taylor Martin** graduated from the School of International Studies at The American University in Washington, DC. Speaking of AU, I'm glad to see another CRC student, **Charlie Boye**, attending this year. Charlie's only comment on getting his first reading list was to give thanks for the preparation he got at CRC. Good luck next year, Charlie !

Frank Smiley has been accepted into Denver University's M.A. in International Security program (with an emphasis on military analysis and intelligence after graduating from MSU Bozeman). To date, Professor Morales isn't sure where Frank is going as he's also

been accepted to University of Denver's Condoleeza Rice Strategic Studies Program for an MA in IR with an emphasis in Security Studies.

Monique Matar, currently finishing 2L at the Gould School of Law at USC, is clerking at Baker Hostetler in Brentwood. Throughout this year that just ended, Monique interned at Bet Tzedek and USC's International Human Rights Clinic. Her internship afforded her the opportunity to write a bench memo to the ECCC (Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia Supreme Court) analyzing issues related to international criminal law and international custom. Next year will be Monique's last year in law school.

Homa Ahmad just received her Master's of Art in International Relations (emphasis in Public Policy and Health) from San Francisco State University. Homa's culminating experience was analyzing The City's ICS (Incident Command Systems) and comparing data to similar systems in places like New Zealand (2008 earthquake) and New Orleans (Hurricane Katrina, 2007) as well as cities that don't have an ICS. From this work, Homa hopes to develop data management skills using SPSS and advancing her skills in data visualization using Arc Maps and other GIS mapping tools. Homa has a BA in IR – also from SFSU (emphasis in global mental health with her region of focus being South Asia). Currently, she's interning with the San Francisco City Administrator's Office Program in the Neighborhood Empowerment Network working on disaster preparedness and community resilience. Additionally, Homa is a 2015 Fellow for the Center of Dignity, Recovery and Empowerment, affiliated with the SF Mental Health Association. Her work there is centered on an outreach project developing programs that bring mental health awareness and stigma reduction to the Muslim community in San Francisco.

Homa was TA to Professor Andrew Hanami and had as one of her students **Ryan Neach**. Ryan recently concluded his internship with the Executive Office of the President and is back in San Francisco where, in addition to working at a start-up, is once again working for the SF Dems under **Ally Medina**, its Executive Director. **Marius Iordache**, also in this class, graduates with his MA from SFSU this May. He is currently employed by the Department of the Treasury and in Eastern Europe.

Kevin Woldhagen is currently working with refugees in Sacramento for the IRC. He recently wrote Professor Morales that his work is "… definitely germane to your courses, in that you taught us about failed American foreign policy, and I'm resettling refugees that resulted."

Christopher Chance Zgraggen (BA in Political Science; BA in History from UC Davis - 2015), works as Legislative Aide for

Assemblyman Jim Patterson and is getting married next June. Congratulations, Chris ! Speaking of marriages and family … **Phillip Miller** welcomed first child Clara Louise Miller into the world this year. Professor Morales is counting down to her enrollment date in one of his classes. Congratulations to Phillip and his wife.

Rich Floyd is finishing up his teaching credential program (CSUS) and will be starting a graduate program in multicultural education. He transitions from substitute teaching to full time in the EGUSD teaching social studies.

Daniel Lumbang, currently attending SFSU and studying IR, volunteers for Galing Bata in San Francisco, a free Bilingual and Bicultural afterschool program for predominately Filipino American Youth. Daniel's work involves scholastically at-risk children who he helps with homework; the more troubled youth receive mentoring sessions. Professor Morales was pleased to see Daniel at the Model UN Conference this year where he received an award on SFSU's behalf.

Speaking of SFSU's Model UN, **Danielle Walsh** was President of their team this year. Their team won honorable mention at Nationals in addition to winning one of fifteen Slanckza awards at the MUNFW Conference.

Gerald Forrest has finished his 2L year at Indiana University Maurer School of Law. One more to go!

Alec Jacobs was offered admission to the University of Nebraska Law School and placed on the wait lists at George Mason University School of Law and University of Tennessee Law School. Alec serves our nation (US Navy) and is about to be shipped to his next duty station - anywhere from Japan and Italy to Washington DC and Hawaii. Hopefully, he stays in our nation's capital and is able to attend GMU.

Gurmilan Kaur, a new IR student, was awarded an internship in Congressman Ami Bera's office.

Genesis Velazquez: graduated UC Davis with a BA in IR. During her last year, Genesis completed a study abroad internship program at the Scottish Parliament (Scotland, UK). She currently interns at the California State Capitol for Senator Ben Hueso.

As **Lupe Vizcarra** leaves CRC for UC Berkeley, we report that in her last year at CRC, Lupe interned for Governor Jerry Brown.

Cashmere Bolden is currently interning for the California Coalition for Rural Housing in Sacramento.

I met **Olivia Askins** very briefly at an event this year but noticed how important she was to Professor Morales. I know that as my successor as President of our alumni chapter, she'll do a great job in keeping us all connected and informed about departmental/ CRC events. Good luck at UC Davis and with this, Olivia !

I'd like to thank my classmates from CRC and Professors

Morales & Huffman for all they've done for me and all of us while we were students at CRC. It's important to also thank them both for everything they've done for all of us after we've left CRC – advice, academic support, letters of recommendation, job references, etc. Personally, their support has had a huge impact in my life and I encourage any student current or past to always reach out, their kind words of wisdom are always helpful. As I reflect upon my years at Cal and CRC, I believe that as students of this department we are incredibly lucky to have had such selfless, dedicated and encouraging instructors. Our success as students has not only been measured by the dedication to our classwork, but the time we put outside of class. This is a good time to remind this year's transfers and students that they should support each other and seek to mentor those that follow.

VALETE

THIS SECTION OF ALUMNI NEWS IS DEDICATED TO IDENTIFYING THOSE WHO ARE TRANSFERRING

OLIVIA ASKINS   CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY/IR: **UC DAVIS**

MIZEILLE AVINA   PUBLIC POLICY/IR: **UC SAN DIEGO**

NICOLE CAMERON   INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: **UC BERKELEY**

BRITTANY COX   MEDICAL BIOLOGY/IR: **STANFORD**

SHAWN FEUERSTEIN   CALIFORNIA POLITICS: **CSUS**

GISELLE GARCIA   POLITICAL THEORY: **UC DAVIS**

AMJAD HANIFAH   ECONOMICS/IR: **UC BERKELEY**

ROWAN JONES   DIPLOMACY & WORLD AFAIRS: **OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE**

NAMVEER SINGH   INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: **UC DAVIS**

KAVEH TOOFAN   POLITICAL SCIENCE/IR: **UC BERKELEY**

GUADALUPE VIZCARRA   INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: **UC BERKELEY**

THE WAY FORWARD: ADDRESSING URBANIZED CRISIS IN MEDELLIN

JOSHUA SLOWICZEK

As the international system evolves into the 21st Century, there is a growing need to address the urban fragility and underdevelopment that perpetuates conflict and various forms of violence around the world. As populations continue to grow and the global south continues to develop, this issue, the urbanization of crisis, is more relevant than ever in the field of peace and conflict studies. In many cases, these fragile cities do not have the institutional capacity to address the cycles of direct, structural and cultural violence that their populations experience. They become epicenters of conflict and crime, posing great challenges to human security and development within the city, the state and the region. However, these challenges also present the opportunity for solutions, solutions that may very well prove applicable on a global scale.

This paper explores the ongoing transition of Medellin, Colombia from the murder capital of the world to a flagship of urban resilience, an extended and unpredictable process in the making. In 1991, Medellin had a murder rate of 381 deaths per 100,000 residents. In 2014, that number had dropped to 26.9.[1] It is undisputable that over the past decade and a half significant gains have been made in reducing levels of violence within the city. Yet, the work is far from over, especially when considering the fact that the World Health Organization defines an epidemic homicide rate as anything more than 10 per 100,000.[2] This paper argues that a combination of Security Sector Reform, Crime Prevention Education, and Social Welfare and Livelihood policies must be

used to further foster urban resilience and reduce the persistent level of epidemic violence. In order to understand the context from which these recommendations have emerged, a summary of violence in Medellin, and the subsequent government efforts in cultivating urban resilience, will be presented. This will be followed by an overview and analysis of violence in the city today that will prove foundational for the recommended course of action. Finally, the importance of the issue, as well as a summary and reiteration of the thesis, will be presented in the form of a conclusion.

For nearly 30 years, between 1985 and 2014, Medellin was not only known as Colombia's second city, but also its most violent.[3] At the start of this period, the city witnessed an influx of displaced citizens as a result of the escalating conflict between the Colombian government and the left-wing paramilitary group *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC). Many of these displaced people found homes in Medellin's underdeveloped mountainside *Comunas* that sprawl up the slopes of the Andes Mountains. Due to the lack of state presence within these *Comunas,* criminal organizations, such as Pablo Escobar's Medellin Cartel, began to exert a monopoly of force and coercion while consolidating the production and distribution of cocaine. In 1991, at the height of Escobar's power, 6,349 murders were documented in Medellin.[4] This unprecedented rate was, arguably, the result of an unfortunate synthesis of direct, structural, and cultural violence. Directly, gangs and other criminal organizations exerted a monopoly of force over the residents of the *Comunas.* Extortions, coercion and murder

ran rampant in the name of profiting from cocaine production and trafficking. Structurally, the state lacked the institutional capacity to address these issues and non-state actors, a reality that was only compounded by faulty social and economic policies allowing underdeveloped urban areas within Medellin to become havens of crime. Culturally, while coca leaves are a staple stimulant for people in the Andean region, the cocaine market was fostered by the world's largest consumer of the narcotic, the United States. Without the growing demand for cocaine in North America, the production and distribution of it would not have been such a profitable endeavor for criminal organizations in Medellin. To this day, the United States remains the world's largest consumer, with Colombia being its number one provider.[5]

While 1991 was a peak year for violence in Medellin, the homicide rate continued to fluctuate throughout its gradual descent, marked by two additional increases in 2001 and 2009.[6] In the early 90s, peace agreements with paramilitary groups, as well as the death of Pablo Escobar and elimination of the Medellin Cartel, resulted in the gradual reduction of the murder rate. As a result of the 1990 peace agreement with popular militias, Medellin created a security force known as the Security and Community Service Cooperative that consisted of state-armed and former militia members operating with a legal capacity to police the Comunas. These groups were known as the Convivir, and over the course of several years they came to replace their former enemies, the Cartels. Though eventually disbanded and removed from the state's security apparatus in 1998, due to their illegal activities and association with right-wing paramilitary groups, the Convivirs remain to this day, operating as smaller criminal organizations and mid-level enforcers.[7] While the intent of Medellin's government may have been well-placed in the establishment of these local police groups, the result was quite the opposite.

The presence of the Convivir in Medellin established the precedent for paramilitary conflict throughout the Comunas, characterized largely by fighting between the right-wing FARC and the left-wing Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional (ELN). The homicide rate once again peaked in late 2002 at 179.7 murders per 100,000 citizens. Concerned that Colombia's second city would become an epicenter of urban warfare, the national government enacted Operation Orion in 2002, a successful military takeover of various Comunas.[8] Surprisingly, this violent interjection of state force fostered a new wave of peace agreements, demobilization and integration among the paramilitaries of Medellin. Though, with their absence came a new wave of mid and low-level criminal organizations that filled the organizational void left behind. Not six years later, in 2008, violence between the groups, and thus the homicide rate of Medellin, began to escalate again. Thankfully, due

to both municipal and state efforts in fostering security and urban resilience, this increase lasted for roughly a year. However, the cycle of diminishing violence that Medellin has experienced acts as a stark reminder that progress can be lost.

While the government of Colombia has been proactive in Security Sector Reform since the early 90s, Medellin's cultivation of urban resilience through alternative approaches became formalized with the election of Sergio Fajardo in 2003. As a field of study focused on addressing the urbanization of crisis, urban resilience is known as "those acts intended to restore or create effectively functioning community-level activities, institutions, and spaces in which the perpetrators of violence are marginalized and perhaps even eliminated."[9] Urban resilience may be characterized in both a positive and negative manner, with positive resilience referring to the elimination of violence, and negative resilience referring to the establishment of it. Arguably, the homicide peaks of 1991, 2003, and 2009 were all examples of negative urban resilience, an attempt by criminal organizations to maintain and reestablish their monopoly of force over the residents of Medellin's Comunas. Urban resilience is largely determined by the quality and quantity of horizontal, or community-based, and vertical, or state-based, relationships.[10] Though there are roughly six acknowledged approaches in the field of urban resilience, what is seen in Medellin is the cultivation of positive resilience via the strengthening of horizontal and vertical relationships through Urban Design Interventions and Infrastructure Provision, as well as Social Welfare and Livelihood Programs, henceforth referred to as Urban Design and Social Welfare. Though by no means exclusive, these two approaches have fostered civil society and the presence of the state in underdeveloped urban areas, mitigating extreme levels of violence.

Urban Design provision addresses the juncture of violence and urban environments via state-based infrastructure projects, a process otherwise known as democratic urban development.[11] An example of such a project is the MetroCable, a network of mountainside gondolas that link the Comunas to the city center. The end result transformed a 2.5 hour walk into a 45 minute ride for at least two-hundred thousand residents. This new transit system was also supplemented by pneumatic trams and 1,300 ft. escalators that facilitate an arduous uphill walk.[12] All of these elements have worked together to create what is known as a multimodal transportation network, allowing the residents of underdeveloped Comunas to access resources, services, and employment. This freedom of movement factors heavily into determining the resilience of a community, allowing people to sustain themselves and their families. The results are tangible, as the average unemployment rate for Medellin has been declining

since 2007.[13] The argument can be made that with the prospect of legitimate jobs, criminal activity can lose its appeal. Thus, the approach of state-based infrastructure projects that employ the populace, and in turn facilitate additional employment, have the potential to foster positive urban resilience

Social Welfare targets aspects of structural violence and the socioeconomic practices and policies perpetuating it.[14] A prime example of such an approach can be found in Medellin's public utility provider, *Empresas Publicas de Medellin* (EPM). EPM is constitutionally mandated to provide clean water and electricity to every residence in Medellin, regardless of whether or not it is legal. Furthermore, EPM allocates roughly $450 million of its profits directly to the provision of new infrastructure and community spaces, such as schools, parks, libraries, and community centers. Artistic and cultural organizations, as well as local businesses, are also subsidized by EPM and the municipality. This process is facilitated by what is known as participatory budgeting, when the local community is encouraged to represent its interests in the allocations. Such horizontal relationships have the potential to spill over into a wide range of professions and organizations. This was clearly illustrated when the municipal bus drivers went on strike in 2011 to protest the murder of a coworker by extortionist gangs. Through collective bargaining the drivers were able to negotiate additional security at transit stops, creating a new vertical relationship with the state's security apparatus. However, the issue of extortion serves to illustrate the new and complex face of crime and violence in Medellin.

Today, the perpetrators of violence are no longer the cartels or paramilitaries of the 90s and early 2000s. Rather, as each consecutive group has been eliminated, newer and smaller ones emerge to fill the power vacuum left behind, creating a dense and interconnected network of mid-level criminal organizations and youth gangs that are often in conflict with each other. As mentioned earlier, the most recent homicide rate in Medellin was documented as 26.9 per 100,000, and disproportionately consists of young men.[17] Furthermore, in 2009, 90 percent of all homicides were committed with small firearms, a rate that is thought to have only increased While responsible for the majority of the homicide rate in Medellin, these criminal groups are also engaged in illicit economies and activities. In 2014, there were 7718 reported street robberies, 1374 home invasions, and 1185 car-jackings in Medellin. These activities provide criminal organizations with the resources they need to protect their interests and extort neighborhood communities. Thus, the next phase of urban resilience in Medellin must focus on addressing these actors, mitigating their capacity for harm and violence. This can be done directly, through SSR, and indirectly, through Crime Prevention Education and Social Welfare.

Crime Prevention Education attempts to inform and engage individuals and communities on the nature of crime and the state security apparatus. In this approach, a significant emphasis is placed on community cooperation and oversight, as well as situational awareness on the part of the individual.[20] This approach is especially relevant considering recent drops in the public's perception of security, which has been compounded by a long-term distrust of police and security forces in Medellin. Yet, with a combination of Crime Prevention Education and Social

People celebrating in the streets, Comuna 13, Medellin, Colombia.

Welfare, through the additional creation of outreach groups and neighborhood organizations, public trust in the state could be improved through community policing. To be effective, the groups would be established with both vertical and horizontal relationships, acting as police accountability mechanisms within their neighborhoods.[21] Furthermore, these groups could also bring the added benefit of informing people of their rights, a crucial factor for participatory political systems. Another option found at the juncture of Crime Prevention Education and Social Welfare is in the establishment of self-defense centers, or self-defense courses taught at community centers. Subsidizing such organizations would give people the means to not only defend themselves but learn alternatives to the direct violence of firearms. Research shows that engaging community youth groups can be especially effective in deterring participation in gang activity. Yet, there is also a need for further Security Sector Reform.

