Occam's Razor Vol. 8 - Full (2018)

Follow this and additional works at: https://cedar.wwu.edu/orwwu

Part of the Comparative Politics Commons, Family, Life Course, and Society Commons, Journalism Studies Commons, Philosophy Commons, Politics and Social Change Commons, Race and Ethnicity Commons, and the Social Control, Law, Crime, and Deviance Commons

Recommended Citation
Available at: https://cedar.wwu.edu/orwwu/vol8/iss1/1

This Complete Volume is brought to you for free and open access by the Western Student Publications at Western CEDAR. It has been accepted for inclusion in Occam's Razor by an authorized editor of Western CEDAR. For more information, please contact westerncedar@wwu.edu.
02 LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

04 AGAINST THE PSYCHOANALYTIC UNCONSCIOUS: DELEUZE, GUATTARI, AND DESIRE AS A HEURISTIC FOR SELF-REGULATING BIOPOLITICS
Chris Coles

11 #METOO: A STUDY ON SEXUAL ASSAULT AS REPORTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
Alyssa Evans

18 SPECTRES OF THE PAST: THE COMPLEXITIES OF NATURE AND CULTURE IN THROUGH THE ARC OF THE RAIN FOREST
Ari Koontz

26 CHANGING LAW ENFORCEMENT IN THE TRUMP ERA
Shannon Luckman

34 THE TRAUMA OF ADOPTION: ADHD AND CHINESE ORPHANS
Ella Xiao tong Naslund Piatt

47 WHITE FAMILIES AND RACIAL SOCIALIZATION
Sadie Strain

56 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
DEAREST READER,

As an English Literature major, I am the first to admit that scholarly research can be tedious, impersonal, and often frustratingly inconclusive. It can also change the world. During the 19th century, Darwin officially challenged everything we thought we knew; anthropologist Margaret Meade influenced the sexual revolution of the 1960's through her controversial analysis of sexual and gendered perceptions of the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia. At this very moment, a professor of WWU, Laura Laffrado, is working tirelessly to exhume the life and work of PNW poet Ella Higginson – sharing the story of a once forgotten local artist with the world. These are just a few examples of research that has and will have lasting impact.

Scholarly research – especially the controversial – had been praised, insulted, even banned; however, no matter our opinion on what we read, we must admit that it makes us think. This is why the intellectual discussion should be supported, and why we can all participate simply through reading.

On behalf of the Occam's Razor staff, I am proud to represent a platform where WWU undergraduates can share their research. The majority of the essays published in this issue share a theme of social activism; each work asks us to question our perceptions of society, hierarchy, and consequent world-view. I implore you to analyze and challenge what you read – through doing this, you are partaking in a discussion that would not exist if it was not for our readership. Also, you and I must not forget to consider what we as individuals can do – the research is here to inform and motivate, dynamic action is up to us.

Most importantly, I must close by thanking our Lead Designer Anna and her volunteers Katie and Kerry for the physical manifestation of this magazine; after witnessing this complex and detailed process, you have my utmost respect. To our editors Cassie, Grace, Chris, and volunteer Ana: the amount of effort and time you were able to commit to this project is something for which I cannot thank you enough; by selecting and editing these essays you became agents for change, bravo. Lastly, a special thank you to Christopher Patton and Megan McGinnis for their constant advice and support.

SINCERELY,

PAOLA MERRILL
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
1975 marked the release of Michel Foucault's "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison," which his preceding lectures would later term 'biopolitics'. Both "Discipline and Punish" and "The Birth of Biopolitics" represent some of the most important, impactful, and informative theories on the way in which surveillance functions; consequently, how its power works to materially produce the conditions for oppression.

In "Discipline and Punish," Foucault utilizes genealogical analysis to trace the historical strands that come together in forming of disciplinary society; what Foucault articulates typifies the power formation and deployment of the contemporary sovereign. Foucault expands on this theory through the development of 'biopolitics'. He defines this as the sovereign's use of power through politics. This is done in order to manipulate and control the lives of the sovereign's subjects. Thus, biopolitics provides the regulatory framework for which the execution of power (that Foucault describes in "Discipline and Punish") not only arises, but also the reason for which it exists in the first place. Biopolitics works not only as a description of the apparatuses of power that the sovereign utilizes, but also the reason for which those apparatuses are used.

While Foucault's analysis is thorough in the material examination of the existence and function of biopolitics, it lacks a desire-focused explanation for the reason in which biopolitics is so effective at not only sustaining power, but also in the regulation of populations. This lack of desire-centered analysis has led some to interpret and mobilize Foucauldian biopolitics in such a way...
way that reinforces the Lacanian psychoanalytic tradition; the process has forwarded an understanding of biopolitics that actually reinforces biopolitical control. As both a resistance to this fundamentally violent trend and application of Foucault’s analysis to the violence of the neoliberal world, I propose that the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (specifically their elaboration on desire and ‘desiring-machines,’) as the best heuristic for understanding the way in which biopower functions.

Deleuze and Guattari’s first written-assemblage “Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia Volume 1” addresses the way in which Lacanian psychoanalysis—and psychoanalysis writ large—engenders the conditions for the capitalist control and manipulation of bodies and subjectivities. Thus, before diving into Deleuze and Guattari’s (DnG) concept of desire and how it implicates biopolitics, it’s critical to understand the Lacanian psychoanalysis that provided the structure for which they were writing against. While both Lacan and DnG’s critical projects center the importance of desire—and its interaction with subjects and society—radically differently. Forwarding and reframing (to his credit) Freud, Lacan centers desire around an individual’s unconscious and specifically the unconscious containment of unknowable ‘signifiers.’ Indeed, to Lacan, the unconscious governs the expression of a subject’s desire and actions; dually, the unconscious is unable to be fully understood.

To clarify, what Lacan articulates is that there are latent, naturalistic ‘signifiers’. When interfaced with social realities (which correspond to said ‘signifiers’), it produces a specific kind of desiring-response. Lacan then uses Freud’s Oedipus Complex to re-conceptualize the want to kill the father as the fundamental ‘castration’ or ‘loss’ that is at the heart of every subject’s psychological development. This loss provides the framework for which unconscious signifiers interface with the world. Due to the strictly partial knowability of the unconscious, there will always be a

**HEURISTIC:**

involving or serving as an aid to learning, discovery, or problem-solving by experimental and especially trial-and-error methods

**BIOPower:**

the development of techniques for having power over other bodies

Foucault defines [biopolitics] as the sovereign’s use of power through politics. This is done in order to manipulate and control the lives of the sovereign’s subjects.
lack' in what is expressed and what is understood. This 'lack' comes to express the fundamental lynch pin of Lacanian desire: due to the inability of subjects to fully understand the other, desire can only be represented and understood through the individual's unconscious.

Despite the fact that Foucault would likely object to his work being explained through a frame of Lacanian psychoanalysis, he lacks an articulation of how biopolitics intersects with a conception of desire and subjectivity. Due to this, and the near omnipresence of Lacan in the western academy, Foucault's conception of biopolitics leaves itself very open to the possibility of being explained through Lacan. A conception of biopolitics understood through Lacanian psychoanalysis would ground the functioning of biopower in its appeal to individual unconscious signifiers; also, communicating that sovereign control stems from its ability to generate the possibility for individuals to shift their psychological anxiety (or lack thereof) onto the other.

The possibility for the aforementioned Lacanian interpretation of biopolitics seems to be most applicable in Foucault's usage of Bentham's 'Panopticon' as a heuristic for understanding one structuralized instance of biopolitics. One of Foucault's arguments as to why the panoptic society is so powerful in its regulation of populations is due to the fact that the panoptic is able to "spread throughout the social body" through its ability to get subjects to self-regulate themselves. The question of self-regulation opens the door for Lacanian psychoanalysis to describe the conditions for which that self-regulation occurs; generally, this is through some appeal to the voyeuristic unconscious. Since self-regulation centers on Foucault's discussion of power, this interpretation is able to circuity the entirety of biopolitics through Lacanian psychoanalysis.

Deleuze and Guattari focus on Lacanian psychoanalysis and its explanation of power as the oppositional form which they develop their concept of desire. Antithetical to Lacan's individualist concept of desire, Deleuze and Guattari articulate that desire is inherently a collective and horizontal function; hence, the connection of one subject to another creates a 'desiring-machine'. Additionally, the function produces desire both from that connection and the connections broader position in the structures of society.

To Deleuze and Guattari, desire is necessarily a collective production, in which the unconscious is a theater that produces and internalizes the desire that is produced by the relationships in which subjects engage – also, the structures of power that those subjects encounter. Desire implicates subjectivity; however, subjects are not static,
contained, individuals. Instead, subjects are con-
stantly open and changing to the desire that is
constantly produced in civil society; Deleuze and
Guattari term this 'becoming'. Therefore, desire
is not a lack that can never be understood (termi-
nalizing in only the individual); instead, desire is
a flow that is constantly moving, connecting, and
growing in intensity in such a way that produc-
es subjects as 'becoming' instead of individual.
'Becoming' consequently produces subject-subject
relationships and structural arrangements that
are horizontal. These arrangements are based on
affective connections and open to the flowing of
desire in a necessarily anti-hierarchal way; these
arrangements being called 'assemblages'.

Deleuze and Guattari articulate that while
the function of desire (aforementioned) being
such, desire is not produced in a neutral way.
Rather, the very nature (horizontal and collect-
ive) of desire means that desire is able to be
controlled, or 'circuited' by structures of power.
This operates through structures of power utiliz-
ing their material power to forward a dominant
conception of desire; this elevates the only flow
of desire that is considered legitimate to express.
Structures of power thus utilize their hegemonic
power to force 'becoming' into statized individu-
als. Inverting assemblages into hierarchical re-
lations produce desire in such a way that only
makes sense in so far as its relation to that struc-
ture of power. For example, white construction
of people of color is characterized as inherently
undesirable and fundamentally anti-human; this
reveals the way in which structures of oppression
hijack subjects desire to reinforce the conditions
of their power. Also, how they frame desire which
is recognized by said system as 'deviant'. Thus,

Deleuzoguattarian desire would conceptualize the
self-regulation endemic to biopolitics as not a ques-
tion of the voyeuristic unconscious; instead, it is the
sovereign's ability to circuit desire as only intelligible
if it is fundamentally biopolitical. Subjects' expres-
sion of self-regulating biopolitics is not a question
of their unconscious signifiers. Hegemonic power's
ability to control the production of desire in such
a way that subjects are forced to be biopolitical and
desirous of biopolitics. This is compounded with the
way in which neoliberalism allows for the produc-
tion of limited 'becoming', particularly white 'becom-
ing'. This extends to capital investment and catego-
ration of bodies, revealing how Deleuzoguattarian
theory is important in understanding the meta level
power of biopolitics. Also, the ways in which other
structures of power, like neoliberalism, utilize bio-
politics to cement and exercise their power.

Indeed, Deleuze, Guattari's, and Lacan's con-
cepts of desire are radically different. Lacanian
psychoanalysis is individualist, naturalistic, and

HEGEMONY:
leadership or dominance, especially by one
country or social group over others

DELEUZOGUATTARIAN:
relating to, or characteristic of, the works of
Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari
hierarchical, while Deleuzoguattarian desire is the exact opposite of that; Deleuze and Guattari also problematize Lacanian psychoanalysis as an explicit function of oppression. Deleuze and Guattari problematize the individualistic naturalism inherent in the Lacanian unconscious as a refusal to engage with the ways that structures of power infiltrate the subject’s unconscious. To demonstrate this fact, Deleuze excavates the traditional Freudian case of Schreber, in which during a session of psychoanalysis Schreber expresses explicitly racist discourse. However, the psychoanalyst ignores this and latch-es onto Schreber’s utterance of a specific name as an indication of their Oedipus. This, to Deleuze, highlights the individualist focus of Lacanian psychoanalysis, forcing the only concern onto ‘signifiers’. This leads to ignoring structures of power like anti-blackness and settler colonialism. In short, the process allows them to re-naturalize themselves.

Not only does the Lacanian unconscious tacitly reinforce structures of power through obscuration, but also directly in its construction of subjectivity as a strictly static and enclosed individual. Specifically, by framing desire and consequent subject as starting and ending with the biologic body, it characterizes the subject as hierarchical – collapsing the possibility for the flow of desire. This causes bodies to be defined strictly on the basis of their worth in relation to structures of power (for example, their productivity to the capitalist project; hence, specific bodies to be ‘pieced’ based on their defined worth to neoliberal markets).

In summary, Lacanian psychoanalysis is not only oppressive in and of itself, but also makes theorizing biopolitics under a Lacanian framework a near impossibility. This is because the systems (capitalism, neoliberalism, settler colonialism, anti-blackness, et cetera) that the Lacanian unconscious reinforces all utilize biopolitics as an exercise of their oppression and legitimacy.

Foucault theorized biopolitics as a tool to shed light on the material way in which the sovereign is able to utilize and manipulate its power to justify itself and create the conditions for oppression. It was done in the service of creating more effective, nuanced, and liberating resistance movements. This provides invaluable tools to the dismantling of the intertwined nature of contemporary surveillance. We lose that revolutionary power when we utilize a framework that replicates biopolitics and subsequently turns our coalitions of resistance into matrices of oppression.

Deleuzoguattarian desire is relevant through its ability to provide the most material explanation of biopolitics. Also, it has an ability to fundamentally resist one of the foundational ways that biopolitics expresses itself. In contrast, Lacanian psychoanalysis should be rejected on the grounds that its foundational replication of some of the central tenants of neoliberalism. Additionally, it becomes impossible to utilize the analysis of biopolitics to dismantle biopower when the
very framework you are utilizing replicates the conditions of biopower.