Security Sector Reform addresses the state's presence and capacity as a security apparatus. In Latin America, two common applications have generally been taken. First, the *"mano dura"* approach is characterized by a hyper-militarized security force that is branded as a victorious crime-fighting apparatus.[22] Sometimes it works, as in the case of Medellin's Operation Orion, and sometimes it doesn't, as in the case of the BOPE in Rio, Brazil.23

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The second approach can be seen in the state's legitimization of former non-state actors as security enforcers, often as a result of peace agreements and Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration programs. Such examples rarely work out, as in the case of Medellin's *Convivir* in the mid-90s, and the *Autodefensas* of Michoacan, Mexico within the last several years.[24] The unfortunate trend seems to be that these groups, though initiated out of good intent, often become corrupted and coercive in the pursuit of their own interests. Thus, a third option should be explored. Arguably, community security enforcers that employ non-lethal force may have the potential to mitigate violence and reduce illicit criminal activities in local underdeveloped regions. Policing the very communities that they live in, the creation of these community officers would be not only an extension of the state but of community as well, existing diagonally, somewhere between the vertical and horizontal relationships of accountability. In line with the creation of these community police officers, institutional reform should occur within existing security structures to increase transparency and legitimacy. Such endeavors are no small task, especially in a country that has been engaged in decades of violent sociopolitical conflict.

It is said that since the creation of sustainable agriculture our species has seen fit to develop social stratification in order to cope with larger populations. With that in mind, we must begin to question whether or not the urbanization of populations, and thus crisis, is another benchmark of human progress. Regardless of what state they are located in, cities are fragile. They depend on the cooperation, engagement, and security of the residents to subsist peacefully. Yet, large urban centers in fragile or failing states find themselves susceptible to crime and crisis that disproportionately impacts underdeveloped regions, posing significant challenges to human security and development. The study of this phenomena, the urbanization of crisis, is important for several reasons. First, as the global population continues to grow, now, more than ever, it is critical to understand the causes and factors of urbanized crisis. Without a thorough study of these factors as they evolve it will become increasingly difficult to assess and address them in new environments and populations. Second, the urbanization of crisis has significant implications for the states that these cities exist in. As in the case of Colombia, paramilitaries eventually swept into a fragile Medellin and the government quickly found itself engaged in a new theater of war. Cities that are experiencing urbanized crisis have the potential to not only destabilize the state, but, due to spillover and the nature of geopolitics, the entire region. Third, the successes and failures that cities experience in the pursuit of urban resilience and positive peace may prove to be crucial in our future. As in the case of Medellin, positive urban resilience was cultivated via the strengthening of horizontal and vertical relationships through Urban

Design and Social Welfare, but, additional measures in Security Sector Reform, Crime Prevention Education, and Social Welfare must be used to further reduce the persistent level of epidemic violence. These are lessons that we can learn from and apply on a global scale, bringing us one step closer to answering the greater question: how can we coexist?

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NATIONALISM: IDENTITY AND POWER PERCEPTIONS IN THE GLOBAL ARENA

OLIVIA ASKINS

The timeline of mankind traces a long history of formed groups, societies, cities and eventually states in man's ever-present desire to socialize and live collectively. The roots of this desire fulfill psychological and physiological needs that are unrealistic without the aid of fellow neighbors. Without the incentive to live and work together, survival necessities like hunting, harvesting and building would not have been as beneficial to human progress. Despite our natural draw toward collaborative and communal living, human beings are also subject to categorization tendencies, patterning themselves and their surroundings in order to make sense of the world. (Source/ Rush) Classifications have largely contributed to human survival, providing distinctions between poisonous and non-poisonous foods or hazardous and non-threatening areas in an attempt to differentiate between good and bad survival decisions. On the other hand, this mode of reasoning has stunted the human ability to identify inherent sameness in a world where distinctions mark the basis of understanding, leading humans to participate in "othering" and the perceived superiority of one people over another in a sociocultural and (subsequently) political context. The concept of "us" and "them" is perhaps the most archaic, yet significant, notion of humanity. It has defined the formation and destruction of global empires and authority on the basis of

an idea: "we" are inherently better and more deserving of the human experience than "them." Constructivist theory - a modern International Relations perspective - postulates that ideas lay the foundation of our sociopolitical awareness, action and worldview, making ideas and perceptions far more influential upon humanity than our physical and concrete environment.[1] Throughout civilizations, groups have exuded superiority complexes reflective of constructivist claims: a group does not necessarily need to be superior in order to exercise superiority, purely on the basis that they perceive themselves as such. From a political standpoint, the state doesn't necessarily need to be powerful in order to be perceived as powerful.

This article aims to discuss the origins, development and implications of nationalism within the international system and community from a constructivist perspective. In doing so, it will argue that a state does not need to be qualitatively stronger in order to exhibit aspects of superiority in rhetoric, action and self-identification. To put it simply, a state does not necessarily need to be powerful in order to be perceived as powerful. This argument will be presented as follows: first, general definitions and popular scholarly input will be discussed in order to frame the concept of nationalism. Second, the origins and development of nationalism will be explored in order to provide historical context

and relevance, which will be supplemented by anthropological, sociological and psychological perspectives. Third, brief case studies between the United States and North Korea, as well as Ukraine and Egypt, will offer a comparative analysis of highly nationalistic states and their low-ranking counterparts. Certain distinctions between western and non-western nationalism will also be examined in this section. Finally, the implications of this paradigm, nationalism, will be analyzed to better understand its role in global politics, power perceptions and perceived state success.

The concept of nationalism is yet another example of the human desire to unify and divide, in this case, along geopolitical and sociocultural lines. Starting with a basic and common definition, nationalism is constituted by (i) "patriotic feelings, principles, or efforts," and can also be (ii) "…marked by a feeling of superiority over other countries."[2] In many cases, however, nationalism and patriotism are used interchangeably and often with bias. Pundits on the Fox News channel label pro-american student protests as acts of patriotism, while pro-buddhist movements in Myanmar are branded as nationalistic. Arguably, the manipulation of this concept has been propagated by mainstream media, armchair politics and popular culture. Recently, however, scholars have begun differentiating between patriotism and nationalism on the grounds that nationalism is the physical and tangible manifestation, the agency, of an emotional and sociological state, patriotism.[3] Simply put, patriotism is the cause and nationalism is the effect. Yet it seems narrowly justified to argue that nationalism is merely the consequence of national pride. As this paper will explore, nationalism can also be the result of dissatisfaction with the current status quo, and, more importantly, a conviction in the future and potential of one's own country. For these purposes then, nationalism shall be defined as an elastic form of identity, subject to the surrounding political and ideological environment, as well as historical context. We can gain further insight into this phenomenon through the lens of constructivism.

Emerging in the late 80s as an academic response to the dominant theories of international relations, such as realism and neoliberalism, constructivism is a social theory predicated upon sociocultural inter/intra-action and the ideational frameworks they occur in. Jackson and McDonald present five operating principles of the constructivist perspective. First, our perceptions of the world and reality are social constructions that become ideological frameworks. Second, agents (i.e. people, states and organizations) and the institutions they create are co-dependent. Third, ideational factors and identification play a crucial role in political dynamics. Fourth, ideological frameworks have the potential to result in either positive or negative outcomes. Fifth, these frameworks can

be reinforced and strengthened, either personally or socially, to the extent that change is unlikely.[4] It is worth noting that the dominant theories in international relations place a heavy emphasis on the role of power, security and economics, whereas constructivism provides a more holistic and humanistic approach. For this reason these five tenets will be applied and referenced throughout the remainder of the paper. With this in mind, it is now fitting to discuss the varied origins of nationalism as presented by other scholars and academics.

Certain scholars contend that nationalism develops organically with the presence and vilification of an "other," as well as a perceived threat to state prosperity.[5] This argument places the state at the driving wheel of nationalism and negates individual influence, arguably drawing from a realist perspective. Even so, some would argue that it does have predictive capacity in international politics. One example of this process can be found in Nazi Germany. Arguably, the state's highly nationalistic period was predictable considering (i) the development of an "other," the Jewish population, that was perceived to challenge German life, and (ii) the threat to state prosperity after World War I and the Treaty of Versailles left the economy devastated. Another example of this process can be seen following the September 11th attacks in 2001 when the US experienced heightened nationalism for several years, exhibited by the Patriot Act and citizen-wide support for the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The existence of an enemy "other" came to fruition with the onset of Islamic extremism and the visible threat it posed to state security during the horrors of 9/11. Consequently, middle eastern populations became stigmatized and demonized, presented as the antithesis of American values. While this period shall be discussed in greater depth later, it stands to note that both Nazi Germany and the US, post 9/11, reflect the proposed origins of nationalism, which has little to do with cultural norms and everything to do with perceived enemy threats. Though arguably a realist perspective, this argument also corresponds to the first and third tenets of constructivism: societal and environmental factors weigh heavily in the formation of political frameworks and identity, resulting in distinct actions within the international system. More importantly, this theory suggests that while nationalism is assumed to be a politically-based phenomena, it may in fact be influenced more by our personal and social psychological framework than any political environment.

Benedict Anderson, author of Imagined Communities, offers a modern perspective on the origins of nations and nationalism. Anderson argues that a nation may be best characterized as "an imagined political community… inherently limited and sovereign." In these nations, citizens cultivate beliefs and belonging with a

distinct identity, facilitated in part by the presence of nationalism, a phenomenon that has been brought about by the development of the printing press. Anderson argues that the Holy Roman Empire negated global incentive for the formation of nationalism because of its role as an information distributor. In short, while ethnic and cultural identities were present, nationalism had yet to become relevant due to the hegemony of the church and its role as a unifying form of governance and religious identity. Before the invention of the printing press, societies received the majority of their information and worldview from the church simply because church officials were among the few skilled with reading and writing. Anderson argues that the invention of the printing press allowed people to readily experience their world from a first-person perspective as opposed to interpretative forms offered by the church. More importantly, however, the printing press allowed people to participate in a collective discussion, reflective of linguistic uniqueness and cultural norms. Simply put, reading and writing in one's own language liberated identity at the same time that it drove it inwards toward the state. While Anderson's argument offers insight into the promotion and progression of nationalism, it does not account for the role of humanism nor the nationalistic outliers that will be discussed in the case studies.[6]

The ability to read and write in one's own language and cultural perspective indeed sparked unity and the development of an "us" in a groundbreaking way, however, the role of religion and humanism may have had more to do with this transition than the invention of the printing press alone. Considering that the printing press was invented during the Renaissance period, it's important to also underline the significance of the transition from scholasticism to humanism at this time, as well as the motivation that underlined its influence. Scholasticism refers to the early days of church influence and tradition, whereas humanism refers to a separation from spiritual matters and a direct focus on the physical world and the human experience. Indeed, the printing press offered a means by which to communicate, identifying and unifying groups of individuals on the basis of state, cultural and ethnic boundaries across the world, but it may also point to underlying inspirations that effectively traded divine right for human input, or at the very least, assigned them to the same level of importance. In doing so, the innovations, discoveries and ideals of people like Martin Luther, Galileo, and Leonardo da Vinci were used to supplement voids in religious dialogue and recognize similar wisdom evident in both spiritual text and human discovery. This is reflective of the fifth tenet of constructivism in the fact that the ideological framework of the church was rigid and self-reinforcing, transformed only by the printing-press and the opposing framework of humanist motivation. It is also reflective of

the second, in that the ideological structure of the church and the humanist movement was dependent upon the actors that engaged and perpetuated them. The beliefs and agency of actors throughout the various levels of international politics can be further explored from a psychological perspective.[7]

While history and theories of international relations provide a broader context and understanding of nationalism, psychologists may offer additional insight into the neurological processes that underlie the formation of beliefs and identity. In the field of memory study, psychologists note the influence of cognitive dissonance upon memory formation and recalling past experiences. Cognitive dissonance is a neurological phenomenon that explains the human ability to maintain a certain worldview despite facts or experiences that directly oppose it. In other words, cognitive dissonance acts a mental safeguard for the development and maintenance of our beliefs. To further supplement this argument, eyewitness accounts of criminal activity are among some of the most unreliable informative techniques used by police forces because each individual has seen the event through their own looking glass. When asked to describe a suspect, individuals are often wrongfully convinced about race, physical stature, age and other defining qualities.[9]

Applying these psychological processes to the concept in question, it can be argued that nationalism is also influenced by the neurological mechanisms of the brain that aim to preserve individual beliefs regardless of alternative input. Considering that humans construct their sociological experiences around these psychological and physiological underpinnings, it would be a disservice to negate them in politics. And because people comprise the working pieces of the state, it's reasonable to assume that the same neurological processes that define our understanding of reality (on an individual level) also define our understanding of politics and tendencies toward nationalism. As will be shown, this factors in heavily when looking at highly nationalistic states such as the US and North Korea. On one hand, humans have the ability to subconsciously nullify unwanted experiences through cognitive dissonance. And on the other, the ability to create and recall experiences that never occurred through selective memory retention.

In order to assess varying degrees of nationalism worldwide, a comparative analysis of the Ukraine and Egypt and the US and North will be presented to provide a glimpse into low and high levels of nationalism and the power perceptions projected internally (inside the state) and externally (outside the state). Each case study will trace a model of historical, political and sociological underpinnings that comprise state nationalism and affect perceived strength. The five tenets of constructivism will also be discussed as

a theoretical foundation for state outcomes within each example. In doing so, nationalism may be demonstrated as more than a state-by-state ranking system and instead underline the human element in this political picture.

The Ukraine emerged as an independent state in 1991 following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Operating as a parliamentary democracy, the state has consistently struggled to apply leadership that provides widespread acceptance because of continued tensions between nationalist and separatist mentalities that can be described as east versus west. The western portion of Ukraine's population identifies with western politics while the eastern portion identifies with eastern - and particularly Russian - politics. Even more, the state itself is in an ever-present battle between European Union and Russian alignment as a spillover conflict from the days of the Soviet Union. To put it simply, the EU would provide the region with unity and increased support in the form of economic safeguards, trading opportunity and strength of democracy. Russian alliance, on the other hand, yields temporary safeguards against the Russian military after the days of the Soviet Union left the region in utter turmoil, a sad truth that impacts the area to this day in the form of land contamination and diplomatic crises. From a historical perspective, the Ukraine has been destined for low nationalism since it's inception simply because it has yet to apply a consistent identity in rhetoric, leadership and action that coincides with the majority of the population.[9]

The political landscape of the Ukraine can be described as the governing manifestation of the region's tumultuous history, reflected in it's Fragile States Index rating of 84/178 - Warning.[10] (The lower the number, the more fragile the state.) Only one quarter of the population identifies as "very proud" of nationality.[11] Though a parliamentary democracy, the state is riled with corruptive elements that have curbed civil rights and media content while keeping populations under fear of Russian retaliation. The people - though divided along eastern and western lines - arguably display nationalistic elements of dissent on both sides, especially considering the recent state-wide protests in 2010 against Yanukovych that inevitably resulted in his resignation. The distinction between these two groups, despite their closeness during the protest, lies in the difference between the separatists and nationalist motivation. Separatists have effectively lost their faith and belief in state success and elect for a completely new model that nullifies the previous. In this way, Ukraine's nationalism is rather low alongside perceived strength because agents and agencies are not acting in harmony, lack of identity obstructs creation of a national perspective and nationalist movements have been stunted by the separatist motive to literally separate from Ukraine's mentality.

Apart from low nationalism, the Ukraine also struggles with it's perception as a weak state from an internal and external perspective. The populous and the state perceives the region as weak because of it's dual-ended mentality that advocates for EU membership at the same time that it relies on and lives in fear of Russian influence. The global arena clearly perceives the Ukraine as a weak state for the same reasons, materializing with a lack of international guidance during these protests, the 2014 annexation of Crimea that followed and continued disregard while the eastern portion of the state remains under Russian militant control. In short, the Ukraine displays low amounts of nationalism and similarly low amounts of perceived strength because it has been politically divided since it's inception. Egypt will serve as yet another example of low nationalism and low perceived strength under different circumstances than that of the Ukraine.[12]

Egypt has it's roots in ancient civilization that have consistently reshaped in values, religion, and cultural norms since it's inception. The region, like the Ukraine, has also experienced a pendulum swing back and forth between eastern and western alliances, though it has remained under an authoritarian regime for some time. Egypt's FSI ranking is 38/178 - Alert and their WVS ranking is unavailable considering the erratic nature of nationalism in the area.[13] At one point during Nasser's leadership, the region experienced high nationalism due to the Non-Alignment Movement and the collective Middle Eastern and African identity that emerged therein. Nasser despised western colonial influence and offered an opportunity for the state and it's citizens to redefine itself along non-western lines that coincided more with Middle Eastern and African values. However, following Nasser's leadership, Sadat came to power and redirected attention to the west once again before Mubarak came to power under Islamic campaign. Even then, innumerable human rights violations, oppressive rule and emergency law have ensued since the 1980s.[14]

From a political standpoint, Egypt has experienced high points of nationalism throughout it's history, yet it was state-based and promoted at one point and shifted, unlike the Ukrainian narrative. Instead of nationalism being exercised by purely by people, nationalism has been injected into the Egyptian populous by the state at varied intervals, and thus, relies on state influence for momentum. Protests of dissent in Tahir Square arguably demonstrated high amounts of nationalism considering the unified belief that Egypt was better than the context of it's leadership over the last forty years. While the state was willing to remove Mubarak and his predecessor Morsi, they were unwilling to fuel national pride and hope for a better future before electing al-Sisi into power whom would continue military rule. Sociologically, the state is now divided along secular and non-secular lines, arguably a result of

Nasser's propping up of the Muslim identity.[15]

The Ukraine and Egypt can both be classified under the term intra-nationalism, a form of nationalism that occurs when certain elements of civil society clearly exhibit a strong desire for unification and a cohesive national identity, but the state is largely absent or opposed. In the Ukraine and Egypt, civilians clearly demonstrate nationalism in protest and dissent, yet the state does not seek to reinforce it. Therefore, internal and external perceptions of state strength tend to be rather low because the people are not promoted by the state and the state is not promoted by it's people.

North Korea offers an example of high state-promoted nationalism. Emerging as an isolationist movement with the support of the Soviet Union, North Korea is a Totalitarian Communist regime governed by dynastic rule. It's interesting to note that despite North Korea's high nationalism, it is ranked as a 29/178 on the FSI scale, making the state worse off than the Ukraine and Egypt from a global perspective.[16] In addition, North Korea has heinous records of human rights abuses. Millions of people have died of starvation, imprisonment and detention centers are rampant and civil liberties are few and far between. Despite these things, North Korea's perceived power, at least internally, remains strong. The factors associated with this perception are largely propagated by the state's heightened security measures that effectively dismantle any and all opposition. Simply put, North Korea promotes mass amounts of nationalism in rhetoric, media and policy and these are well received by the population in order to avoid government retribution. Externally, North Korea often demonstrates it's power in the form of mainly western dissent. Over the last ten years, North Korea has made innumerable threats to the west and participated in four nuclear tests against the will of the United Nations.[17]

From an internal perspective, North Korean nationalism is state-based yet civilly promoted and thus is perceived to be extremely powerful. Yet, from an external perspective, North Korea is thought to be rather weak. In addition to the state's low FSI score, it is also a known fact that civilians participate and promote high nationalism out of fear of country more so than love of country considering the consequences associated with political dissent. Beyond that, North Korea's dynasty and cult of personality approach to governance is a rather outdated model, even by non-western standards. The state, then could be classified as internally powerful yet externally perceived as weak. More importantly, however, North Korea is able to be perceived as powerful without actually being powerful.

The United States, though an example of high nationalism, functions differently than arguably every state around the globe as a result of flexibility in nationalism. The US is a Federal Presidential Republic and identifies with a plethora of ethnicities, mainly white, black and asian individuals.[18] The state's FSI rating indicates "more stability" at a 158/178 with over half the population claiming "very proud" on the WVS of nationality proudness.[19] While the US does not exude high amounts of nationalism throughout it's history, the state does maintain a consistently moderate amount of nationalism, with high nationalism during WWI, WWII, Cold War and Post-911. Historically, the US has made much of it's success through colonial mentalities exercised under the guise of democracy. Though the country doesn't have nearly the human rights abuses associated with the aforementioned states - at least in domestic policy - it is one of the lowest ranking states in education and healthcare and the highest ranking in incarceration.

Apart from any other state, however, American nationalism is incredibly flexible. Perhaps this occurs because political dissent and support are both regarded as exercises of basic citizen rights according to US policy. It is fitting then to justify both political protest and obedience as demonstrations of nationalism in the United States. Because of this flexibility, the country is able to not only maintain consistency in nationalism but also be perceived as powerful across the liberal and conservative spectrum. Externally, the US is perceived as one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful state. This is in part because identity in the US is founded upon global values, at least in rhetoric. Large-scale immigration and ethnic diversity have long been apart of American history and allow the global community to find their own identity within American identity and thus, perceive a sense of strength. The "American Dream" and the "Melting Pot" are just some of the most common descriptions among US characterizations, suggesting a global identity more so than a state identity. Many states around the globe, however, are no stranger to the impacts of US foreign policy and while the US may not be widely respected, it is perceived as very powerful.[20]

Both North Korea and the United States can be categorized under the term inter-nationalism as a form of nationalism that occurs when a state projects an image of strength and superiority both internally and externally, regardless of structural integrity. Though North Korea is a gross comparison to the US in terms of human rights abuses, structural weaknesses are evident in both states while nationalism remains steady. In short, they don't necessarily have to be powerful in order to be perceived as such.

Nationalism, like people, is ever-changing and does not necessarily reflect state strength. The perceptions that we have and the ideological frameworks that we use play a huge role in everyday life and thus, politics. While this paper seeks to identify the origins

and developments of nationalism, it also seeks to understand the totality of it's influence as a man-made phenomena and the power perceptions therein. Despite the urge to classify states, people and places along geopolitical and ethnic lines alone, there is an entire range of psychological, physiological, environmental and sociocultural explanations that make up the basis of social and political interaction. All of which do not necessarily seek truth, but seek to fulfill the parameters of our own ideological framework and experience. Because in a sense, "we don't see things as they are; we see things as we are."[21]

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THE ECONOMICS OF RACISM: FDR'S DARK LEGACY

ROWAN JONES

The United States in the first half of the 20th century is described by most as the pinnacle of modern democracy and the poster-child for freedom and economic mobility. Popular Americana from the era seemingly glossed over the important role race and ethnicity played in American politics during this time. Institutionalized racism was not new to the U.S.—most notably in the form of Jim Crow laws still standing from the days of reconstruction. The election of 1932 and the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt brought about an unprecedented willingness of the American people to accept new structural change in the face of dire economic conditions. The United States seemed to be turning the page on an antiquated version of the American dream and ushering in entirely new ideals—promises of economic security in the form of federally insured loans, enabling Americans to secure housing, education, and job opportunities in the face of a grim economy. American idealism was materializing, but was not without inequalities on the basis of race. President Roosevelt's New Deal quietly perpetuated America's practice of *de jure* racial discrimination against non-whites, the effects of which can be seen today and can be quantified economically and geographically.

It is important to note that the United States was no stranger to institutionalized racism and legal segregation at the time of the Great Depression. The United States, like most former European colonies, possesses a unique sociopolitical dynamic where subordination on the basis of race is an integral part of the country's history. We must note that at the time of our country's inception, not everyone was equipped with the pathways to political and economic opportunity—something we can see the effects of today, but oddly, is a connection that many won't willingly proclaim. The New Deal is not the sole perpetrator of postmodern racial contentions and economic disenfranchisement, but rather a benchmark that signifies a turn to a new type of racism, and arguably the worst as it is the hardest to curtail in today's society—subtle and *legal* avenues to economic disenfranchisement that have been perpetrated by federally backed loans and banking institutions which have created a quagmire of social issues for America's minority populations. This essay seeks to outline the evolution and causal relationships of the New Deal and the socioeconomic implications that ensued after these institutions were formed.

CREATION OF THE FEDERAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

In the wake of unimaginable economic turmoil in the United States, the Roosevelt administration sought to act swiftly and firmly in their efforts to pass much needed reform following the election of 1932. Roosevelt envisioned a new United States in

which economic security and old age were to be the inalienable rights of the average American household. Among the many new institutions brought about by Roosevelt's New Deal was the Federal Housing Administration, established in 1934 under the National Housing Act.[1] The FHA operated for the benefit of Caucasian Americans wishing to pursue homeownership, and soon became the largest insurer of mortgages in the world.[2] Following the pattern of most American institutions, the FHA openly discriminated against non-white Americans from its inception. The FHA had created an inherently racist ratings system by which it regulated its mortgage sales—four categories on a rating scale would define the parameters for U.S. homeownership and would determine which communities would prosper and which would be limited in terms of economic opportunity and stability. The FHA capped its certification at $20,000 with their logic being that properties over that amount would most likely not be bought by persons in need of an FHA insured loan.[3] The FHA was to be a great foundation to the development of the American middle class. Through its four letter ratings, the FHA effectively steered opportunity for homeownership away from non-whites—namely African Americans—who could legally be claimed as cause

for neighborhood degradation, making them an unfavorable investment.

In order to evaluate perceived "risk", the FHA rated mortgages on a scale of A - D. *A-rated* mortgages were those of the upper middle class, usually exceeding a value $20,000 which often times did not need to backing of the FHA. *B-rated* mortgages were most desirable and most common, usually not exceeding $20,000 in value, and were characteristically defined as properties in all-white suburban areas boasting modest living standards. Urban neighborhoods usually received a "C" rating from the FHA—ethnically diverse neighborhoods on the lower end of the economic spectrum were to be void of the housing investment opportunities extended to their white counterparts. An even lower "D" rating specifically defined *black* neighborhoods as red zones comprising of several undesirable elements. [4] Residential security maps carved into these four levels of security ratings dictated where economic opportunity would flourish and where it would be severely stifled in the following decades. The creation of the interstate highway system in the coming years would harvest *de facto* geographic segregation on top of the institutionalized segregation being overtly perpetuated by the federal government at this time.[5]

President Lyndon B. Johnson speaking before signing the Voting Rights Act

The introduction of zoning ordinances—city planning classifications which mirrored those of the FHA— became a city or town's legal means of barring African Americans from living in America's suburbs. Arduous zoning regulations that outlined minimum and maximum building and land requirements effectively kept poorer ethnic minorities out of white communities in even the most progressive of states, such as California. It was often the case that residential zoning requirements would only allow for single-family residences that followed a list of regulations dictating square footage, pricing, and land development benchmarks that were unattainable to the blue collar, low wage African American family. [6] The geographic and economic impasse of African Americans following the creation of the FHA kept them in America's inner cities as whites migrated outward into sub-urban communities and reaped the benefits of suburban community life—safer streets, superior public education, and an environment that was better disposed to familial life as a whole. Blacks and other non-white groups would be left to raise their families in densely populated and under-funded neighborhoods that were often times equipped with sub-par health care and education facilities, further stifling opportunities for economic growth. Institutionalized means of housing exclusion on the basis of race would spawn a multitude of other economic and social problems for America's minorities in the years to come.

PROFITING FROM HYSTERIA

"This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort."

-PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON, 1964 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS [7]

With the advent of the suburb, the decay of America's urban centers painted a new portrait of American poverty. Johnson's administration attempted to tackle the issue by proposing massive public housing projects that aimed to provide subsidized housing to low income families in America's cities.[8] Advising President Johnson on the issue was industrial tycoon Edgar Kaiser— chairman of the chemical, construction, and steel corporations which took his name. Kaiser and Johnson both agreed that the private sector needed to collaborate with the federal, state, and local governments in order to feasibly implement these housing projects, just as his predecessor John F. Kennedy had proclaimed in the years prior to Johnson's Great Society.[9] Incredibly large, high-density apartment buildings were built and became shared, cramped spaces in which African Americans and other minority groups clustered. This, of course, was through necessity and due to lack of choice in their housing options derived from the

issues of economic accessibility explained in the previous section. Although the concept of public housing was not a new idea in the mid to late 1960s, the housing blocks being built at this time were unprecedented in terms of size and density. Due to poor planning and lack of investment opportunities within these communities, project housing ultimately failed. Large inner-city housing blocks became cesspools for crime and depicted unimaginable desperation. Riots broke out in several cities across the country, such as the Watts district riot in Los Angeles in 1965 and in Chicago's west side the same year. Two years later an even deadlier riot in Newark would end up costing 26 people's lives and $10,000,000 in damages.[10] President Johnson's cabinet spent a great deal of time and resources to get to the root of the civil unrest in America's cities in the following months. Vice President Hubert Humphrey attributed the violence to the horrendous living conditions in which these groups were forced to live in. Like many others at the time, one's behavior was believed to be a direct consequence of the environment in which they were raised, which continues to be a belief more or less held on to today. Johnson's administration stood behind the position that "slums and ghettos breed violence" and the American people must be given the opportunity to escape such an environment.[11] The administration, though generous with words, failed to realize the not-so welcoming reality of integrating colored populations into all-white neighborhoods.

The introduction of a reformed voucher system under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 mended many New Deal housing policies such as that of Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937.[12] Under this reform, eligible families would now only have to contribute a maximum of 30% of their gross income to rent and utilities while the remaining 70% would be subsidized by the federal government. Families once forced to reside in the inner-city now had more options when it came to location, relative to their previous circumstance. Many African American and Hispanic households migrated out of the cities and into the suburbs where they sought to provide a better life for their children. Once again, due to poor planning of such a large scale exodus of peoples into the suburbs, schools and other public services became incredibly strained and tensions rose between the whites already residing in these suburban areas and the non-white newcomers.

Those who were quickest to take advantage of this new and toxic social climate were the private banks. To turn a profit, banks preyed off of both the whites and the non-whites within suburban communities by utilizing a strategy known as *blockbusting*. Real estate agents began to convince white homeowners that the onslaught of ethnic integration within their communities would eventually drive their property values south and that they must

act quickly in order to evade such degradation.[13] After convincing the white homeowners to sell their homes for a below- market price, the same banks would then advertise a much higher price to African American and Hispanic families looking to buy a home. These families, desperate to escape the horrid living conditions of urban project housing, purchased these home at prices far above their actual market price. This practice flourished from the late 1960s to the early 1980s and created a second wave of white flight. The banks profited immensely off of blockbusting, but much like the first wave of white flight out of the cities, suburban communities that grew to have black majorities found themselves facing the same problems they faced in the inner-cities a decade prior—real economic opportunity and social mobility was still limited as those opportunities left with the white communities who migrated out, further solidifying the age old power paradigm that control rested solely with whites.

URBAN DISINVESTMENT CONTINUES

As African Americans and other ethnic minorities found themselves once again in a geographic gridlock, the process of economic disinvestment renewed itself. Segregation had remained prevalent well into the early 1990s. Research done on the "steering" of prospective African American homebuyers out of white communities showed that roughly 21% of real estate brokers used methods of steering to drive blacks away from white neighborhoods even though steering had been officially outlawed under the Fair Housing Act more than 30 years prior.[14] Black and white participants in a study that targeted one particular real estate agency in Georgia found that the prospective white homeowners were shown significantly more available homes in the predominantly white community than their black counterparts were even though the white participants had lower wages, more debt, and less job security when compared to the black participants.[15]

The string of events that characterizes the state of racial economics today can be read as such—Because investors have been conditioned to view black, urban communities as unsafe investments, the process of *devalorization* sets in. Disinvestment and devalorization within a community can be characterized by the increasing number of leasable properties and the lack of live-in landlords. With this trend comes the increasing neglect of residential and commercial property in the neighborhood, making living conditions decline for its inhabitants. Eventually, larger banks pull out of the community making it harder for absentee landlords to invest in repairs and other maintenance projects that would have kept the neighborhood's properties afloat. This creates

a "bare minimum" approach for those who own and maintain properties in these areas.[17]

The summation of all the aforementioned conditions, tax revenues, plus the ability to provide necessary public services such as healthcare, education, and public safety services are in turn stifled. Through no choice of their own, many of these communities' inhabitants become victims of underfunded school systems and toxic environmental conditions that are largely overlooked by higher levels of government.[18] Today, nearly 60% of all African Americans reside near poorly regulated toxic waste sites while and even larger percentage of Native Americans living on reservations are surrounded by some of the country's largest mining operations and radioactive landfills.[19] Because of *de facto* environmental racism such as this, the American minority suffers from a shorter life expectancy, increased poverty rates, and higher rates of infant mortality than those experienced by white Americans, on average. Research done on the mental health and well-being of America's minorities reveals the saddening truth— while adjusting for mental health prevalence between ethnic groups, African Americans and Latinos receive less mental health treatment from U.S. hospital systems than their white counterparts. [20] Because of this, ethnic minorities in the U.S. are experiencing more chronic limitations due to mental health issues than their white counterparts, both of whom had received the same diagnosis, on average.[21] Historically speaking, African Americans and Latinos have either been limited to mental health services due to geographic and monetary limitations or were often times the victims of medical malpractice. [22] This has contributed

As time went on, social integration of blacks into a dominant white society proved to benefit the economy as a whole.

to an overall distrust of health care practitioners within these communities as well as a stigmatization of mental health disorders within minority communities. As for health care for ethnic minorities as a whole, decades of social and economic inequality have created a cultural divide among ethnic communities, and has made it harder to implement health services effectively. Minority communities are less likely to receive the most contemporary, up to date models for treatment, but are often the groups most in need of effective health services. Research has shown that individuals within America's inner cities are more susceptible to incidents of trauma, and are more likely to suffer from a wide range of disorders such as PTSD, anxiety, and depression. [23] The same patterns hold true within the education system. Schools within

communities with low socioeconomic status (SES) have produced much different academic results than schools that resided in areas boasting a higher socioeconomic status. [24] African American, Latino, and American Indian students in low SES schools have consistently underachieved when measured on the basis of standardized testing among all grade levels, kindergarten through grade twelve, compared to higher SES schools in suburban areas.[25] Drop-out rates of ethnic minorities in low SES areas remain high, near 50%, and has contributed to 46-54% of all black, Latino, and American Indian 12th grade students not meeting basic reading proficiency standards, while their white counterparts suffer half the previous rate.[26]

A 2009 foreclosure protest in East Meadow, New York.

Conditions perpetuated by legislation dictating geographic and financial limits to ethnic minorities have created many unforeseen issues for these communities, beyond the scope of mere mortgage terms and conditions. The worlds within America's inner cities and Indian reservations have been cultivated much differently. This disenfranchisement goes beyond legislation and into a complex social, psychological, and economic process that has kept the minority suppressed in all aspects of life.

PREDATORY LENDING AND THE AMERICAN MINORITY

As the United States turned the page on the twentieth century, the issue of *redlining* practices like those of the 1950s and 1960s seemed to be shifting into reverse. During the housing bubble of the early 2000s, an unregulated mortgage industry sought to maximize their profits by selling loans to consumers at rates that had been unheard of before. *Reverse redlining* broke ground in predominantly black and Hispanic neighborhoods and credit was now easily accessible to low income families.[27] However, like the rest of the United States, this quickly became a wide scale

economic problem for consumers who were manipulated into nonsensical loan terms. Subprime loans—loans given to consumers with a traditionally low credit score at significantly higher interest rates— were flooding minority communities.