Undoubtedly, the process of living and dying within the assemblages of violence (which scar the contemporary world) mark the necessity for revolutionary action. The fact that this action needs to begin with a conception of desire does not re-justify (hence, re-deploy) those structures of oppression. Indeed, structures that revolution is necessarily antagonistic against. This is due to the fact that systems of power, like capitalism, utilize desire as one of the primary staging grounds for its deployment of violence. Indeed, to quote Guattari: “to reinforce its social terror...the capitalist army of occupation strives, through an ever more refined system of aggression, provocation, and blackmail, to repress, to exclude, and to neutralize all those practices of desire which do not reproduce the established form of domination”26. This statement exemplifies that to truly engage in revolutionary action – which dismantles systems of genocide and mass death – liberation must “move beyond the limits of our ‘person,’ that we overturn the notion of the ‘individual...’ in order to travel the boundaryless territory of the body, in order to live in the flux of desires”27. This necessity of revolutionary action is provided by Foucault’s biopolitics, but becomes impossible to utilize if circuited through the fundamentally violent frame of Lacanian psychoanalysis.


By Alyssa Evans

This study examines the extent to which coverage by *The New York Times* of the #MeToo movement includes a diverse background of victims of sexual assault and harassment. Source representation in media impacts the public’s perception of social issues and groups represented. This case study tracks demographic coverage of sexual harassment and assault in a high-profile news organization. Data gathered examines *The New York Times*’ framing of victims and inclusivity of reporting over a two-month period in 2017. Findings suggest that victims most often sourced in #MeToo-related stories are Caucasian females employed in the entertainment industry or in politics. This study determines that *The New York Times* coverage excludes representation of minorities. However, it must be stated that framing analyses are sometimes small, requiring results to be treated with caution (Matthes, 2009). This study is not an exception, as the sample population is only a portion of what could be potentially analyzed.

**INTRODUCTION**

In 2006, Tarana Burke started a movement to help young women of color who had become victims of sexual assault (hereafter referred to as ‘survivors’ to protect their integrity). To further the healing process for survivors, Burke dubbed the movement “Me Too,” to emphasize to these women that they were not alone in their experiences (Garcia, 2017). In October 2017, the movement gained national renown on social media. Actress Alyssa Milano encouraged any survivors on Twitter to use the hashtag “#MeToo” to prove how widespread sexual harassment and assault had become (Ohlheiser, 2017).
NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE OF SEXUAL ASSAULT

About 40% of reported assaults garner attention from news media outlets. Of this 40%, the majority involve unusual or high-profile circumstances and people (Pennington, 2016). This selective coverage spreads several misconceptions about assault, ultimately promoting rape culture (Franiuk, 2008). Rape culture is defined as a society that blames victims of assault and normalizes male sexual violence (WAVAW, 2018). Articles that delegitimize rape can sway public and legal perception of victim credibility, often in favor of the accused. Of reported sexual assault cases, only 3% of rapists are sentenced to prison time.

Though #MeToo is not the first instance where sexual assault has garnered attention in the media, it has gained tremendous support (Ohlheiser, 2018). A New York Times article about Ashley Judd’s sexual harassment was likely another influence on the #MeToo hashtag’s popularity. The article detailed Judd being harassed by Harvey Weinstein, her film producer at the time for “Kiss the Girls” (Kantor, 2017). The article also included a handful of other women, each sharing their similar experiences involving Weinstein. Since the expose’s publication, over 50 women have come forward saying that Weinstein sexually assaulted them (Elizabeth, 2017).

Others still came forward with their own stories of sexual violence and harassment, condemning entertainers like Kevin Spacey and Louis C. K. for their actions.

According to the Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network, someone in the U.S. is assaulted every 98 seconds. This totals an average of 321,500 victims, aged 12 or older, each year.
every 98 seconds. This statistic totals an average of 321,500 victims, aged 12 or older, each year. Those most at risk of sexual assault are American Indians, followed by Caucasians, Latinos, and African Americans (RAINN, 2018). This widespread impact of assault across racial identities indicates a need for accurate and representative news media coverage.

METHODS

Articles selected for study were published in The New York Times during the span of October 1st, 2017 - November 30th, 2017. This two month period was chosen for analysis because of the significant attention the #MeToo hashtag was gaining on social media. Fifteen articles met the search criteria. The New York Times was selected for its national readership and its numerous stories published under the #MeToo movement. Because The New York Times has consistently set the standard in news media, a failure to report ethically could have great impact across news organizations (Pennington, 2016).

Articles were accessed through ProQuest Newsstand by searching The New York Times archives for the phrase “#MeToo.” Once examined, samples were coded according to the articles’ human sources (classified by gender, race, occupation/industry, and whether they were quoted or mentioned). The source’s position was additionally recorded as survivor, assault- er, movement supporter, assault sympathizer, or neutral. Certain sources may have been classified differently according to the article in question. For example, French President Emmanuel Macron was classified as a movement supporter in an article where he was described as such. In another article, he was labeled neutral when there was no acknowledgement of his affiliation with #MeToo. A total of 182 sources were analyzed. Articles themselves were also coded based on who was represented. This was done to glean who The New York Times frames the #MeToo movement to affect.

Framing permits scholars to “Describe the power of a communicating text” (Entman, 1993). By emphasizing a perceived reality, frames influence media consumers’ understanding of circumstances, how the problems came to be, possible effects, and how the problems may be resolved (Entman, 1993). The way information is presented, whether intentional or not, affects the reader’s impression and opinions. Researchers analyze frames used to identify biases shown in communication, focusing on presented images, stereotypes, metaphors, actors, and messages (Matthes, 2009).

RESULTS

From a sample of 15 articles, five (33.3%) presented sexual assault as an issue prevalent in the entertainment industry, three (20%) focused on the movement as international, two (13.3%) profiled a specific instance in higher education, and two (13.3%) showcased safety measures being taken to prevent
When covering sexual assault stories, journalists must be aware of how they frame the information and take care not to contribute to rape culture.

sexual assault. The remaining articles (20%) were equally divided, giving focus to sexual assault as an issue in politics, the restaurant industry, and the advertising industry.

A total of 182 sources were divided evenly, with 48.9% being female and 47.8% male. Racial demographics, however, were not so equally distributed. Caucasian sources comprised 70.3% of the total group, easily the most often used in news stories. Other representation included African American at 7.1%, Middle Eastern at 3.9%, Latino at 2.8%, and Asian sources at 1.1%. The unaccounted 14.8% of sources were not disclosed.

Assault survivors were the most frequent article sources at 31.3%, with #MeToo supporters comprising an additional 19.3%. Assaulters constituted 23.1% of sources, but assaulter sympathizers made up a minimal 4.4%. The remaining 22.6% were neutral sources.

White females were the most common demographic of assault survivors and movement supporters. White males were the most common demographic of assaulters, neutral sources, and assaulter sympathizers. People of color were not the most common demographic represented in any category.