Prince George's County, Maryland—a county with a majority of highly educated, middle income earning black population—was a prime case study that illustrated the loss of black wealth as a result of predatory lending practices.[28] Blacks in the region were found to be 20% more likely to lose their homes than whites were. Within Prince George's County, wealthy black families were 80% more likely to lose their homes than whites in the same income bracket.[29] Several lenders had targeted minorities into purchasing subprime mortgages when these households could have qualified for prime loans. In 2001, a Well's Fargo employee from Baltimore, MD testified against the company saying that it had actively tried to push subprime loans on the black populations of Baltimore, D.C., and Prince George's County in a covert and organized fashion knowing that these regions boasted large minority communities.[30]

Apart from the wide scale lending practices of the early 2000s, there still remains other forms of predatory lending that targets minority populations, albeit on a much smaller scale. Payday loans and cash advance centers prop themselves up in low income neighborhoods, offering small loans averaging around $2,000 with interest rates of 20-50% and loan terms of only a few weeks. These loans have the potential to quickly cripple borrowers, with most customers being low-wage earning single mothers in predominantly black communities, except in California and Texas where the market for payday loans and cash advances is largely Hispanic.31 Predatory lending in ethnic communities across the United States—outlawed, although loosely regulated—captures the subtlety of postmodern racial discrimination and continues to subjugate the American minority.

DRAWING PARALLELS INTERNATIONALLY

The United States is not the only country who has endured a long and complex racial and economic history. South Africa, although undoubtedly unique, is similar to the U.S. in terms of its historical notoriety. Historically, the majority black populations and the minority white populations within South Africa have been at a constant struggle for wealth and resources. The abundant supply of cheap, unskilled black labor has always surpassed that of white unskilled laborers; white unskilled laborers demanded slightly higher wages and, as the story goes, painted blacks out to be their economic adversaries. In order to secure economic power, the white labor force in South Africa pushed for many limitations on black advancement between 1890 and 1956.[32] Legislation such

as the Pass Laws, Mines and Works Act of 1911, and the Industrial Conciliation Acts kept blacks from attaining several jobs, promotions, and kept them from effectively unionizing under the guise of several safety and qualification regulations.[33]

As time went on, social integration of blacks into a dominant white society proved to benefit the economy as a whole. Those who lost out economically in this merge were poor, unskilled white laborers who continued to be crowded out by their unskilled black counterparts. This led to conservative factions within South Africa to instate a system of apartheid after 1948—communities were destroyed and re-purposed, and blacks were settled into newly designated areas. After the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act of the 1950s, South Africa's sociopolitical state mirrored the U.S.'s.[34] Government spending on education, health services, and other community services disproportionately favored whites from the period of 1948 to 1970, of whom only accounted for 20% of the population in 1969 but received over 70% of all wealth created within the country.[35]

While South Africa and the U.S. have called upon affirmative action policies to curtail statistical discrepancies within schools and the workplace, some countries with similar racial, hierarchical pasts do not welcome the idea. Brazil, the colony which imported more than 10 times the amount of African slaves as the United States, has not looked fondly on affirmative action quotes.[36] This phenomenon has made it hard to compare race relations amongst the former slave-holding colonies; Brazil boasts racial inequities even more exaggerated than those measured in the U.S. and in South Africa, yet the country is not in favor of legislation that attempts to target and tackle issues of racism directly. Critics of affirmative action as the Americans and South Africans have come to know it argue that Brazilian racism is much different— Brazil never employed segregation as a means of expressing their racial hierarchy, much the the U.S. and South Africa have done historically. They argue that attempts to employ positive discrimination may backfire; the country's large population of darker-skinned Brazilians may take on an even greater mindset of divisiveness and entitlement, which would only serve to hurt the nation's already complex state.

In conclusion, the study of comparative racial politics and economics can only help the U.S. to a finite extent. The American past is unique and must be treated as such. What has seemed to work best for these three countries has been major shifts towards total economic integration. The U.S. must seek to tear down all of its past institutionalized barriers to economic participation and further identify and prosecute entities and individuals alike who seek to impose limitations on the basis of race.

As the 2016 presidential election looms, the U.S.'s ongoing discussion of race and inequality remains ever- present—if not *heightened*—by a postmodern resurgence of civil rights activism spurred by several highly publicized cases of police killings, the victims of which were unarmed African Americans. However, the issue of police brutality and mass incarceration affecting ethnic minorities is but a mere fraction of a larger picture— decades of discriminatory economic policy has only aggravated the conditions of the American minority, further perpetuating a state of chronic political and social disenfranchisement. Political and social disenfranchisement of America's minority groups remains a multidimensional issue that expands the discussion to include issues such as housing, health, education, and investment opportunity, all of which have been affected by federal legislation enacted more than 80 years ago. The grim conclusion is that America's minority populations can't make up for their lost time, economically speaking. Centuries of slavery, genocide, and xenophobia have kept non-whites out of the economic establishment. No matter what year one analyzes, it can be said with certainty that whites have the upper hand in markets, an upper hand that can be marked by centuries of colonization and genocide. As the current global economy continues to rapidly expand and integrate, the colonizers and the colonized have taken on seemingly permanent roles, and the postmodern subjugation of the descendants of those who were colonized may take many more centuries to shake. For now, the American objective should be to further analyze our economic and social history so that the American romanticization of FDR's New Deal, among other American policies, is pulled back just enough for widespread acknowledgement of its racial implications to fully materialize. As it pertains to the economics of race in America, *justice*, not equality, must be sought.

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RETURN MIGRATION: THE STRUGGLE OF GOING BACK HOME

SARAH GONZALEZ

Immigration and migration has been a controversial topic for the past year, but what the general population misunderstand about immigrants and migrants as a whole are the struggles and impacts of returning back to the homeland creates. Many romanticize their native land and long to go back, while the ones who do return find "coming home" is not the same as when they left. As its name suggests, the term "return migration" means migrating back to where one came from. Diaspora, a related term, means "a group of people who live outside the area in which they had lived for a long time or in which their ancestors lived."[1] Return migration and diaspora has the potential to impact people psychologically and emotionally as well as politically and economically. The effects include: culture shock, discrimination, and economic struggle. One example of a group who has experienced the effects of return migration is the Chilean people. As a result of the coup Chileans were forced into exiles and have tried to return home.

In order to understand Chile today and the need for normalcy, peace, and healing between the locals and the returnees, we must look back to see what happened to Chile nearly 43 years ago. The Cold War was harsh to many countries and the year 1973 marked changing and turbulent times in Chile. Socialist Chile would crumble when a coup led by Augusto Pinochet removed socialist leader Salvador Allende from office on September 11, 1973. This chilling statement was broadcasted by Salvador Allende hours before his death following a military coup against his presidency: "I am certain that the seed we have planted in the worthy consciousness of thousands and thousands of Chileans cannot be definitely uprooted."[2] The seed Allende spoke of was the socialist idea that he helped inspire in the working class during this time. After the military coup was in motion Pinochet imprisoned, killed, and exiled any families who had ties to the old government regime. Pinochet's dictatorship caused fear in many families, and nearly 200,000 Chileans fled Chile in order to seek safety in countries such as Sweden, Germany, and Russia. Pinochet, however, had help with the imprisonment and murder of the Chilean people from the United States government. "The U.S. gave $8 million between the years of 1970-1973 to covert operations against Allende and his presidency."[3] The U.S. aided in the coup in the form of military assistance and US banking. This attempt to stop communism from spreading lead to opening the door to a dictatorship ridden with war crime.

Pinochet stayed in power for seventeen years until the 1988 plebiscite election that brought an end to his dictatorship in 1990. Chile once again declared itself a democratic country.[4] Though Pinochet left office, his presence lingers in Chile even to this day.

General Augusto Pinochet

The terror and horror that this country witnessed brings forth the tension and heartache that the Chilean people experience. Though it has been nearly 43 years since the coup, Chilean culture, along with the heart of the country, has changed. Chile, after Pinochet, hasn't been quite the same. Pinochet left the state having to start from scratch and fix the holes he created in the country in terms of economic and social programs.

The psychological effects of return migrants result from isolation and the inability to identify with a newly emerged culture and find common ground in the midst of sociocultural shifts. Many migrants who return back to their homeland are not seen as natives; depending on where they are coming from, they will be identified as a member of the host country they fled to. Chileans, like many migrants, deal with a sense of lost identity as a result of detachment between the individual and his/her homeland or the immigrant country and the immigrant. This new affiliation or label affects the mental well-being of return migrants, who may feel as if they have lost their identity and sense of home. The location in which a group sought refuge in a host country determines when they get to return to their place of origin. The farther the person is from Chile, the longer it would likely take for them to make a trip back home. And as the person stays in the host country, the dependency that person has on the host country grows. The

challenge this delay poses to the prospect of return can cause the individual to withhold the process of assimilation into their host country's culture, furthering and prolonging the feeling of isolation from their homeland.[5]

The host country in which the immigrant stays will affect that immigrant as long he or she stays in that country. First, the farther the country, the less likely a person is to return back to their homeland. Secondly, distance will also play a role in whether or not the person will stay temporarily or permanently.[6] The United States serves as a fitting example of a host country, since there are a large number of Chileans who live in San Francisco, California. Like many immigrants, they have faced many challenges since arriving in their host country. The first is language; the immigrant will have a struggle with picking up the language and may face discrimination for not speaking the national language. A second challenge is adjusting to the new culture – an obstacle which creates many difficulties for the individual or family who immigrated to the U.S. The struggle comes with trying to adapt to the new culture one is living in, without letting go of one's own important traditions, customs, and values. However, as much as the person tries to adapt into the American culture, he or she will not be seen as a member of the host country. Using the immigrant Chileans population of San Francisco as an example, when a

Chilean migrates to the U.S. and learns the English language, as well as adapts to the American culture and life-style, that person will continue to be seen as Chilean. On the other hand, as time goes on and the person desires to go back to the homeland, that person will be seen as American and not Chilean. They have no place that welcomes them. To complicate matters further, that person is most likely returning to a homeland that looks and feels very different from the one they originally left behind.

Since the 1973 coup in Chile, the atmosphere and culture has changed, technology has advanced, different political leaders have taken over, and the country has experienced shifting cultural dynamics. These changes are partly due to the natural cultural evolution that countries experience as time passes and partly due to the people who are a little different and so with those changes many return Chileans are unaware of these differences in the country they once called home has developed, which separates them apart from the rest. The returning Chileans are on the receiving end of inequity from the other Chileans: "[t]hese hurdles are seen mainly in terms of adjusting to the new system, language barrier, poor socio-economic background, peer relationship, discrimination and bullying from others." [7] These factors play on the well-being of the mental health of the return migrants, cause the people to be distressed, and add to the source of lost identity towards a country they once called home.

Returning home for many Chileans is associated with the elderly who left due to political unrest and who have ties to the country. The elderly, who had left Chile, had a strong, romanticized connection to their former homeland, which made the desire to return home much greater. However, retuning to Chile was not all that easy. In the late 1980's to the early 1990's many returned Chileans experienced hostility from the locals. This distinction between the locals and returnees characterized the political atmosphere that Chile was undergoing. Returnees felt the changes in dynamics in the country and the social tensions that were rising. The locals were perceived as egotistical- infatuated with the notion of social climbing and the exploitation of the indigenous people. In contrast, the local Chileans viewed *los retornados* (the returnees) with suspicion and associated them with the political unrest of the coup. They viewed the returnees as people who betrayed Chile by fleeing the country to escape Pinochet's oppressive regime and this was, to them, a deliberate act of betrayal. This is one way to differentiate between the real cause of their migration and the perceived cause of their migration. In reality both the locals' and returnees' perspectives of one another were wrong. According to Professor Alexander Peshkoff, a history professor at Cosumnes River College, the locals who stayed in the country were described as: "regular bureaucrats who weren't ideological. They weren't

vocal about Pinochet or Allende but a lot of them kept their heads low; they flew under the radar. They just tried to work through the system and get through it. It was a tumultuous period for them as well." [8] The locals' and returnees' views of one another became another source of the economic and social class division in Chile. [9] These factors resulted in tensions in Chile during this period. Many returnees thought the homecoming would be warm and the transition back to the life in Chile they once had before the coup would be an easy one. However, that was proven otherwise. Their homecoming was greeted with societal differences, economic and political suppression, and tension. These elements are another reason why returnees had a difficult time returning to Chile and making it home once again.

In many ways the struggles and challenges of return migration are social constructions that were created by those involved. These constructs help those involved identify with the world around them; people give them meaning and then, in part, they find their identity and their place through those objects. This theory of constructivism was created by Alexander Wendt, who states that "it is collective meanings that constitute the structures which organize our actions." [10] When returnees go back to the homeland, they

Protests in New Zealand calling for Chilean refugee access.

have already put in place how they will perceive the world around them, and thus have constructed the outcome in their minds, even when the outcome may not be already in effect. This is displayed by the identities people give one another. Wendt illustrates this idea, that people give each other different personifications, labels, and identities, by stating: "more often they have routine qualities in which we assign meanings on the basis of institutionally defined roles." [11] When a returnee goes back home, the locals and the returnees give each other identities that play a part in determining how they view one another. If the locals saw the returnees as fellow members of the homeland, they would be welcomed in, but

because they constructed their own ideas about the identities of objects, the locals have given the returnees the identity of the host country in which they stayed. Similarly, if the returnees are viewed not as returnee natives but as members of the host country, they will perceive the locals as unwelcoming and the place they once called home would be perceived as cold and distant. Since they construct the world around them and give meaning to different objects and actions, their identities are the consequences of those meanings.

In a case study done on Chileans who fled to Sweden and returned back to Chile, the subjects had experienced "alienation" between the contrasting economic states. Because Sweden was a welfare state and Chile was a neoliberalist state, many felt astonished by the major differences between the two economic models. The feeling of "shock" towards Chile resulted from being exiled from a state that was transforming into a socialist state, and living abroad in a state that is a welfare state and returning back to the homeland that is now capitalist. This change in dynamic shook the focus of the illustration that they created in their minds of what life would be like once they returned. And when that image proved to be different from the reality, return migrants were faced with yet another psychological challenge.[12]

The political aspect of migration in Chile is rather complicated, and it has been this way for a century. Starting in the late 1800s, Chile set out on a campaign to reach more Europeans in hopes of enticing more European settlement within Chile. This was a method for the country to prosper economically and socially, but with WWI coming up, Chile closed off its borders to immigrants from Europe and, in WWII, continued the policies of migration from WWI. In the mid-1970s, Pinochet's regime exiled, killed or imprisoned nearly 200,000 native-born Chileans, greatly diminishing the Chilean population. However, Pinochet's policy which aimed to boost the Chilean economy was seeking more immigrants from European and Asian countries. Pinochet's heavy hand in Chile led to many immigrants staying for only a short period of time upon arrival due Chile's state of suppression. However, there were many incentives for the immigrants to stay, and they were a vital part of the strategy to advance the Chilean economy - they were well-educated and their foreign investment lifted the Chilean economy. Pinochet used the foreign investors to bring economic stability to Chile, but at the cost of killing, imprisoning, and exiling Chileans who were not able to help improve the economy or those who threated his regime.[13]

During Pinochet's dictatorship, the immigration policy that was produced sought to keep "dangerous elements", or terrorists, out of the country. This piece of legislation in Chile was known as the *Immigration Act of 1975* and is still enacted today. The complexity

of this legislation starts with the introduction of "foreigners need[ing] to procure one of three visas: tourist, resident, or permanent. Within the "resident" category, there are five separate visas: contract, student, temporary, official, and refugee or asylee." [15] Choosing a resident visa can pose as a problem if a person were to then choose one of the five separate visas. For example, if a person were to apply for a contract visa, meaning they came into Chile for

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This attempt to stop communism from spreading lead to opening the door to a dictatorship ridden with war crime.

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work, it is easy for that person to be deported if they find another job in another department, different than the one they had stated in their visa. These minor blocks create problems for immigrants and migrants because they can fall out of a category and be displaced. The issue with the legislation is that this immigration law was put into play by a dictator. Pinochet did not need to seek parliamentary support because he forced the policy into law. But it is more challenging for a democracy to re-write legislation than it is for a dictator to do the same as there are more procedural obstacles to amend it. This type of attitude within legislation and the constitution in Chile towards immigrants, it is difficult for returnees and migrants to come back to their country of origin, even when Chile has turned over a new leaf.

Despite the complexity of the law that is still in place from that era, there have been strides to make amends with the population of Chileans who were forced out of the country. President Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) worked towards positioning Chile as a more open country for immigrants and migrants, and welcoming those who feel they have no country of their own. Bachelet wanted to repay the debt that Pinochet created when he sent out half of Chile's population into the world by improving the refugee legislation in Chile.[17] The strides President Bachelet made in her attempts to make the country's legislation more welcoming in spite of Chile's dark history shows the resiliency of the country.

Incidentally, the generation of the revolution has been etched with the suppression of Chile, but with the new generation, the youth are showing signs of pliancy and buoyancy. The youth are looking to turn the pages of history and not dwell on the past, while some of the older generations are still stuck in the Pinochet regimes. Even though there are still some consequential effects of Pinochet's regimes, such as the education system and banks, youth are looking to do away with old ideals and create a healthier state. In contrast from the older generation, youth in Chile are not trying to forget the past and the horrors that were committed

in Chile, but are trying to move past them; they acknowledge what happened and are trying to change Chile for the better. This is particularly important for returnees and other immigrants because the legislation and constitution still has rhetoric remaining from the times of Pinochet's regime and they want to "replac[e] the Pinochet-era constitution through a self-appointed popular assembly."[18] Changing the constitution and immigration legalization policy would allow for more returnees to come back to Chile should they desire to.

This new generation has heard many stories of what life was like during Pinochet's reign and the older generations see that the youth have the capability to improve Chile for all. The youth do not see the returnees, or even the children of returnees, as either hostile nor problematic. They are welcoming to all and want everyone to enjoy the country they call home. This new generation wants to fight for the rights of people who may be marginalized in the country, including immigrants, migrants, returnees, and even indigenous people. The New York Times published an article on Camila Vallejo, a college student who is the spokeswoman for youth in Chile. The article quoted Rafael Gumucio, a Chilean writer, who responded with the following observation about the differences in the two generations: "… in Chile it's the fathers who are the nihilists, the suicides, the silent ones, the frustrated, and their children the reformers, the realists, the strategists."[19] Positioning youth as reformers, realists, and even strategists helps youth gain momentum and equips them with the ability to change the atmosphere in Chile for the better. They call and protest for reform and mirror the Arab Spring in Chile as they use modern technology and social media to call for transformation. [20] They bring hope for real change to everyone in the country. Besides leading the country to more openness for immigrants and returnees, the call for change helps bolster Chile economically and socially. The youth understand that if Chile is more self-sufficient and can rely on itself instead of other countries like the U.S. then Chile will be seen as a more desirable place to live.

Most returnees do not live in Chile for long periods of time. For instance, those who come from the U.S. will typically either visit Chile for short periods of time or just stay for half the year and go back to the U.S. for the other half. The reasons for this are social and economic investments. Economically, Chile is poor compared to the U.S. so when returnees attempt to come back to live in Chile, they soon realize that they cannot relate to the people as they once thought they could. This is partially due to the fact that the returnees come back with money and realize they do not need to live near the people they grew up with. Some Chileans will see the returnees as pompous, thus making the returning Chileans feel as if their country is not as desirable as they knew it

to be. Socially, the returnees or the children of the returnees have been Americanized and they developed roots in the host country. The roots they created make them lose their Chilean culture and adapt the American culture.[21] These factors make it difficult for returnees to stay. The Chilean people are welcoming of Americans and want to share their country and all they have to offer to the world, but with the poor economic direction that the country is in, the returnees do not have a desire to come back and stay.

National recognition that Chile is gaining all around the world is spotlighting the turbulent history that Chile went through. Trying to emerge in the world and not allowing the past to hold them back from changing their political, economic and cultural atmosphere is not proving to be without difficulty. But the motivation and will of youth are signaling that change is coming. The benefits that many people are excited to receive are not just for the Chileans in the country but for the Chileans who are scattered all over the world. Chile is fighting to write a new chapter in its history, one that does not have ties to or resemble what happened during the coup - one that highlights Chile's move in the right direction.

Return migration shows us the difficulty of coming home to the land that you once knew, and realizing that both you and it have changed. It involves the difficulties of finding one's identity and demonstrates how the roots one creates outside their native home can be challenging to uphold. History, politics and the economy are all factors that can influence one's decision to leave while, the emotional and psychological factors are the reason many try to come back. Many return to seek closure for the reasons as to why they left and many return to see if they should start anew in their old home. The Chilean people who left or were forced into exile due to the dictatorship of Pinochet come back and find that not only have they changed but their country has too. They carry with them the emotional conflict of remembering a country they once knew very well - eventually coming to view it as a complete outsider many years later. These conflicting feelings are part of a struggle that many return migrants face as they return back to their native homeland.

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BREAKING THE VOW OF SILENCE: REFORMING MSF

BRITTANY COX

"Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is an international, independent, medical humanitarian organisation that delivers emergency aid to people affected by armed conflict, epidemics, natural disasters and exclusion from healthcare. MSF offers assistance to people based on need, irrespective of race, religion, gender or political affiliation… Our actions are guided by medical ethics and the principles of neutrality and impartiality"[1] MSF's policies, specifically the vow of silence, endangers doctors and support staff from providing the quality and type of aid they could provide.

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is a secular, humanitarian aid, non-governmental organization (NGO), that takes pride in helping people in countries that are war torn, developing, and facing endemic diseases.[2] MSF is well known throughout the world, but in America, it is known by another name, Doctors Without Borders (DWB). This NGO is specifically famous for the willingness of its staff to work directly in the line of fire within war zones, and portraying an apathetic demeanor towards countries' borders, entering as if they never existed in the first place. MSF is dedicated to providing medical aid and other forms of relief, such as lab technicians, water and sanitation specialists, mechanics, communication specialists, and construction workers to many different parts of the world. Three things: the Hippocratic Oath, the Geneva Conventions and International Humanitarian Law bind MSF's members and staff while working in the field, establishing morals, ethics and codes by which operations should occur.

The history of how MSF came to be is vital when analyzing what it has become today. In a lot of ways, it had become something that its founders never wanted. In Biafra, 1967-1970, the Nigerian war had resulted in a blockade of the recently independent region. This war was an amalgamation of one of the incipient oil conflicts we descry in history. While Britain, U.S., and the Soviet Union all sided with the Nigerian government against Biafra, France sided with Biafra and sent aid any way they could.[3] The French Red Cross recruited numerous support staff and doctors to help assist those affected by the blockade. Before the thirteen doctors, nurses, and journalists left, the French Red Cross produced an agreement for each doctor to sign ensuring that they remain neutral in any and all circumstances while in the field. During their time spent tending to the victims of the siege, doctors and their patients experienced attacks from the Nigerian Army, witnessed starving children and civilian massacres. The volunteers later mentioned that the French Red Cross seemed to comply with the attackers. This appalled many of the doctors who had signed the agreement, thus beginning the effectuation of what is now MSF.

The doctors wanted an organization that would ignore political/religious boundaries and prioritize the welfare of the

Medecins Sans Frontieres

victims.⁴ In 1971, thirteen doctors and journalists came together and organized a composed NGO with a top down structure that we still recognize within MSF today. Unfortunately, during MSF's early years, there was an internal struggle between founders. Doctor Bernard Kouchner wanted to document and broadcast the suffering within countries and believed that this was the most effective way to solve the problems these countries were facing internally. Opposing ideas came from Doctor Claude Malhuret who was elected president of MSF in 1977. He believed that MSF should avoid criticizing the governments of the countries they were present in and he downplayed the importance of témoignage or "witnessing". Doctor Kouchner truly believed that speaking out was the bona fide course of action, "By keeping silent, we doctors are accomplices in the systematic massacre of a population." When Doctor Malhuret insisted on his approach, Doctor Krouchner left MSF and started his own NGO, Médecins du Monde. Sadly, we see this internal struggle is still the source of much issue within MSF today.

MSF was organized into national offices called sanctions that were at one time spread throughout nineteen different countries, employing roughly three hundred thousand people and also supported eight branch offices. Within every sanction, there is a Board of Directors, each elected by its own members.⁵ At one

point in time, there was substantial debate over having a single global office but was later ruled against because many believed that this would eventually turn MSF into a bureaucracy and subdue opinions in the field.⁶ Currently, MSF's structure is more complex than it once was. We find it broken down and more soundly structured as an NGO. There is an association which is in charge of field based movements and gatherings, both regionally and nationally. There is also an Annual International Assembly that allows for current members and volunteers as well as ex-members and volunteers to congregate and discuss their thoughts, ideals, feelings, and experiences with one another to ultimately come to a consensus on policy or policy reform. The next piece of the structure is the Board of Directors, each section and satellite office must have one to function properly. Board members function similarly as they did in the previous structure by ensuring field operations accountability and also adherence of staff to the MSF charter. Lastly, the assembly is comprised of all MSF staff ranging from the international president to the volunteers who meet to ensure positive progress within the organization. They gather to debate policy proposals and also inquire about previous fieldwork and how to improve upon it.

Within itself, MSF is without government affiliation and the only real tie it shares is to Geneva, Switzerland. In Geneva, MSF

has all but earmarked it as an official home base. Geneva has one international office, an Access to Essential Medicines Campaign Office, and a liaison office. Geneva is also seen as a vital place for MSF because they adhere directly to the Geneva Conventions.[7] To make sure the organization continues to hold onto its title as an NGO, only a limited amount of government donations are accepted because most of that specific money comes with political strings attached. Ninety percent of MSF's revenue comes from individual donors, and ten percent comes from neutral governments such as the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Norway, and Finland) and Switzerland.[8] The benefit of this is that the more individual donor money that comes in, the faster the organization can respond to countries and people in need and the board can place the income where they see fit. The upside to this is that there are no strings attached to political whims of government and political foreign aid budgets to address or formally comply with.

Médecins Sans Frontières at a glance today has become much more publicized, but also misrepresented. The media chooses a side of the story and runs with it, some information being true and some not. In the same light though, MSF has been able to correct misrepresentations of itself, such as in the case of the Bollywood film, "Phantom" (2008).[9] The movie never specifically mentioned MSF but an actor did mention that their character did work for MSF. The character was seen in the trailer holding a gun and taking part in violent erratic behavior. This was enough for the NGO to take legal action against the film industry resulting in the film's ban. MSF went on record saying "the organization in the film 'has aspects that are confusingly similar to MSF, whilst others are entirely incorrect.' The 'blurring of the lines between fact and fiction' could affect MSF's work in places where it relies on people to trust that it is a neutral, impartial, and independent organization."[10] In other instances, the organization's portrayal was more than accurate, yet they still delivered a staunch dissimulation. In 2010, an oil tanker crashed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting in an extensive amount of burn victims. MSF sent teams who specialized in burn treatments to the Congo to assist in the chaos. While there, a group of Israeli burn specialists attempted to work side by side with the MSF staff, but were rebuffed. Members of the Israeli staff found that the MSF acting members were actually exhibiting real feelings of disinclination to work with the Israeli staff.[11] Médecins Sans Frontières later went on record to blame the Israeli workers, saying that they wanted no interaction with Israel or its people because of its "devastating disregard for civilians during the 2009 Gaza war, alleging that Israel conducted 'indiscriminate bombings' during the fighting." MSF stated that "cooperation was difficult due to alleged anti-Israel sentiment from MSF staff," or that it "places politics above the best interests of

our patients."[12] These statements appear to be in direct violation of their mission statement, but we will come to find out that occasionally, this happens on a smaller scale. A first hand account was recorded after a routine abdominal surgery. The surgeon performing the operation preformed an unauthorized tubal ligation on the unconscious patient, sterilizing her. The assisting nurse tried desperately to advocate for the patient but failed.[13] This is a prime example of imposing ethics in a foreign context and almost can be viewed as a form of ethnic cleansing depending on how often this occurs and is not reported.

Medecins Sans Frontieres at work.

MSF is very difficult to portray as a villain because the good always appears to outweigh the bad within the organization. In the early years, it seemed MSF had their hands full with the Nicaraguan earthquake in Managua 1972, Hurricane Fifi in Honduras 1974, and the refugee crisis in Cambodia 1975.[14] In 1979, MSF showed the world first hand that borders truly didn't apply to them. The NGO members climbed onto their donkeys and began their journey through a secret mountain passage in order to bring aid to the Afghan people who were under Soviet occupation.[15] The organization knew they would not be granted access to assist the populous by the Soviets, so they took measures into their own hands and succeeded in their endeavor. Five years after assisting the Afghan people, MSF entered Ethiopia and with this, a new challenge presented itself to the organization. The issue of tèmoignage was put up for discussion again. Other countries were advocating for the people in Ethiopia because they were facing a drought, which led to extreme famine within the country. MSF set up feeding stations and provided medical attention to those who were suffering from serious malnutrition. Songs such as "Do They Know It's Christmas?" raised millions to support people in Ethiopia. The government began moving people out of the affected

areas and away from the North of the country where political issues were taking place such as Eritrea's fight for independence.[17] The government was using the drought as a distraction to reshuffle people forcefully, leaving families displaced and in some cases, worse off than before. MSF saw straight through the smoke screen and in 1985, they publically denounced the government of Ethiopia. In turn, the government expelled them but propitiously, the United States, Great Britain, and other countries began to remit funds to Ethiopia under the condition that they would stop shuffling people around. In this instance, tèmoignage benefited both MSF and the people of Ethiopia. Médecins Sans Frontières has proven since the beginning that they pursue what is best for those in affected areas. This is why on December 10, 1999, they received the Nobel Peace Prize, proving that their dedication to remaining committed to their core principles of volunteerism, independence, neutrality, proximity, and impartiality was finally beginning to pay off.[18] The NGO has gone on to say that they did not view themselves as a peace organization, only being retorted with "The peace Alfred Nobel was thinking of when he established the prize was peace that rooted in people's hearts and minds. By showing each victim a human face, by showing respect for his or her human dignity, the fearlessness, the selfless aid worker creates hope for peace…"[19] Since then, MSF has taken part in numerous humanitarian operations. More recently, an article was published in "The New York Times Magazine" on September 5, 2015 by Scott Anderson entitled 'Desperate Crossing.' Anderson documented what he saw first hand and his colleague, Paolo Pellegrin, documented the encounter with his camera. They portray the story of the Eritrean refugees fleeing their country, ingurgitated inside a fishing boat in the Mediterranean Sea, with little to no food or water. There were at one time three boats loaded with 733 people, but the third was insinuated to have gone astray. There destination, Sicily, and the price they paid smugglers was one thousand five hundred dollars, but some pay for it with their life. Since March, 2,500 people had lost their lives in the journey. Due to the elevated illegal water traffic, MSF put a project in place patrolling the coast of Libya to intercept such vessels.[20] Within six hours of being on the water, a vessel began to sink and migrants began to panic. At 9 AM, a RIB ship from the Bourbon Argos spotted the vessel and alerted MSF immediately. Within ninety minutes, the migrants were evacuated and safe aboard two Argos; eventually the third vessel was found and rescued as well. Refugee crises have been a main target for MSF projects within the past five years, but they also never fail to address basic issues of endemic. Just this year, MSF released their "five endemics to watch" as a new project to spread awareness to countries affected and unaffected; malaria, cholera, meningococcal meningitis, measles, and kala azar.[21] It will

be apart of MSF's main focus to address the areas most affected and bring treatment options to said patients.

With all of the incontestable good MSF staff has done, the world has not always been so inclined to return the favor. On June 2, 2004, five MSF staff members were killed in Afghanistan, driving somewhere between Khairkhana and Qala-i-Naw in the Badghis province.[22] MSF was a consistently present 25 years prior to this attack. This should have been enough time for the citizens to get to know the MSF staff and be fully aware of what the organization was as well as its affiliates. Not only that, but they should have been well aware of the fact that the organization does not choose sides in conflict. "Although Afghan officials presented MSF with credible evidence that local commanders conducted the attack against the three international volunteers and two national staff members, these officials had done little to bring the perpetrators to justice. In addition, after the killings, a Taliban spokesperson claimed responsibility for the murders and later stated that organizations like MSF work for US interests and are therefore targets for future attacks."[23] Another unfortunate incident took place on January 2, 2014, in northern Syria when five MSF members were abducted and held captive for five months by an armed group.[24] They were later released and it was made abundantly clear that the security MSF usually relies on was almost nonexistent making it impossible for them to continue to conduct operations. Most recently, on

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"The peace Alfred Nobel was thinking of when he established the prize was peace that rooted in people's hearts and minds. By showing each victim a human face, by showing respect for his or her human dignity, the fearlessness, the selfless aid worker creates hope for peace…"

October 3, 2015, an airstrike on a hospital in Kunduz, Afghanistan resulted in the death of forty-two people: 24 patients, 14 staff, and 4 caretakers. The hospital was hit several times by coalition forces that reportedly knew the exact coordinates of the hospital months in advance; this information was routinely sent as a precaution to coalition forces. MSF responded to the public saying "This was not just an attack on our hospital- it was an attack on the Geneva Conventions."[25] These instances serve as reminders that MSF is not invincible, that people put their life on the line for the wellbeing of others and those who lost their lives will never be forgotten.

Médecins Sans Frontières has experienced its fair share of problems as an organization. It will continue to face these problems unless something is done about them directly. The security of MSF

and its members is important. They face threats such as bombings, kidnappings, direct line of fire, and armed conflicts. They also deal with misrepresentations of the organization and a public that in some instances has a skewed view of what they truly are. They deal with speculating governments in opposition to their tactics making it difficult to freely operate within a country. MSF also has issues of heightened security for their members in areas making it almost impossible to really connect with the local population.[26] The humanitarian organization has broadened its horizons and is more than just doctors and nurses, making it difficult to accurately manage the manpower without a proper structure for those who do not necessarily fall under the current statutes. There is also the issue of ethics, which is the main problem within the current structure. As of now, the head of mission is law.[27] This means that even in the field, the structure is top down. Whatever orders come from the sanction that deployed the group are law. There is also no ethics training pre-departure, causing serious problems for those first time members. This also causes a problem because the board members assume that the ethics training doctors and nurses receive in their education will suffice in the field. There are two problems with this way of thinking. The first is that there are twenty-four different sanctions - meaning these sanctions are chalked full of doctors who have been trained in different countries and hospital settings, their code of ethics is bound to be different depending on how they were taught. The second problem is that now MSF isn't just doctors and nurses like they were at one time, there are people who have variants of specialties and not all specialties come with ethics courses and this could pose a problem for the mission. The members are given mission criteria and when seeing patients or dealing with the crisis at hand, if the person or action in question does not meet the mission criteria, the member does not have permission to treat that patient or help the situation.[28] There could be a shortage of drugs and if given to someone who isn't as critical as the patient at the end of the line, you've just used them on someone who could have waited. A correlating problem with the drug issue is Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) poses a direct threat on the drug industry that MSF relies so heavily on. Generic drug competition brings down drug prices making medicine more affordable and accessible. MSF uses generic drugs to treat deadly diseases and infection. If TPP passes, it could extend monopoly protection and in turn keep drug prices high for a longer period of time thus keeping generic drugs from entering the market. There is much talk of twenty-year patents on existing drugs even if there is no improvement to the drug itself. Another factor of the TPP would be patents on surgical procedures making operations much more difficult for MSF to perform. Lastly, there is the problem of témoignage. The

témoignage issue has existed for over forty years and is still an issue MSF faces internally today.[29] Members of MSF see atrocities and violations against the Geneva Conventions daily in areas affected yet cannot vocalize against the horrendous acts committed in front of their eyes. This is a serious problem because the fact that the NGO is known for témoignage yet most of the time doesn't invoke it is troubling. The simple fact that they cannot witness and have to take orders from the board of directors undermines the point of the NGO and its charter. It would make more sense if the people in the areas seeing this first hand were able to speak out against the atrocities. What qualifications do board members have besides prior experience? If you look at the requirements for a board member you see that there is no need for education in global studies or international relations. So what makes a board member qualified to make these decisions?