DISCUSSION

These results indicate that The New York Times' coverage of the #MeToo movement focuses on white individuals more than any other racial group. By framing sexual assault as an issue affecting white people more than people of color, The New York Times is exhibiting white feminism. Such preference in news media organizations may cause a white habitus, or, "A racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites' racial taste, perceptions, feelings, emotions, and their views on racial matters" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). This biased framing breeds a sense of exclusivity among white society while promoting negative views on people of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). In this way, a framed #MeToo article can further spread misinformation about sexual assault and race.

Results additionally indicated that The New York Times' stories focused on privileged groups of people, regardless of source race. None of the examined articles focused on sexual assault in poor or lower-class communities. The two cases portraying sexual assault in higher education were the only stories to focus primarily on people of color. While sexual assault is not limited to any one sphere, the emphasis on political and entertainment industries frames sexual assault as an issue only affecting people of color. A lack of diverse representation influences whether individuals are comfortable sharing their stories of sexual assault; if a survivor does not see themselves represented in coverage, they may be too discouraged to share their story.

ADDITIONAL POTENTIAL IMPACTS ON SURVIVORS

The problems survivors face do not end with assault. Society places a responsibility on women to shield themselves against sexual violence, leaving survivors with a sense of blame attached to their assault (Miller, 2012). Because survivors (both male and female) are six times more likely to have attempted suicide than those without a history of assault, there is a need for media outlets to provide accurate and careful coverage. Survivors who report assault often experience fear, shame, and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Campbell, 2008). If these feelings are exacerbated through unethical coverage, it can not only undermine legal sentences, but cause fatal results (Tomasula, 2012).
ROOM TO IMPROVE

There is a harmful correlation between high-profile cases of sexual assault and inappropriate media coverage. The Society of Professional Journalists’ Code of Ethics calls upon journalists to minimize harm when reporting (Society of Professional Journalists, 2014). Despite this guideline, previous research indicates journalists do not follow the code when covering sexual assault (Franiuk, 2008).

News organizations have the power to help or hinder cultural integration and representation. “Media messages can act as teachers of values, ideologies, and beliefs… they can provide images for interpreting the world whether or not the designers are conscious of this intent” (Gamson, 1992). When covering sexual assault stories, journalists must be aware of how they frame the information and take care not to contribute to rape culture. In following the Code of Ethics, journalists can make an effort to minimize harm and provide survivors with a safe space to share their stories.

Journalists can also improve race representation in news media coverage by providing accurate framing and context (Entman & Rojecki, 2010). As a result, news consumers will begin to hold media to a higher standard of accountability.

It is not sufficient to simply avoid bias as an effort to be objective; journalists must also focus on accuracy and reader comprehension. By including additional context beyond the incident in question, journalists provide audiences with a heightened understanding of relevant social issues (Entman & Rojecki, 2010).

CONCLUSION

More research is necessary to determine how sexual assault is covered in national news media organizations. Coverage of sexual assault cannot be improved without reflecting on what has already been published. This study contributes to previous research on news media organizations’ representation of people of color, establishing white individuals as the most represented group in The New York Times’ #MeToo coverage. This is only a starting point for future research on representations of race and gender. Subsequent case studies should seek to explore content from other media sources, create a narrowed analysis on the individuals used as sources, and expand their key phrase for finding additional content. Speculations should continue on why Caucasian demographics tend to be the focus of media coverage.

To make survivors feel comfortable coming forward, The New York Times and news organizations of all levels should follow the Society of Professional Journalists’ Code of Ethics when covering stories about sexual assault. News outlets should also take note of who is represented in stories as an effort to minimize harm. Being aware of whose voices are/are not present in stories on sexual assault can help ensure accuracy.

Both journalists and readers have the power to implement change in whose stories are told. Encouraging audiences and news media organizations to be critically aware can lead to a conscious and continued effort to provide equal representation. This self-awareness creates the potential to increase trust and communication between producers and consumers of coverage.


Karen Tei Yamashita explores a complex collection of themes within her novel, *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest*; Yamashita relates her fictional futuristic landscape of the Amazon to real-world issues of environmental colonization, capitalist-driven imperialism, and ecocritical queries into the relationship between nature and culture. As a work of speculative fiction, this novel draws significant connections between an excavated past and an imagined future. Yamashita asks the reader to consider, in the face of degradation and exploitation, how does nature fight back? What is the lasting impact on those forced to shoulder such effects?

Yamashita juxtaposes modernity with history, revealing traces that environmental destruction leaves behind on the human ecology of a region undergoing dramatic topographical and cultural change. *Through the Arc*’s primary focus is on the relationship between nature and culture—two phenomena intrinsically connected through the transformational force of ecology. A loss of nature can have a devastating effect on the indigenous communities who are exploited in the process and aftermath of environmental degradation.
From the beginning of *Through the Arc of the Rain Forest*, there is a clear sense of tension between Brazil’s past and present. The narrator, a sentient ball of plastic orbiting a young boy’s head, conjures the concept of memory in the first chapter: “Memory is a powerful sort of thing... brought back by a memory, I have become a memory, and as such, am commissioned to become for you a memory” (Yamashita 1). Though the memory’s origin is unknown, it provides a framework to remember and recognize an obscured history. This foreshadowing, which implies a reflection of the past within the future, is relevant when examining the characters’ origins and ecosystem. Initially unblemished and free, the Amazon rainforest is soon encroached upon by an American conglomerate, GGG Enterprises, and consequent destructive capitalism.

In the beginning of the novel, Yamashita depicts life before GGG’s intrusion, representing the indigenous culture through two primary characters: Mane Pena, a poor rural farmer who heals people with magical feathers, and Chico Paco, a young boy who undertakes a religious pilgrimage to help a childhood friend. These characters are portrayed as instinctive, communal, and, to an extent, altruistic; their relationship with the biological and human ecology that surrounds them contrasts strongly with Western principles. In his article, “Pigeons, Prayers, and Pollution,” Shalini Rupesh Jain suggests that this portrayal provides a frame of ethics against which to critique the motives and decisions of GGG Enterprises. He argues that the speculative magic of Mane Pena’s feathers and Chico Paco’s pilgrimage represents not supernatural forces, but the power of the culture’s inherited traditions and their ecocentric morals: “this portrayal of a distinct ethical mode of living is manifest in the indigenous Brazilian characters’ instinctive behaviors and choices...[which] illustrate indigenous epistemologies” (Jain 69). These characters possess an altruistic understanding of their world that contrasts with the utilitarian and exploitative motives that drive GGG Enterprises, and which ultimately devastate the native ecosystem. As these Western motives migrate into the native culture, they effectively speak over the indigenous community’s value system and inherited past in an act of hegemonic violence – which is arguably more devastating to this culture and its sense of agency than the environmental degradation itself.

Jain goes on to suggest that the novel’s incorporation of magical realism predicts two disparate environmental futures that should be expected to follow human actions: “Yamashita posits the creation of a utopia when human relations with the natural world are in harmony, and a dystopia when this harmony is wracked by greed” (75). This implies that there is a distinct before-and-after for this setting, represented respectively by the altruistic indigenous

**A loss of nature can have a devastating effect on the indigenous communities who are exploited in the process of environmental degradation and aftermath.**
community, and the commercially-driven, individualistic mindset brought on by Western capitalism. However, it is vital to note that this pre-developmental world is not utopian; even as these ethical characters seem to be in harmony with the world around them, the spectres of capitalism and colonialism still loom in both their past and future. This is hinted at via the Matacao, arguably the central mystery and catalyst of the novel.

The Matacao is an impermeable layer of mysterious plastic material that lies directly under the land which the character Mane Pena has recently repossessed. The presence of the Matacao makes the area impossible to utilize for resource growth. Unfamiliar to the indigenous community, the Matacao is revealed to be a direct consequence of first-world capitalism and environmental degradation. This proves the existence of a previous colonizer similar to GGG Enterprises: “enormous landfills of nonbiodegradable material buried under virtually every populated part of the Earth had undergone tremendous pressure... The liquid deposits of the molten mass had been squeezed through underground veins to virgin areas of the Earth” (Yamashita 202). Indeed, Yamashita presents the earth as a living force, untainted and pure, which makes the subsequent irreversible invasion of waste underneath the Amazon rainforest particularly poignant. The Matacao is a material invasion that has become part of this ecosystem through environmental degradation. The problem is invisible to those responsible yet directly affects the indigenous community. As Aimee Bahng posits in her essay, “Extrapolating Transnational Arcs, Excavating Imperial Legacies,” the symbolic significance of this mysterious plastic lies in its connection to the imperial histories of the Amazonian region that have been purposefully forgotten. Linking the novel to early colonization efforts, such as Henry Ford’s “Fordlandia” project and the rubber industry of the 1800s, Bahng suggests that the Matacao reflects the ways in which exploitation is often overlooked or disregarded. This is seen via the “government sort” that hands Mane Pena a pile of paperwork and promptly leaves him with his infertile land, taking no responsibility for the destruction that preceded this repossession (16). Furthermore, Bahng explains, “[r]ather than animating the Matacao plastic as an invasive foreigner, Yamashita insists that it is the disavowed slag of capitalist overaccumulation and hubris” (Bahng 127). The Matacao is at once foreign and familiar, a reminder of the repeated, continual degradation that this ecosystem has been forced to endure through the creation of enough plastic to form a thick, impermeable layer beneath one of the world’s largest remaining areas of biodiversity.

The mutant nature of the Matacao also points to the hybridization of nature and culture. Yamashita blurs the line between the modern world that arrives in the Amazon via capitalist imperialism and its present native culture. The Matacao is both invasive and inherent to this area, inseparable from the ecosystem. The attempts to separate and monetize the Matacao catalyze the chain effect of losses that define the indigenous peoples’ fate. To further examine this concept of hybridization and mutation, consider the rainforest parking lot: an abandoned lot of postcolonial vehicles discovered in the forest, which has undergone significant change and deterioration. Yamashita describes this place as eerily alien from the rapidly changing cul-

The rainforest parking lot demonstrates the complex relationship between natural and human ecologies, and how both tend toward growth, adaptation, and mutation.
ture around it and draws attention to the unique flora and fauna it holds, including a new species of mouse: “[the mice] burrowed in the exhaust pipes of all the vehicles… [and] had developed suction cups on their feet that allowed them to crawl up the slippery sides and bottoms of the aircraft and cars” (Yamashita 100). In addition to these newly evolved forms of life, there are also several native species found among the abandoned vehicles. A source of biological mystery and cultural remnants, Yamashita calls it “[an] ecological experiment unparalleled in the known world” (101). Even as the ecosystem surrounding the Matacao is torn apart for resources and its inhabitants suffer the consequences of such exploitation, there exists a liminal hidden space in which nature is slowly claiming dominance over previous ecological impositions.

The rainforest parking lot demonstrates the complex relationship between natural and human ecologies, and how both tend toward growth, adaptation, and mutation. Begona Simal discusses this relationship in his essay, “The Junkyard in the Jungle.” Simal posits that the natural forces overtaking the abandoned vehicles represent a “Cyborg ecosystem” (Simal 15). The fictional landscape of Through the Arc has never been completely pure, and it continues to respond to human activity. Simal considers the tension between these transformative forces through a new lens. “We are indeed living in a ‘transnatural world’ where nothing remains untouched, everything has been directly or indirectly contaminated by human actions, and culture and technology have invaded what used to be the inviolable realm of nature” (16). Significantly, Simal suggests that the opposite is also true—nature can invade and contaminate the realm of human technology. This is the duality of the rain forest parking lot: during the continual encroachment upon the Amazon’s natural resources, the ecosystem fights back to reclaim what has been taken.

The inescapability of the past and nature’s ability to transform and be transformed are also evident in the way the indigenous culture interacts with and is altered by GGG’s imported Western modernity. Characters’ lives change and begin to spiral out of control, getting lost within the rapidly developing capitalist culture that they suddenly inhabit. Glimpses of indigenous memory appear to be overwritten, transforming the Amazon. This is evident in Chico Paco choosing to open his synthetic amusement park, Chicolandia, the same day Carnaval begins (a traditional Brazilian festival), believing it will increase the authenticity of his park.

FORDLANDIA:
A district and adjacent area in Aveiro, Brazil. It was established by American industrialist Henry Ford in the Amazon Rainforest in 1928 as a prefabricated industrial town intended to secure a source of cultivated rubber for the automobile manufacturing operations of the Ford Motor Company in the United States.
“[Chicolandia would] provide the people with a genuine experience of surfeit and intense celebration, something to release...the dismal atmosphere of gloom which had settled everywhere” (Yamashita 189). This mission statement is ironic given that Chicolandia is made entirely of Matacao plastic, its construction fueled by capitalist interests and the destruction of everything that is genuine about the area – flora, fauna, and the indigenous people. Choosing to open the first day of Carnaval is significant given the context of Carnaval in Brazil: a hybridized assemblage of Catholic, pagan, and Afro-Latinx rituals and traditions. Social conventions are turned inside out as celebrants let loose and playfully inhabit others’ lives and appearances. In her ethnography, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*, anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes describes the holiday’s subversion of societal norms: “Carnaval players spin on an axis of inversions and reversals of high and low, order and disorder, male and female, inside and outside, public and private, freedom and repression, life and death” (481). This concept of role reversals and the inversion of power mirrors the novel’s arc: every character undergoes a dramatic reversal of fate and finds their once-static position disturbed as the world they know is transformed.

Juxtaposed with Chicolandia’s commercialism, *Carnaval* serves to further highlight the complicated relationship between tradition and modernity. Despite the holiday’s appropriation, its original significance ultimately rises to the surface. *Carnaval* has mutated in a fashion reminiscent of the rain forest parking lot, with each defying imperialist impositions and evolving through memory. The parking lot memory is ecological, whereas the memory of *Carnaval* is cultural. As Scheper-Hughes notes in her ethnography, “nothing is ever really forgotten in Carnaval... Death’s presence... hovers in the background of the seductive, mesmerizing steps of the samba and the great bounding leaps of the *Nordestino frevo* are played to, and against, death” (482). Such is the case in the *Carnaval* on the Matacao, which signals the end for the transplanted culture of Western modernity built on its surface. This is hinted at amidst the festival: “Chico Paco... would often see a funeral procession solemnly passing the *trio elétrico* in the opposite direction” (190). Despite Chico Paco’s desire to cover up the difficulties his community faces through an artificial re-imagination of their *Carnaval* celebrations, death is omnipresent, and brings a reversal of power that will soon bring GGG’s plastic empire to the ground.