We see that Doctors Without Borders seem to have problems and that now would seem like a good time for policy reform. Starting at the top, MSF should restructure their board and implement requirements. To make each board member more qualified for their position of authority, they should have some basic knowledge or at leased have a minor degree in international relations. This would make each board member qualified because they have an understanding of the country they are helping, thus passing on the knowledge it takes to understand internal issues and making members more sensitive to ethnic differences. Perhaps also requiring members to take global studies courses prior to departure would better prepare members for what they might encounter. Coinciding with this thought perhaps courses in ethics for all MSF members would be beneficial. As previously stated, each country has their own set of ethics. If MSF sanction board members met up to structure said course, the ethics used when caring for people would be similar and without question. Structural issues could also be solved if a variety of specialists were offered permanent positions, some of them being on the board. If this were to happen, multiple team deployments would be possible. Imagine if a member of sanitation was a board member and was able to structure a sanitation team in a manner that would be easily deployed. MSF isn't just doctors anymore and the sooner the board realizes this, the better for structure. Occasionally there is a volunteer found in contravention with guidelines set in place to direct staff, but for the most part, MSF appears to be upholding its standards and operating by its own rules.

There is a famous quote: "Doctors can't stop genocide" This may be true, but from what we can see, MSF isn't just doctors anymore. MSF is a fluid entity, constantly moving, changing and growing. They are spreading their influence to the ends of the earth with positive intentions to help people in their time of need.

If policy reform does happen, it could possibly instill a backbone within the organization. It will be interesting to see what this NGO looks like in a few years. Hopefully there is action taken to succeed in structure reform.

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THE RISE OF RIGHT-WING NATIONALIST GROUPS AND WHAT IT MEANS FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES

LUPE VIZCARRA

For the past decade, far right-wing nationalist groups in Europe have been resurgent succeeding in elections, gaining popularity and support. The far-right parties are aggressive and defensive of their national culture even more so in the face of a rapidly changing world. These parties respond to a notion that they are under attack by mass migration where other cultures and minorities are threaten their national identity. Mass migrations were common in Europe post World War II, impacting the European Unification process to a large degree and adding to Europe's national identity crisis. Right-wing parties have used these mass migrations to fuel their rhetoric and with the Syrian Civil War in motion, these parties have become even more rampant and powerful using the refugee crisis to benefit their political agenda. The whole continent of Europe is shifting to the extreme right, these parties are not only threatening the European Union but they are also spreading dangerous rhetoric and anti-refugee sentiment. Europeans who identify with right-wing political "resist the invasion" of Islam, unwilling to open their doors and denying help to those who are in desperate need, those such as Syrian refugees, who have been raped by government corruption, war, poverty, terrorism and have nowhere to turn to for peace.

The Syrian civil war has caused one of the biggest migration crises in modern history displacing millions and leaving the people with no other option than to flee for refuge in neighboring countries and Europe. In March, 2011 security forces of the Assad regime opened fire on peaceful protesters who were demanding the resignation of Assad after some teenagers were arrested and tortured for revolutionary paintings. The violence between the opposition and those loyal to Assad spiraled the country into a civil war devastating the country and victimizing the people of Syria as both sides tried to take control.[1]

The war, however, is not only between the opposition and those loyal to Assad but also a battle between the Sunni's and Shi'ites. Syria has also given rise to the current terrorist organization known as ISIL. This terrorist organization has caused a global outrage where both regional and major global actors are playing key roles, such as the United States and Russia who have both led air strikes, but with no avail. With no political stability, ISIL has taken control over regions, beheading, torturing, and killing religious minorities or any person who does not oblige to ISIL's rules, and enslaving and selling minority women for sex.[1]

The civil war has led the country into destruction where 70% of the population lives in extreme poverty with no access to basic foods or drinking water. While Syria is suffering from high levels

A Kurdish Syrian woman walks with her child past the ruins of the town of Kobane.

of food insecurity and poverty food is also being used as a weapon of war causing many innocent civilians, including women and children, to starve to death. The country has no infrastructure and more than half of the population is out of work and, according to the BBC, the unemployment rate increased significantly from 14% in 2011 to well over 50% currently. The education system has also been shattered with more than 2 million children out of school as most educational institutions have been destroyed or occupied.[1]

Every day Syrians are critically injured and are at high risk for illness but they do not have access to basic medical care as medical facilities have been attacked and destroyed as a method of war. More than half of the medical facilities in Syria are completely out of service and the ones that are still intact are only partially open for services as most medical personnel are not available. Physicians for Human Rights documented "336 attacks on at least 240 medical facilities resulting in the deaths of 697 medical personnel."[1]

A UN Commission of Inquiry also documented evidence that all parties involved have committed war crimes that include torture, rape, murder, enforced disappearance, as well as the blocking of food, health services, and water to civilians as war methods. Chemical weapons were used in 2013 killing many innocent civilians but the regime denies any responsibility. Rebels constantly attack cities and the regime responds with deadly air power bombing even in highly populated neighborhoods. According to the UN, in 2013 90,000 Syrians were killed as a result, by 2015 that number increased drastically to 250,000 and currently 470,000 in 2016.[2]

Syria's future is uncertain, the country has collapsed, and there is no peace, stability, or security for the people and no sign of the war gearing to a halt, causing many to flee in hopes of finding a safe place to call home until Syria is re-established. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), over 3 million have fled to neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq, while others have taken asylum and refuge in Europe.[3] There are still millions of Syrians seeking refuge, they face many complications on their journey to seek a new home, many are fatal, and children and families die on their journey to reach safe soil or are separated from one another. Many travel by sea in small boats risking their lives in hopes for a better future. According to the BBC "In 2015 more than 3,770 people drowned or went missing crossing the Mediterranean,"[4] trying to reach Greece or Italy.

There are countries in the EU who are accepting to these refugees and welcome them with open arms, ones such as

Germany, who have taken in millions so far. However, the people of Europe are becoming more reluctant even more so with the rise of xenophobic, far-right wing, anti-immigrant parties rising. Europeans are being convinced and persuaded to shut out these refugees who are the very first victims of terrorism, poverty, and repressive regimes. Right-wing parties in Europe are becoming prominent, successful, and influential in politics, ones such as the National Front in France, which expresses xenophobic, anti-immigrant, and unaccepting attitudes towards many seeking a new home.

The National Front (FN) has become the most successful extreme right wing party in France and across Western Europe since the end of the Second World War. It is a party that is traditionally associated with anti-Semitism and racism while it portrays a xenophobic attitude and advocates repatriation of ethnic minorities. The FN holds an anti-EU stance and a strong opposition to immigration, simultaneously blaming immigration for high-unemployment rates, crime, and social unrest. Although the party is undeniably controversial it has gained a considerable amount of respect in its region while positioning itself as a mainstream political force and winning votes at an accelerating pace. The National Front's resentment against immigration and the EU has now widely spread throughout France and the rest of Europe, making extreme right political parties more favorable to the people during times of crisis.

When it began, the FN strongly criticized the political establishment of France and attracted people who were disenchanted with the French government. They rejected almost every aspect of the process of the European Union integration, even more so when it involved a common currency and free movement of people across borders. The FN has become quite successful over the past few decades in "presenting themselves as acceptable alternatives to mainstream parties."[5]

Jean-Marie Le Pen, a right-wing extremist, was the ideological leader and former president of the FN, which was founded in 1972. Len Pen was concerned with immigration and believed that it posed threats to France- particularly the Arab immigrants that came from France's former colonies in Africa. Le Pen also strongly opposed European integration during the 1980s: the FN abstained in the vote on the Single European Act (SEA). Mr. Le Pen also campaigned against the Maastricht Treaty, which was the treaty that created the euro common currency and when the constitution for the European Union was proposed in 2005, Le Pen strongly opposed it.

The process of EU integration, immigration, and the national French identity were Le Pen's primary focus and dominant themes during his leadership. Le Pen used propaganda techniques with uncensored rhetoric that could be described as racist and harsh. In 1979, he had a slogan that stated, "One million unemployed is one million immigrants too many," and blamed immigrants for crimes. Because there were such high unemployment and crime rates in France at this time it was easy to blame immigrants for the scarcity of jobs. He was completely against immigration and portrayed racist and anti-Semitic themes. Later on, Le Pen stated that the holocaust in Germany was mere "a point of detail" in history, minimizing the systematic execution of six million Jews. Nevertheless, Mr. Le Pen's unique style and policies captured significant support during his time, mostly from the working class that suffered from high crime and unemployment.

The party was founded in 1972 but it did not have a significant impact in French electoral politics until the 1980's. The party experienced its first electoral breakthrough in the 1984 European elections under Jean-Marie Le Pen and was finally starting to be noticed on a national and international scale. During this election,

> *"The right-wing party of Greece, Golden Dawn, has been investigated for criminal activities such as armed attacks, murder, money-laundering, and trafficking."*

the party received about ten percent of the vote and ten seats in the Parliament of the European Union. In 1986, they obtained almost ten percent of the votes in French legislative elections, placing members of the party in the French National Assembly. This allowed for the FN and Le Pen, despite the controversial nature of their message, to gain popularity and run for the presidency several times. He did not capture a significant amount of votes until his run for the presidency in 2002 when he won about fifteen percent of the vote, a significant increase of fourteen percent from prior elections; incumbent President Jacques Chirac defeated him.

Marine Le Pen, daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, became president of the FN in 2011. Like her father, Le Pen criticized the European Union and claims France lost sovereignty to the EU and has stated, "Our people demand one type of politics: they want French politics by the French, for the French, with the French. They don't want to be led anymore from outside, to submit to laws." She has also time and again criticized the Schengen Agreement, signed in 1985, that allowed for the abolishment of the EU borders and enabled free movement across the Eurozone. She even advocated for French withdrawal from the Eurozone and one of the main reasons Ms. Le Pen is gaining more votes.[7]

Cecile Alduy, an associate professor of French Literature

and culture at Stanford University states, "Since she took over the National Front in 2011, Marine Le Pen has carried the far right party to first place, winning an unprecedented 25% of the votes in France's latest elections, while she continued to present immigration—particularly from Islamic countries—as a threat to France," this attitude and the FN's success has been strengthened even more so after the Paris attacks in November, 2015 carried out by the terrorist organization ISIL that killed 130 and wounded nearly 300 more Frenchmen. The success of the FN is partly due to voters' fears of immigration and terrorism entering their countries as this crisis unfolds.[8]

When it started the FN was a small movement, but it has morphed into a larger movement across the nation. President Hollande, the socialists, or Gaullists are no longer the popular parties in France. The FN has become a significant threat causing the Socialist Party to withdrew in regional elections to block the FN from gaining more power in 2016. They withdrew from the north, east and southeast France where the FN had significant support securing well over 40% of the votes. The FN is a serious threat but it is not the only threat to the EU and what it means for the Syrian refugees, many other parties across Europe have fallen in the footsteps of the FN, gaining support and positioning themselves as major political forces.[9]

As more refugees flee their country to Europe far-right anti-immigration parties spark the voters' fear of what the influx of refugees and migrants will do to their nation and identity. Right-wing Polish leader and former Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski warned that Muslim refugees "would bring parasites and diseases" while others have compared Islamism to Nazism. Since the migrant crisis, the FN was not the only party to gain votes; the whole continent seems to be drifting towards the extreme-right. There seems to be an incredible sense of pessimism and paranoia among the people in Europe, which feeds the support for these extreme parties.[10]

France was is not the only country that has a far right extreme party. Other countries within the EU that have swung to the right include Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, France, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Greece. Extremist politicians and far right-wing parties have gained major support and influence with the presence of the migrant crisis. Austria's Freedom Party positioned itself as a "protector" of Austria's heritage and borders against the wave of refugees. They have successfully doubled their votes and acquired one-third of the votes in Vienna, one of the most liberal cities in Austria. In Denmark, the anti-immigration and anti-Islam Danish Peoples Party has secured 21% of the votes in the general election winning 37 out of 179 seats in parliament.[11]

Far right politics in Germany have been non-existent for quite some time but with the emergence of migrants and refugees, these nationalist politics are returning with the right-wing party Alternativ Fur Deutschland. With more than 1 million refugees arriving in Germany last year the party has grown tired of the policies and the party leader Fauke Petry even suggested earlier this year, for the use of arms against refugees trying to enter illegally. But the most shocking right-wing party comes from Greece - who receive about 7,000 refugees per day on their shores. The right-wing party of Greece, Golden Dawn, has been investigated for criminal activities such as armed attacks, murder, money-laundering, and trafficking. They are by far one of the most violent parties in Europe and the third strongest political force in Greece. Leaders of the party have been put on trial for running a criminal organization. They play on the fear that Greeks could become the new minority in their own country as a result of an influx of Syrian refugees. As a result, they have been leading in opinion polls.

Nationalist groups have sparked anger in the people causing protests and fomenting violent acts against refugees and asylum seekers across Europe. In Clausnitz, Germany of February 2016, a group of protesters tried to block a bus carrying 20 asylum seekers while chanting, "we are the people" - angry that more refuges were entering and invading Greece.[12] In the same month a hotel in Greece that was supposed to shelter 300 refugees was set on fire in hopes of keeping the refugees away. On April 11th, NPR's Peter

A rally organized by the group Stop Islamisation of Europe and backed by far-right politicians in Slovakia.

Kenyon reported the injury of 300 migrants near the Macedonian border who were shot with rubber bullets and tear gassed by police to prevent them from crossing over. [13] [14]

There is a growing anti-refugee sentiment occurring and many refugee shelters are being attacked, there are many protests, violence, and ethnic tension is palpable. The relationship between

far-right extremism and political violence has become a political and security concern. The continent is facing rising immigration and with parties expressing paranoia, hysteria, and anti-immigration sentiments; they are gaining political power pushing politics to the far right. "In last year's elections to the European Parliament, the EU's legislative body, far-right parties gained enough seats to have their own bloc, which gives them access to EU funding." Funding will boost an influence of anti-immigrant and anti-European union voices in the legislature.[15]

The people of Europe are experiencing economic and cultural insecurity and fear a loss of identity should mass immigration continue. The emergence and success of extreme right political parties in Europe have been a major development in European political culture over the past several decades. These parties, although they do not have enough power in government today, are more threatening than anything else in Europe for they incite violence against minorities and spread xenophobic rhetoric. The people of Europe have a right to be worried, they are angry and they fear for the future and what the influx of immigration will look like but with the presence of these right-wing political actors, their worries are being misdirected causing hateful rhetoric directed at victims looking for refuge until it is safe to go back to their home countries.

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HAVING IT ALL:
AN EXPLORATION OF MATERNITY
AND PARENTHOOD
IN AMERICA

ADALYNN MAKIHELE

INTRODUCTION

Maternity, the period during pregnancy and shortly thereafter, is widely misunderstood and misrepresented in the United States. Our poor social construct of maternity and parenthood in America is aided by unclear parameters surrounding legislation, historically backed gender roles, and a resulting outdated conversation about American families. When compared to other economically developed countries, the U.S. has among the worst maternity policies in place for families; maternity legislation shaped to benefit the family unit is less than concrete in America. Giving developing parent-child relationships higher prioritization and through lawful acknowledgment and respect of these relationships, American society may gain a general awareness and appreciation of parenthood, maternity, postpartum care, and infant development yet to be properly developed and fostered. Furthermore, through acknowledging the political realities and social implications American parents face, there will be an understanding of the direction in which legislation must shift. From there, a more concrete political stance protecting the rights and health of families will be more easily achievable so the choices and biological tendencies of men and women can ease from the negative and shift to a more positive, axiomatic light.

MATERNITY RELATED LEGISLATION IN AMERICA

There are a few broad federally mandated laws concerning the rights and welfare of infants and expectant mothers created to address American maternity in the work place. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, inclusive of all fifty states and four recognized U.S. territories, all are federally protected by three main discrimination related laws. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, established in 1964, outlaws discrimination based on gender, race, and origin, among other aspects of human demographics not specifically outlining but inclusive of maternity. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 ensures that pregnant women are to be given the same rights and opportunities as any other employee for the duration of pregnancy and after childbirth (including consideration for hire) providing equal treatment and benefits for medically necessary maternity leave as employee disability leave, and ensuring that pregnancy related conditions are covered through employee health insurance as any other case requiring medical leave, such as disability. Lastly, The Nursing Mothers Break Time Provision of The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 protects women's rights to express breast milk through

designated break times for up to one year after the birth of the child.[1] However, due to federal inability to address all of the many different circumstances concerning maternity, the responsibility for determining circumstance specific policies lies directly with the companies under which parents and expectant mothers are employed. Because of this, not all states in America are unanimous in practicing laws adequately protecting women during pregnancy and during the post-partum period.