As the Matacao’s artificial ecosystem collapses, GGG’s refusal to heed the warnings of other failed conquests (such as the parking lot) leads to their own destruction as well as that of the indigenous people whose home they have invaded. Their downfall is the result of natural and cultural mutation; a bacterial infection spreads alongside a typhus epidemic, co-morbidly wreaking havoc upon the human population. Yamashita foreshadows this deterioration of environmental and human ecosystems with fleeting yet poignant glimpses into the past and ongoing struggle for dominance. Furthermore, the dramatic changes to the Amazon brought by capitalism grow at such an alarming
rate that its collapse becomes a question not of *if*, but *when*. This is evident to the native inhabitants and eventually to the Westerners: “Tourists soon discovered for themselves what Mane Pena and his family had felt in their guts, that the Amazon Forest was a great decaying hothouse where all sustenance was sucked up immediately by the voracious flora and fauna” (99). As capitalism continues to assert its power, the novel’s tone becomes urgent and its pace increases - finally, during *Carnaval*, the collapse arrives. The ubiquity of this story’s climax is significant: as Yamashita points out, “This disease, like other diseases, was indiscriminate in its choices; it afflicted rich and poor, young and old, good and evil, beautiful and ugly” (182). Despite the implemented social hierarchy of this population, no one is immune to nature, which speaks to the persistence of ecology and its ability to evolve. Not even the monolithic power of GGG Enterprises can stop evolution from taking its course. The ecosystem of the Amazon re-appropriates the rain forest parking lot and the Matacao itself, also gaining control of the artificial landscape that GGG has planted. Thus, technological advancement and environmental destruction are hazardous not only in a surface-level ecological sense, but in natural order and harmony. A natural and entropic retaliation is provoked, with the power to cripple both the original inhabitants and the colonizers.

Where, then, does this loss leave the novel’s remaining characters? Despite the cataclysm of GGG’s downfall, the bacteria and typhus epidemics are not the end of the story. Once it is understood that there is no way to salvage what has been lost, Yamashita interrogates the role of privilege regarding environmental degradation and how it shapes the impacted communities’ responses. For the tourists who came to visit the Matacao’s splendor and the corporations who carefully engineered its attractions, the devastation of the region simply means that they must move on to other ventures. They can afford the luxury of distance and of starting fresh elsewhere, evidenced by the departure of GGG’s employees: “The dense tropical humidity had begun to replace the artificially fresh air-conditioned atmosphere. When the air con-

**TRIO ELÉTRICO:**

a kind of truck or float equipped with a sound system and a stage for music performance on the top

**ENTROPIC:**

having a tendency to change from a state of order to a state of disorder
ditioning began to fail, most GGG employees photocopied their resumes and left" (208). This description of commercial workers calmly packing up their belongings juxtaposes with the native community below the deteriorating high-rise offices. Unlike the foreigners who can leave without being held accountable for their actions, the indigenous people who have always depended on this environment must remain and deal with the aftermath of everything to which their habitat and culture have been subjected. Just as Mane Pena is given a plot of infertile land and left to his own devices in the first section of the novel, the final section leaves the entire indigenous community with an almost unrecognizable ecosystem, which they must somehow restore themselves. While the corporate employees photocopy their resumes, the native people lead a metaphorically resonant funeral procession:

[They] marched on, day and night, sleeping briefly on the roadside and nourished by the human poverty it encroached upon, continuing for weeks through the festering gash of a highway, through a forest that had once been, for perhaps 100 million years, a precious secret (209).

Here, Yamashita captures the disparity between those with privilege and those without. When capitalist and colonial systems fail, the restoration of the environment falls almost exclusively on the people whose culture and lives have been equally exploited. These people have lost their environmental self-determination and ability to define the human-nature relationship, left only with a collective cultural memory of what has been lost.

In examining arcs of destruction and rebirth through the lens of memory, Through the Arc of the Rain Forest forewarns the consequences of environmental degradation upon both biological and human ecologies. Yamashita constructs a speculative future for the ecosystem, with the complexity and mutability of nature as an oppositional force to technological conquest. Fictional locales, including the rain forest parking lot and the Matacao, serve as high-stakes backdrops that illustrate the ongoing impacts of imposed modernity. Cultural memories of earth-based spirituality and the celebration of Carnaval complicate notions of progress and material expansion, as well as periodic glimpses into the past which also serve to highlight the complex relationship between nature and culture. Ultimately, Yamashita argues that when environmental self-determination is lost, it impacts not only natural resources, but the indigenous culture. This causes a cycle of mutation that perpetually alters the community in its present devastation and in the uncertain, ever-shifting future.

Despite the implemented social hierarchy of this population, no one is immune to nature, which speaks to the persistence of ecology and its ability to evolve.


Following the 1991 beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles Police Officers, “Congress empowered the federal government to police local law enforcement in 1994” in a statute known as 14141. Under this code revision, the Department of Justice (DOJ) could investigate allegations of misconduct and enforce systematic change; however, moves by the new executive administration have called this mission into question. The stakes are high in policing, especially in light of increasing abuses of police power – more specifically, the disproportionate abuse towards African-Americans and minorities. This paper will discuss the policies and groups in contestation over reforming law enforcement in the United States and assert that all reasonable parties desire accomplishing the same goal: safe communities and safe police officers.

By Shannon Luckman
WHAT IS THE LAW?

Near the end of the Obama administration, the President assembled a ‘Task Force on 21st Century Policing’ in response to recurring acts of violence between the police and civilians, most prevalently within minority groups. This task force was given the responsibility to review the current policies and practices of law enforcement agencies across the country (with the end goal of publishing their findings and recommending future development of policy and practice). In August 2016, the team released a six-pilar system in order to improve community trust and adherence to civil rights policies; also, it sought to improve officer training and safety. The recommendation: that the Obama administration implement the plan immediately and take necessary action alongside the DOJ (specifically, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS)) to forward this agenda. However, the following year would directly challenge the effectiveness of these actions.

On February 9th, 2017, newly elected President Donald Trump issued an Executive order titled “Preventing Violence Against Federal, State, Tribal and Local Law Enforcement Officers”. This order aimed to increase penalties for crimes against all levels of law enforcement officers (LEOs), work with the DOJ to develop strategies to better protect LEOs and enforce all federal laws to enhance the protection and safety of LEOs. Additionally, this order delegates the Attorney General (AG) the power to prosecute individuals who commit crimes against LEOs to the fullest extent of the law. Also, the AG is allowed to coordinate multi-jurisdiction prosecution efforts, review federal laws for adequate support and protection of LEOs, make recommendations for further presidential legislation to define new crimes, increase penalties, and establish new mandatory sentences. Furthermore, the AG must develop an executive branch strategy to prevent violence against LEOs; also, evaluate all grant programs administered by the department.

Prompted by the mandates within the order, AG Jeff Sessions released a “Memorandum of Department Components and United States Attorneys”. The memorandum directs the deputy and associate AG’s to “review all Department activities – including collaborative investigations and prosecutions, grant making, technical assistance and training, compliance reviews, existing or contemplated consent decrees and task force participation.” In short, this directs DOJ staff to halt all police reform efforts until further notice.

Following this directive, one deputy AG filed a request to postpone the proceedings of an existing court case: United States v. Baltimore Police Department. The case was filed on behalf of the citizens of the United States over patterns of serious misconduct by the Baltimore Police Department (BPD). However, the two parties had already reached a court sanctioned resolution: a Consent Decree. Consent Decrees are a court ordered settlement to which both parties are in agreement – subject to the court’s approval. The specified decree detailed a policy overhaul of the BPD – composed by the DOJ and Baltimore Police and approved by the court. By 2017, the court had set a hearing for February 15th with an approval hearing on April 5th. The DOJ’s request to postpone as a result of Jeff Sessions’ memorandum was filed only two days prior on April 3rd.

OPPOSING PARTIES

At face value, the executive order issued by President Trump aims to investigate consent decrees and other forms of legislation reforming police departments, improving general officer safety – however, according to New York Times reporters Vanita Gupta and Corey Stoughton: “underlying the order is the Trump administration’s belief that efforts to align police practices with the constitution have compromised public safety and thrown police officers under the bus. This couldn’t be farther from the truth”. Hence, to achieve
effective police reform, policy makers must focus on policing systems and practices, not individuals. Furthermore, "through reform, our policing systems must identify not just the roles and responsibilities of the police but [those] of the community as well". In addition, critics view deep racial tensions surrounding police execution of force as the underlying cause. Facing each other across an ever-widening chasm are the groups Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter.

The Black Lives Matter group was formed by three black women in response to the tragic and shooting and consequent death of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida in 2012; the social movement quickly gained momentum. The founders staged protests and rallies while lobbying for police reform bills, working with organizations like the NAACP and ACLU. In essence, the movement sought "to broaden the conversation to include all of the ways that black people are left powerless and deprived of civil and human rights". A system where such deprivation and discrimination are widely believed to exist is the criminal justice system. Black Lives Matter seek equality before the law, rejecting the subversive discrimination committed by law enforcement. This is exemplified by the deaths of Freddie Gray (Baltimore), Philando Castile (Minnesota), Alton Sterling (Louisiana) among others.

As Sojourners reporter Ryan Hammill observes: “negative national reactions to the Black Lives Matter movement have come quickly and decisively, replete with slogans like ‘All Lives Matter’ and ‘Blue Lives Matter’”. Blue Lives Matter (a media organization run by retired police officers) was founded in response to what some law enforcement professionals believe was the unfair media framing of Ferguson PD Officer Darren Wilson. According to the case, Wilson shot and killed Michael Brown – a young black man suspected of stealing cigarettes from a convenience store.

According to the Blue Lives Matter website, this event (among others) motivated the formation of their organization and mission for police officer protection. Backed by a mostly conservative population, Blue Lives Matter predominantly consists of white officers and politicians who believe officer safety is undervalued. Blue Lives Matter opposes what they claim is the spread of “false narrative of Black Lives Matter” that vilifies law enforcement.

There is a clear line drawn between blacks and whites concerning police brutality and reform, even within the protestant church: “While 82 percent of Black protestants believe that police killings are part of a pattern, 73 percent of white mainline protestants say the opposite – to them, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Sandra Bland, Freddie Gray, and the hundreds of other unarmed black Americans killed by police are ‘isolated incidents’.”

VALUES

Both groups mentioned supra claim to advocate for equality before the law, democracy, and – of course – justice. Clearly, their approaches to resolving these issues vary greatly. Essential to understanding the value of each is noting the difference between power and authority. Authority is a matter of relationships, allegiances and associations “based upon the consent of those under it”. Power, in contrast, is external – based on the use of force. Indeed, power becomes supreme when authority fragments.
Historically, African-Americans have lived under the power of the government, not its authority. Indeed, inconsistencies between policing in predominantly black communities as opposed to white isn’t an “invented” idea. This fact is something that political analysts like Ta-Nehisi Coates urge American society to address. Coates highlights this in his work *The Myth of Police Reform*, stating that “when African American parents give their children ‘the talk’ they do not urge them to make no sudden movements in the presence of police out of a profound respect for the democratic ideal, but out of knowledge that police can, and will, kill them.”

This perception, being fear concerning one’s own government—and law enforcers supposedly employed to keep ALL citizens safe—does not exemplify values of democracy and justice. The fact that white parents are not having these same conversations with their children proves that there is inequality before the law.

The United States is a federalist system and does enable the states, to a certain extent, to govern themselves. However, the federal supremacy clause in the constitution delegates to the federal government the responsibility of preserving the constitutional rights of its citizens. Asking the criminal justice system not to particularly target and oppress African-Americans is what Black Lives Matter and its associates advocate. The fact that this request must be made unveils existing undemocratic and bias structures within our government. Indeed, Black Lives Matter asks to consent to the authority—not power—of the government. To live in a true democracy.

As the aforementioned evidence reflects, the Trump Administration, GOP, and groups like Blue Lives Matter follow an ideology that is pro-nativism and white supremacy. Through exalting the position of the officer (and consequent respect due) above all else, they actively devalue the efforts of movements like Black Lives Matter. This suggests a tendency of the current AG and DOJ to forget their “obligation to ensure that law enforcement across the country is following the Constitution.” They see reforms that work to elevate minorities to the status of whites as ‘special treatment’ and fundamentally unequal. They see democracy as following the directives of the elected president and they see justice as prosecuting those in a lesser position of power to
the fullest extent of the law, while chalk­ing up the mistakes of the powerful to a stressful work environment. They blame the systems’ failings on the mistakes of the individual and maintain that states and municipalities are responsible for their own enforcement of constitutional civil rights.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The technical implications of the executive order and memorandum are clear as all fourteen existing consent decrees will be reexamined by the DOJ (although, the request to halt the approval of the Baltimore PD consent decree was not granted by the court). The memorandum is also missing key components that make up effective policing strategy; protecting the most vulnerable, working hard to earn and maintain trust, treating people fairly, and using as little coercion as possible. These key values, shown to be of vital importance under the Obama administration via civil rights investigations and reforms, are missing from the newly issued memorandum.