While these federal laws might attempt to protect mothers in the workplace and ensure rightful care of infants, these laws are subject to change as individual states see fit. For example, there are many aspects of discrimination and obstacles in the workplace for expecting or post-partum women which directly contradict the three laws established on a federal level. On the state level, for example, five states haven't established laws protecting against pregnancy discrimination in the workplace, eight states and two territories don't require the implementation of policies pertaining to pregnancy accommodation in the workplace, and only 27 states and one territory includes laws protecting breastfeeding rights in the workplace.[2] Clearly, state level laws and federal laws do not align, failing to protect maternal rights in the work place while simultaneously adding to the political frustration concerning this demographic.

Although each state may have its own set of state-wide policies concerning maternity under the blanket federal laws, however limited, policies vary even further from company to company. For example, all three laws are void or conditional under certain circumstances, such as number of employees within the company or pay scale of the employee in question, and although paid leave is not a federal requirement, many companies do offer their employees various degrees of reduced-pay leave.[3] Ultimately, maternity leave policies are subject to change based on the company providing the services, resulting in any combination or degree of policy implementation – but the bottom line is that mandatory regulations are minimal and vague. This can mean that a woman or a family may be as prepared as possible - in terms of seeking information and ensuring that they are well versed in the maternity policies of their company - but company status and financial need will ultimately be a deciding factor in a family's handling of such a delicate circumstance. A loose foundation of federal protection for expectant and new mother's basic rights is hardly enough. Since policies differ from company to company, mothers are often forced to work long before they are ready, further disrupting an already fragile relationship.

Internationally, the situation concerning maternity policies is handled very differently. The US is the only country with an advanced economy to have unpaid maternity leave, whereas most countries with advanced economies provide an average of 15 to 20 weeks paid maternity leave. World War II had a hand in determining the maternity policies of countries throughout Europe, facilitating family growth in order to ensure a continued population. In promoting a working environment and attitude which facilitated women's return to the work force after childbirth, European developed countries were able to ensure that the war time economy was supported.[4] Through offering paid maternity leave and family friendly work policies, women and mothers were able to return to work knowing that they had all the financial security and leave time available to take care of their families while continuing employment. This strategy encouraged growth and support for a wartime economy, and the legislative effects in these countries are still felt today, as maternity policies are sensitive towards and accommodating for families. American women, on the other hand, were merely viewed as temporary replacements for the men within the work force, and were expected to return to the home after men returned from war. For this reason, American legislation never had the need to accommodate for women and mothers the way other countries did during WWII, including not requiring paid leave.[5]

According to a study performed in Berkley, California, contributing to the identification of the root cause of political and social shortcomings regarding American maternity, a significant problem expectant mothers face in the wake of weak federal regulation is unpreparedness during the maternity period; "Given the lack of a universal maternity leave entitlement and wide variability of state and employer provisions, many American mothers lack information and support to make maternity leave decisions. Maternity leave requires weighing potential advantages and disadvantages of leave-taking and choosing between alternative courses of action for which there is no right or wrong answer. As a result, decision-making may pose a dilemma or conflict. [17] Inadequate knowledge, unrealistic expectations about leave, unclear values, social pressure, inexperience with negotiating in the workplace, and lack of financial and childcare resources may also contribute to decisional conflict. [18]"[6] Although this particular quote highlights limited information or access to resources, it details but a small look at the plethora of obstacles that stem from such vast policy variation and lack of federal specificity plaguing expectant mothers across America. With so few federally mandated options available coupled with a poor understanding of those options, American women are often faced with choosing between their economic standing and their own well-being or that of their children. The fact that the leave may be unpaid or based off of partial pay proves problematic in allowing women to stay home to foster healthy relationships and

Maternity.

boundaries necessary for children to properly develop, as they might be dependent on the income to the point where they cannot afford leave for the duration of the time offered.

An example of legislative obstacles may present itself with mothers who breastfeed. As previously mentioned, the Nursing Mothers Break Time Provision in the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act requires employers to allow their nursing employees break times throughout the day in a clean, safe, and private area in order to pump breast milk for up to a year after the baby is born.[7] However, since every woman and child is different, it is impossible to predict and create a set number of breaks or a set time frame for each break. Factors such as milk production of the woman, time it takes to set up pumping equipment, age of the nursing infant, and so on make it difficult for one particular policy to be federally mandated.[8] For this reason, the legislation has been left purposefully vague and indeterminate in order for individual companies to create their own policies. Unfortunately, the result is endless combinations of policies determined by each company, varying from one employer to the next. In allowing the creation of situational and circumstantial policies, tension can build up between co-workers and facilitate frustration within the work environment.

Along the same vein, maternity policies as they currently stand may generate an unsuitable environment for mothers who aim to nurse. Work schedules and policies of nursing women must accommodate for the mother to remain with her child long enough to encourage and maintain adequate milk production. If this is not possible, a nursing woman may find her milk supply diminishing. For example, studies have shown that nursing mothers who stay home with their infants for 16 weeks or longer have fewer difficulties maintaining milk supply than women who went back to work right away. Maintaining an established production of milk is important for mothers who choose to nurse their children, as the benefits of nursing follow a child long past infancy, contributing to lower cholesterol levels, less coronary artery disease, fewer digestive issues, and a lower likelihood of developing diabetes, certain cancers, and obesity as adults.[9] A mother who struggles to nurse her child or does not have the luxury of staying home long enough to establish proper milk production due to maternity wage policies, leave restriction, or accommodating pump breaks will suffer, along with the child. These factors and stressors could inevitably inhibit a working mothers' full ability both in the work place and in the home.

The problems and obstacles discussed so far, while common and a reality for many, are but a broad scope of American maternity policies and their effects. Despite the general overview

of poorly regulated maternity policies in America, there are institutions that provide conditions better suited to nurturing the delicate processes associated with maternity. The military, for example, has practiced policies concerning maternity leave that have been minimal in terms of fostering proper post-natal and infant development, but the policies in question have been economically secure for the families in question. All four branches, until recently, limited maternity leave to a minimal six weeks. Fortunately however, and a distinct difference from many companies throughout America given the fact that paid leave is

> *"Given the lack of a universal maternity leave entitlement and wide variability of state and employer provisions, many American mothers lack information and support to make maternity leave decisions. "*

not federally mandatory, the formerly universal six week maternity leave within all branches of the military offered fully paid leave to women in in active duty service. Furthermore, as of July 2015, maternity leave in the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps has been extended to 18 weeks leave with full pay throughout the duration of maternity leave.[10] The length of available leave combined with full pay throughout the duration of leave is uncommon within the U.S., and the stress relief and health benefits for mothers and families brought about by extended periods of financially secure leave available undoubtedly come into play with policy changes such as this.

In addition to paid maternity leave with full benefits for active duty servicewomen, all branches of the military offer active duty service men who have recently had a baby ten days of paid leave in order to be home with their new baby and/or their significant other. The practice, Permissive Temporary Assignment of Duty (PTAD), promotes bonding and involvement for fathers, although the time is brief.[11] The significance of PTAD in the military is that this leave is offered separately from military maternity leave – that is to say if the mother and the father both worked in the same branch of the military, both parents would receive their own leave. Outside of the military, it is possible that if a mother and father both work within the same company, maternity leave can be shared amongst the two parents.[12]

MOTHERS IN AMERICA

We must now address the women whose viewpoints, ideals, and realities of many mothers and women in America about whom

this article aims to give a better understanding of. Throughout American history, women in the work force have been a hot topic, beginning with traditional gender based societal roles, from women workers during the world wars, to today's equal opportunity campaigns. Upon the creation of this country, women's rightful place was in the home raising the children – the ultimate work, creating and shaping the country's future patriots. As the country developed and education became more accessible, women had access to greater opportunities than ever before. Women came together to create a foundation for equal opportunity and treatment in American society, politics, and the work force. During both world wars, women were desperately needed to enter the work force to continue and increase production in factories and war specific occupations. They were only meant to temporarily replace the men fighting, holding their spots until their return when women were expected to return to their homes to continue their domestic duties.[13] This aim did not exactly pan out, as women found strength, purpose, and a need to remain in the work force for countless reasons. Women today benefit from the efforts of previous generations, whose dedication to equality and desire for the female voice to be herd, understood, and deemed as valid or valuable as any man. That is not to say that all work is done however, as women still struggle to carve out a place in a modern patriarchal society.

Mothers today still struggle with a patriarchal dominated society, vague and inconsistent gender specific legislation, and societal discrimination fed by the political implications of those obstacles. This age old struggle has yet to be settled, and both men and women continue to work towards creating conditions in which progress can be achieved. For many women, this means changing the conversation about women and maternity in the workplace and at home. One of the issues surrounding American maternity is certainly insufficient distinction within the so called "feminist agenda." In generalizing advocacy for maternity rights under the blanket of the feminist cause, mothers and infants are lost amongst the uproar that is the modern feminist stereotype. Amrita Basu, author of *The Challenge of Local Feminism*, acknowledges this pattern. She writes that one of the three main issues facing women's movements is that the movements "[assume] a sameness in the [form] of women's oppression and women's movements cross-nationally."[14] While addressing the topic on a global scale, America certainly suffers from the "sameness" which burdens women's movements, inclusive of maternity in America. Insufficient cultural distinction, awareness, and support of American motherhood feeds the growing unrest in regards to stereotypical American Feminism, where the fight for mothers and their newborn infants becomes absorbed into the feminist cause due to the fact that

women's issues are largely observed and acknowledged as having one goal. While it is true that women in America work towards common goals and outcomes they are by no means working from a singular vantage point, and the idea that American Feminism is singular does a disservice to women across America. In fact, the struggles of women in America are broad and multifaceted, and it would be most unfortunate if American maternity rights were to be overlooked due to the widespread stigma brought about by the negative view of a generalized feminist agenda.

It is a common societal thought that women can't "have it all." As a woman, if you pursue a career it is socially implied that you cannot simultaneously be a great mother, and if you aim to be a great mother you cannot pursue a career – as if time and effort spent towards furthering a career was taken directly from a woman's ability to parent her children, and that to be a great mother means a woman must give up any personal ambition to care for her children. Although this social construct has been challenged, never more than today, it is still a paradigm under which women in America are operating. Men within today's society are often praised and idealized for participating in parenting roles that are expected from women, and that is in itself a backwards way of thinking.[15] Men who refuse to choose between family and careers are heroes in society's eyes, and the same cannot be said for women. The praise and glorification of men who choose to juggle parenthood and a career creates a devastating double standard for women, who are socially pressured to choose one or the other. Women are often overlooked or even criticized for juggling a career, further contributing to oppressive attitudes and unequal treatment of women.

Thinking of this sort damages American ideals and concepts of equality and opportunity. Such a longstanding and unchallenged ideal of male dominance and superiority deteriorates the very image which America puts forth. Can this truly be the land of opportunity and equality when those pursuits are so clearly obstructed for so many? Gender inequality does not merely affect women in occupational environments, but on every level. As society promotes ideals of male dominance, inadvertently or outright, it affects women in the home and women's roles as employees, wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters. They learn to live with the realities of inequality at a young age, being conditioned to act accordingly to unwritten societal rules which are designed to place women under the thumbs of men. It is clear, from the movies Americans watch to the amount of money Americans are paid for their jobs, that men have the upper hand. While progress is being made in these very areas, we still have a long way to go before things are truly inclusive and equal.

FINISHING THE CONVERSATION

Although this is undoubtedly a piece written to shed light on the political realities and consequent social implications for women and mothers, they account for only one part of the equation. One cannot have a conversation about feminist issues without discussing the men – the fathers – whose involvement is crucial to understanding everything women are working tirelessly to achieve. As it stands, the male voice is an issue that is often controversial in feminist matters. Considering the aim of the feminist movement is, arguably, gender inclusivity, women's matters cannot be understood from only one vantage point. In changing the conversation about men, not just women, social equality can be better achieved. Most of this article focuses on mothers, but as America progresses and evolves with each generation, we know that there are many other circumstances from family to family and the needs of single fathers or homosexual couples cannot be overlooked. The very legislation failures and societal exclusion suffered by mothers often affect those individuals who do not fit in the traditional American stereotype or standard. In including all areas of American parenthood, the goals of this particular branch of the feminist movement will be addressed.

A problem both men and women face is gender domination, and the understanding that men are useful primarily for providing for the family and women primarily for homemaking. While this view has changed significantly within the last few decades, it is still a societal undercurrent which stereotypes both genders. The fact that men are viewed in society as the most important, most legitimate, or most powerful puts women and mothers at a severe disadvantage in the workplace, and diminishes the importance of male involvement within the family dynamic. If the social conversation is to truly move towards equality, inclusion, and understanding of all voices, society must discontinue viewing men as occupationally and financially more capable while handicapped in the home. When men are understood to be as capable and *vital* in the home as women are, and in challenging the social norms which have come to solidify in terms of women being the only ones who could successfully rear children and run a household, society may look at women with the same dually useful view. In establishing a more accepted active presence in the home and proving to be efficient and needed outside of the workplace, men will break the establishment of genders having singular strengths and purposes.

Lack of legislation concerning paternity leave reflects these social constructs, despite the benefits of male presence in the home and the growing abundance of homes without a woman's presence. From 1960 to 2011, the number of single father

households grew from 300,000 to 2.6 million, more than the quadrupled rate of single mother households during the same period.[16] Extended and accessible paternity leave and paternity related legislation in America has not been thoroughly developed, and families suffer for it. Fathers who are allowed paternity leave are studied to engage more with their children beyond infancy, while improving cognitive development for their children as well.[17] Unfortunately, however, negative social constructs do affect fathers as well as mothers. Men suffer from societal stereotypes in that they are deemed weak if they express desire to participate in roles historically viewed as womanly, like parenting and child rearing.[18] This idea directly contradicts the idea that men are hailed as heroes when they decide to conquer families and careers, serving to demonstrate the twisted nature of American gender roles. Men can have a career and a family, but he must not be *too* invested in the womanly business of child-rearing lest he be viewed as a lesser man. To combat these issues, fathers are just as in need of legislation which will assist in the dissolution of harmful social views regarding gender roles, protect father's parental rights, and encourage father-infant bonding. By giving access to better structured paternity leave and encouraging fathers to take advantage of paternity leave, men in the home affect gender equality through challenging outdated social norms, therefore boosting the effectiveness of men and women both inside the home and the workplace.

CONCLUSION

Men and women alike struggle with the concept of parenting in America. In order to change the social conversation about gender roles within the home and the workplace, men and women must be united in attempts to push the boundaries of social norms. Widening the traditional scope of occupational and domestic gender roles opens a new platform for both men and women to function more efficiently and equally. In order for American ideals of opportunity and equality to ring true, all variations of American life must be included and those voices heard. In addition to and in support of altering the social outlook, maternity and paternity legislation must be strengthened as well. As it stands, American legislation in this area generally attempts to lay a foundation minimally protecting the rights and responsibilities of parents. Although the focus of much of American parental legislation focuses on mothers, protection is vague and weak and does not consider the needs of individual situations or those who do not fit in assigned societal roles. To maximize the protection of parental rights, including mothers *and* fathers *and* all applicable circumstances, legislation must specifically reflect the ideals and

attitudes which will foster equality as discussed above. It is time America took action to better prepare parents and create a strong social and legislative infrastructure in which parents and children might thrive together.

ENDNOTES

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15. Anne-Marie Slaughter, Unfinished Business (New York: 2015), 181.

16. Lisa Belkin, "Single Fathers: Pew Research Reports Number of Single Dads Has Jumped In U.S.," updated July 2, 2013, accessed March 1, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/02/single-fathers-pew-research_n_3535586.html.

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THE NEW TRADE DEAL

LEO ALCAZAR

Throughout the world numerous trade agreements exist between different countries. These agreements help bolster economic growth for the countries involved within a particular deal and it also helps to deepen relationships with other nations. One does not need to look further than the United States to locate a trade deal. In 1993, President Bill Clinton won the support of Congress to put NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement, into effect.[1] This eliminated tariffs between the US, Mexico, and Canada with the intent to increase trade between the three countries as well as to help their economies grow in other ways such as with the creation of new jobs. Similar agreements have been drafted in other parts of the world like Europe where an incredible number of trade agreements are in play and because of that they account for more than 30% of the global gross domestic product (GDP), within 28 countries alone.[2] However, in the near future a new trade agreement that is in the process of being approved by some countries could completely overshadow the European Union and all of its trade agreements. The name of this new trade deal is known as the Transpacific Partnership.

The Transpacific Partnership (TPP) is being considered by 12 countries around the Pacific coasts. The countries involved are Japan, Malaysia, Brunei, Vietnam, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Peru, Mexico, the U.S., and Canada. If the following countries agree to this deal they will account for over 40% of the global GDP alone.[3] Like other trade agreements, the TPP plans to promote economic growth with member nations but it also hopes to attract new member when accepted. Unfortunately, this trade deal is also met with criticism as to what it will actually achieve, particularly in the U.S. This paper will outline the advantages of having this trade agreement ratified as well as the criticisms that opposition to the plan are stating will occur with respect to the U.S. Through reviewing the information in this paper, the hope is that the reader will be informed about the reality of what the TPP can actually accomplish.

As mentioned earlier, the TPP agreement is being discussed between 12 Pacific nations. These nations are hoping that through mutual agreement a deal can be worked out that will increase the amount of trade that occurs between them. The plan itself is calling for the reduction of some tariffs between nations, while some tariffs are being removed permanently. The tariffs being removed or reduced move through different sectors of trade within the U.S. so not just one specific market will benefit from this trade deal. Another area that the TPP is dealing with is regulation between countries to raise and lower barriers for trading. A country may wish to raise barriers to protect itself from a competitive global market and it may lower barriers to increase trade with foreign nations. The TPP also addresses concerns over intellectual property - consisting of many legally owned ideas or inventions such as patents and trademarks. Through the passing of this deal greater protections would be given to intellectual property, also the deal makes it easier to register a person's new idea and check to see if any similar products or services exist. One of the most appealing aspects of the deal includes economic growth because not only does it promote big businesses but also small businesses as well.

The TPP stands to be a great boon to many if not all aspects of trade.

The reduction and elimination of tariffs mostly applies to other countries and not very much within the U.S. The U.S. actually has almost no tariffs; this helps foster the growth of imports from foreign nations and, through increased trade with foreign countries, more profit can be generated nationally.[4] The benefit of having reduced or no tariffs will be experienced greatly by the U.S. because other countries have high tariffs which make it more difficult to conduct business with and since the U.S. only has a small amount of tariffs it stands to reason that it will benefit greatly from just this aspect of the deal. This is not to say that other member nations will not benefit from reduced tariffs into the U.S.

"The rules on intellectual property also call for owners to find a balance as to who can use their item or idea, when they can use it, and for what purposes they are using it for."

A good example of this would be sugar. To protect the nation from foreign lower priced sugar, the U.S. has a tariff on all imported sugar; in this way it encourages companies to buy sugar produced by the U.S. as opposed to a foreign nation because they would be avoiding a tax that would make the cheaper foreign sugar actually cost more than home grown sugar.[5] In regards to a tariff reduction or removal, the U.S. has much to gain from this part of the deal alone.

An area where the U.S. can gain a strong foothold is in the trade regulations area. The U.S. has many regulations in effect that reduce the amount of business it can conduct. The U.S. has added around 150 major regulations within the last 7 years alone, making it much more difficult to acquire business from foreign nations.[6] Other countries make it just as difficult to conduct business with, if not more than, the U.S. but other partners to the deal have it better. New Zealand ranked high in the top places to conduct business with according to Forbes.[7] This can viewed as helpful when negotiating the regulation area of the TPP. Under the technical barriers to trade area of the TPP, the deal calls for a common regulation policy that will be adhered to by all member nations. The member nations make their regulations known to each other, they then work together to ensure that regulations do not make it more difficult to trade with each other. In doing so, the barriers to trade are lowered in countries with high regulation, such as the U.S. and Japan, thus also helping to spark more business deals with one another. With more trade between countries, greater rights to

protect an individual or a company's property are required.

When someone has created a new product they wish to put into a certain market area the first thing they do is make sure they have a patent on their creation. A patent gives the creator full rights to their product or idea and only they can distribute that product.[9] Patents and similar items fall into the category of Intellectual Property. In the TPP, the deal outlines increased effort to protect the rights of owners of intellectual property. Some items protected by the TPP are common sources of copyright violations such as music, books, and many others.[10] The rules on intellectual property also call for owners to find a balance as to who can use their item or idea, when they can use it, and for what purposes they are using it for.[11] As for the copyright protections, the deal establishes a way for legal action to be taken against those who leak information about a company's invention to a competitor.[12] For all countries involved this is a major component of the deal and could ultimately lead to a decrease in copyright laws being violated.

In Japan, Japanese comics known as manga are made and sold by corporations who license the works of a Mangaka, a Japanese comic author. These works are eventually sold to the U.S. and get an official English translation, but in the middle of this process people illegally upload mangas onto websites - a copyright violation. The extent of the violation does not end there because in many parts of the world, including the U.S., doujinshi, fan made mangas, are made featuring characters from licensed works and clearly violate the rules of both Japan and the TPP. However, Japan has chosen not to take action on the fan made manga because it increases the popularity of the works being portrayed and leads to higher profits.[13] Another violation that has links in Japan and the U.S. is a hobby known as cosplay or costume playing. People who are interested in comics usually attend conventions where people dress up as their favorite characters and meet people with similar hobbies and that in and of itself is not illegal, but what is illegal is how they got their costume. Normally, companies sell premade costumes because they have purchased the right to make them by the owner, however, people can still make their own outfits for fun and it would still be legal. The trouble comes in when people sell unofficial costumes to the public for a profit.

As mentioned before, only the owner of the product or idea may distribute the product and if someone makes a knock off version with the same name and tries to sell it for a profit then that is a copyright violation and under the TPP, the creator will be protected and have the right to remove the imitation products from the market.[14] Now the question is why are these examples relevant to the TPP? The answer is simple: to show how easy and common it is for copyright violations to occur around the world. Peoples' creations are being distributed by unauthorized businesses for
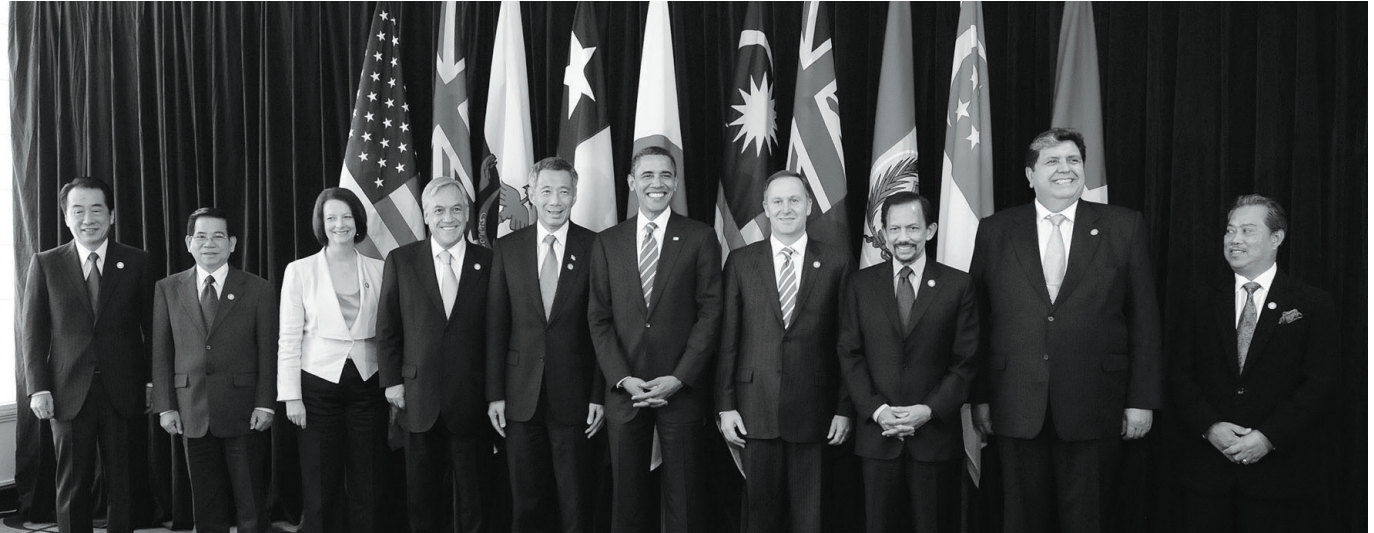
Leaders of TPP member states.

profit and the owner is not getting the money they are owed. The TPP would be the answer intellectual property owners are looking for, for the reasons mentioned above. It strikes a good balance between legal creation and/or a copyright violation; this way both parties end up winning. The TPP does not take away the hobby people have been participating in for decades and the owners stand to gain more from better protection for their works. This paves the way for a more companies potentially getting more business. The final point for advocating the TPP would be the effect it would have on the economy, small and medium businesses in particular. Advocates promoting the deal are stating that through entering into this trade agreement businesses will begin to grow and each country's economy will flourish. Through close inspection of the countries participating in this deal, one can tell that they would account for much of the global GDP, in fact all the countries combined actually account for roughly 40% of the global GDP. That is a staggering amount within just a dozen countries alone. Big businesses get a big share of the global market and have the potential to grow because of reduced trade barriers within the member nations, but the TPP wants small businesses to get a share of the market as well. Small businesses are the backbone of the U.S. economy and because of them, more and more jobs are created, without them unemployment would soar to high levels and the wealth gap would increase significantly.[15] Many small businesses fail and it is usually within the first five years of operation that they go out of business; but for the ones that are competitive and establish a spot in the marketplace, the rewards outmatch the struggles of starting up.

In 2012, 97% of goods that were exported from the U.S. to another country were from small businesses - meaning that

the majority of what the U.S. produces and sends to the global marketplace is done by small businesses.[16] This further necessitates the need for small businesses to share in the profits that big businesses enjoy. Throughout the TPP, the rules and chapters about Intellectual Property, trade barriers and other regulations, and tariff reduction all act as pieces to benefit anyone who would like to expand in the marketplace. The companies enjoy greater access to new and old markets, to compete in markets that were discouraged by tariffs, and their unique product is protected by stronger trademark laws. The TPP, on top of all this, included a section for small and medium businesses to make sure they have a chance to prosper the most in this deal. The TPP will be making a website where small businesses can enter and find information on the deal and how they are able to use the deal to their advantage over bigger competitors.[17] In this way small businesses get to thrive in the newly opened markets just like their big business counterparts.

The advantages of the TPP illustrate a clear picture of what it could do for the U.S. and its citizens, but now it is time to tackle the arguments against the deal. Recent trade deals have made the U.S. populace uneasy about entering into new ones, especially one of this caliber. One trade deal in particular is being used as a precedent for why the TPP is a bad idea and the name of this deal was NAFTA. NAFTA was supposed to eliminate trade barriers between Mexico, the U.S., and Canada, as well as create hundreds of thousands of new jobs for the U.S. alone. The problem that occurred with NAFTA was that the exact opposite of job creation took place, in fact the U.S. lost around a million jobs and our trade deficit grew by 180 billion.[18] NAFTA is also credited with helping powerful companies keep a strong control over their foreign investments some even challenging the foreign governments

regulation policies for being a threat to potential profits. It remains to be seen however if these arguments will be valid in a partnership with 11 other nations as opposed to the two others in NAFTA.

The problem with this argument against the TPP is that although people report a one million job loss in the U.S., it is difficult to determine if that is truly applicable to NAFTA alone. Since the approval of NAFTA, 24 million jobs have actually been created within the U.S. so technically the deal has done what it promised.[19] The part that makes people skeptical about the job growth aspect of NAFTA is that there was indeed job loss that occurred simultaneously with the creation of new jobs. Many manufacturing jobs were lost to Mexico, but many of these jobs were replaced with jobs that required more education.[20] In fact, Mexican farmers were hit hard by NAFTA and many people left their farms and immigrated to the U.S. because they could not compete with U.S. products that were imported for cheaper prices since it became tariff free.[21] NAFTA is seen in a negative light in the U.S. but the data shows that it was neither a disaster nor a boon, because in some aspects the U.S. lost, but in others it gained so people could argue that its effects as a deal were negligible.

Another issue opponents of the TPP bring up is the elimination of purchasing domestic products as opposed to foreign products.[22] In 1933, Congress passed the Buy American Act which said that the American government would choose domestically made products over foreign products. This is where the slogan "Buy American" originates from. At the time of the law's inception, the U.S. was experiencing the Great Depression and President Hoover was creating programs to revitalize the economy; this was one of the most effective programs created during his presidency. The Buy American Act is still in effect today and has since continued to evolve and add more protections for domestic companies, but people fear that this will end with the TPP. Opponents to the TPP argue that with lowered regulations on trade, the U.S. will remove the Buy American Act and all of its protections from global competitors.[23] In other words, the U.S. could find cheaper products within the 12 member nations and acquire it there as opposed to investing in its own businesses. Now the real question is whether bringing up the Buy American Act is a valid argument against the TPP or not.

As mentioned previously, the Buy American Act puts priority on domestic products as opposed to foreign products but there some exceptions exist. One exception to this law is if when looking for a product, the government determines that the domestic products available are more expensive than similar products in other nations.[24] In other words, if U.S. companies offer products at an unreasonable rate, the U.S. can bypass this law and choose from foreign markets. This exception alone makes the argument

invalid because the U.S. has already had the benefit of choosing from a global market since this law's inception. For government contracts, the government chooses the lowest bid offered by multiple companies and then solidifies the deal. Similarly in the marketplace, the lowest price offered tends to be the deal that gets taken up by consumers, so the argument that the TPP will hurt domestic companies could not be any further from the truth. With increased access to new markets and reduced regulations, U.S. companies have the potential to increase their profits in countries where their products are the cheapest alternative. It is possible however that some jobs may be lost; it is inevitable in a brand new global market where people hope to maximize profit and minimize cost, but new jobs will surely rise to get a share of a flourishing market.

The next argument against the TPP is that big companies with a huge share in the global market will attack foreign governments for their regulatory practices. This argument states that the TPP makes it legal for companies to battle a country's government if they expect to lose profit because of new regulations that become law.[25] The TPP allows for tribunals where a company may challenge the regulatory practices by a government. These tribunals are known as Investor-State Dispute Settlement.[26] Opponents of the TPP argue that through these tribunals that can directly challenge a government and its laws, companies can get away with preventing laws that would minimize their bottom line in some way and then receive compensation in several different ways. This argument actually ties in with the previous argument of NAFTA. NAFTA actually created similar tribunals and are also a reason why people were displeased with that deal.[27] Now the question that needs to be answered is will foreign companies sue governments to make more profit?

NAFTA had similar tribunals that were used for the very same purposes. There were a few cases in the U.S. alone, where foreign investors tried to tackle regulatory laws that were not beneficial to them but no case ever won a claim.[28] Canada and Mexico were not so fortunate. Both countries have lost about five cases each and together the claims have cost their countries a combined total of over $350 million.[29] What makes matters worse is that the citizens are the ones who end up paying for these claims because the monetary compensation these foreign companies receive is taxpayer money. The opponents of the TPP are saying that these tribunals will continue and end up paying out compensations to the companies who only want to make more money through any means possible. U.S. officials denounce the claims that such a thing will occur because they have been in over 30 trade deals and none have ever brought up a valid case.[30] This however does not eliminate the possibility of it actually occurring because many

strong foreign companies exist within the member nations of the TPP and one might have the potential to win a claim in the U.S. prove this argument to be valid.

Another argument against the TPP is that the deal is too secretive and it might have some hidden components to it. The public has become wary of the TPP because of the little amount of information they are receiving. Information about the chapters of the negotiations has recently been officially released, but that came after Wiki Leaks founder Julian Assange leaked documents about the deal onto his website thus tarnishing the deal.[31] The point Assange disagreed with was the tribunals that were previously mentioned. After this, numerous websites started studying the information that was released and reached a similar conclusion and call for the termination of the TPP.[32] Although they understand that the public is disappointed with the secretive negotiations the United States Trade Representative has defended the current actions by the negotiating parties stating that through keeping quiet on the deal they keep a sense of mutual trust between them which allows them to reach the best possible terms for the TPP. These secret negotiations have been going on for nearly six years and while it is true that this deal has the potential to hurt countries for reasons regarding solely profit that is just one interpretation of the information that has been released, the exact opposite of what the public fears will come from this deal may very well occur.

One final area of controversy involves drug patents. As mentioned previously, patents give the owner exclusive rights to distribute their product in whichever way they see fit, this includes new prescription drug medications. Big pharmaceutical companies establish a patent on new medications for 20 years and after 12 years have expired, other companies may create generic versions of their medications that would cost customers less than the original product.[33] The controversial aspect of a drug patent is how long data pertaining to the patent should be protected. Nations within the TPP tend to have shorter data protection lengths than the U.S. some even only protect the data for five years.[34] The TPP negotiations call for uniform laws within the participating countries, meaning member nations must decide on how long drug patent data protection will last and once it is set, it must be followed by those nations. Pharmaceutical companies currently use the patent window to gather funds and allocate it to further research of a medication and at the same time pharmaceutical companies that create generic versions of the drug use that time to gather the materials to make that drug, because the materials required to make certain drugs take years to create.[35] Both the public and the nations involved with the TPP are criticizing the length of these protections laws and some nations say they will not agree with protections on data that last over a decade. The U.S.

stands to gain a lot from lengthy data protection lives because it generates $800 billion dollars in revenue for the U.S. economy.[36]

In conclusion, some of the advantages and disadvantages of the TPP have been mentioned in this paper. The advantages could provide a boost to the U.S. economy by providing benefits to all kinds of businesses, with small businesses earning more advantages than the rest. The disadvantages of the TPP are potential outcomes that are being based on previous trade deals, so many of the criticisms do not have sound backing and can be easily discredited. Some of the disadvantages do have the potential to become reality, but how the U.S. will deal with the problems as they arise will be seen as they occur. The possibility for the good, as well as the harm, this deal can bring is enormous but such is the nature of one of the biggest trade agreements in modern history.

As of October 5, 2015 the Member nations of the TPP have all come to an agreement on the entirety of the terms for this deal. Currently, the nations involved are getting ready to vote on the deal within the early portion of 2016. President Obama must now garner the support of Congress to pass the TPP. The Pivot to Asia could be what President Obama is most well-known for after he leaves the presidency. Whether it will be regarded with tension as is NAFTA today or as a success will be seen in the decades that follow.

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