More than technical implications, the ethical impositions of Sessions’ memorandum are startling. Sessions indicates that he doesn’t understand that a pattern of individual misconduct indicates a failing in the system; in his memorandum he states: “the misdeeds of individual bad actors should not impugn or undermine the legitimate and honorable work that law enforcement officers and agencies perform in keeping American communities safe.” Renowned professor William Edward Deming reflects this idea “through his 85/15 rule, which says that 85 percent of the problems in any organization are system-related while only 15 percent are worker related.” This concept explains that the misconduct of officers is reflective of failings within the system; consequently, failing officers (the actions of individual officers within the institution can delegitimize and demonize the entirety of law enforcement). In conclusion, the repair of trust between police and community is essential for the safety of both. Indeed, by claiming that the federal government has no obligation to uphold these constitutional goals suggests an abdication of their duty to the American people.

There is a clear lack of focus on bias reduction and de-escalation training within law enforcement — something that Obama’s preceding efforts explicitly emphasized. Put simply, “the conviction that public safety is best when applied fairly and without unnecessary coercion is glaringly absent from the current administrations’ agenda.” According to Sessions memorandum, “it is not the responsibility of the federal government to manage non-federal law enforcement agencies.” However, the memorandum itself indicates “a deeper misunderstanding of the federal government’s role with respect to local and state law enforcement” through avoidance of discussing issues like bias reduction.

The Constitution mandates the federal government ensure fair and effective policing and adherence to civil rights policies. The DOJ’s 69 former investigations of police departments around the nation have addressed systematically abusive practices — all of these investigations, “have made for better policing in communities served by law enforcement.” In short, adherence to the constitutional protections from government oppression “depend on the department fulfilling its obligations in this continuous effort, using any and all tools at its disposal to achieve the fulfillment of civil rights.”

FEDERALISM:

A mixed or compound mode of government, combining a general government with regional governments in a single political system.

NATIVISM:

A policy of favoring native inhabitants as opposed to immigrants.
GOVERNMENT CAPACITY FOR PROGRESS

Federal reform is essential to address issues like unconstitutional stops, searches, seizures, and excessive and retaliatory force. Aforementioned, the federal government has the authority to investigate and enact reforms; this power was delegated to them by congress in 1994\textsuperscript{20}. Additionally, the process of writing and enacting a consent decree is an arduous process. Before a consent decree can be considered, the court must find an explicit pattern of unconstitutional practice among police officers; in short, misconduct must be evident. Many of the DOJ’s findings and the resulting recommendations are based on problems that departments and officer unions have already identified – and subsequent reforms were welcomed. Such “evidence” is noted by the \textit{New York Times}: “the department’s findings in Baltimore and Chicago were based on a review of hundreds of interviews and tens of thousands of pages of documents that detailed departmental policies”\textsuperscript{21}. The DOJ has a statutory obligation to protect the civil rights and liberties of African Americans, Latino, LGBTQ and other marginalized communities via investigations and mandatory reforms\textsuperscript{22}. The Department’s capacity to follow this obligation is not inhibited; rather, the current administration is voluntarily neglecting their duty by rescinding reforms like consent decrees.

INFLUENCES OF CIVIL SOCIETY

While the federal government cannot micromanage individual communities, local governments can work to ensure that their policing practices are constitutional. Organizations like the ACLU and NAACP continue to work in communities to hold police accountable for civil rights violations through legal action and lobbying for reform. These types of engagements can supplement local action in the absence of federal reform.

Another significant aspect of community/police dysfunctionality is “media pitting”. Media plays a pivotal role in engendering animosity between communities and police – this also reflects the lack of cohesion between Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter\textsuperscript{23}. Some police departments publicize their awareness of this: for example, former Richmond, California Police Chief Chris Magnus protested against police brutality in 2014. Magnus, a white man, simply held a sign reading “Black Lives Matter”. The reaction was immediate; the Richmond Police Officers Association identified Magnus as a traitor for ‘politicking’ in uniform\textsuperscript{11}. In response Magnus stated, “I’d do it again. The idea that Black Lives Matter is something that I would think we should all be able to agree on”\textsuperscript{11}.

AN AMERICAN SOLUTION

The contestation exists over the mis-conception that oversight and reform are anti-police values. Conversely, they serve to greatly improve safety for all parties involved. An expanding solution can be found in the implementation of community policing practices. Community policing was defined by the DOJ in 2007: firstly, that it must foster “a partnership of police and citizens to involve the whole community in strategies to promote greater public safety”. Secondly, to “identify and effectively address the underlying conditions that give rise to crime and disorder”. Lastly, to “transform the organization to respond to community needs more effectively”\textsuperscript{24}. Current Richmond Police Chief Allwyn Brown adequately summarized the sentiment, stating that “it’s the idea of a collective... that community safety is not

\textbf{Sessions indicates that he doesn’t understand that a pattern of individual misconduct indicates a failing in the system.}

\textsuperscript{23} It is relevant to reiterate that all parties involved advocate for safer communities and safer police.
simply or only a job for police but it's everybody's responsibility”.

Reducing crime does not require unconstitutional policing; Richmond reflects this in its successful implementation of community-based policies. In 2006, the city suffered 42 homicides – this increased to 47 in 2007. Long considered the murder capital of the bay area, the city instituted community-based policing policies and saw a dramatic decrease in homicide rates (11 in 2014) and instances of enforcement through power by police; trust between community and officials increased through “[creating] more open access, more transparency”.

Effective community policing is achieved through several practices. Ryan Hammill identifies two contributing factors being hiring more officers of color and instilling “a mindset that each officer has to have that ‘I’m not different than this community, but I’m a part of it’”. When officers become a point of contact for members of their community, trust between police and the public increases – consequently, trust between police and the public and the safety of both increases. The goal of police departments should be to prevent arrests and incarcerations. As expressed by senior Richmond police officer Anthony Campbell: “we try to instill in the mindset of our officers that it is a failure of the system – of which we are part – when we have to make an arrest”. Campbell goes on to say that when an arrest is made it is an indication that “we either got there too late or we were not paying enough attention to hear the cry”. According to Campbell, there are recognizable signs that a crime will be committed long before it occurs; if an arrest must be made it suggests that the police department was not monitoring their community effectively.

Community policing is “the ultimate proactive measure” – it increases safety for everyone: police officers as well as the community. The conversation does not illicit polarization – in fact, it can serve to unite both parties together:

The affirmation that ‘Black Lives Matter’ should not be cheapened with chiding calls to say ‘All Lives Matter’ – after all, this country has demonstrated a particular inability to care about black lives. But the slogans arising out of Ferguson, Staten Island, and elsewhere are not threats to blue lives or to effective policing. In point of fact, these calls can make for safer cops and safer streets. We’d be fools not to pay attention.

Indeed, the ideals embodied through enacting community policing policies could give rise to an idyllic America. Though clear racial lines have been drawn by policies in place today, shifting the focus from ‘reforming the police’ to ‘reforming policing practices’ will create safer communities and protect police officers. Reforming practices to increase community involvement, rebuild trust and ensure oversight of police action, reaffirm American values of collaboration and teamwork. Involving the public with the police in community oriented ways and diversifying police forces will help establish a more openly multiracial society. From a broad perspective, seeing a reflection of a country’s population in their government and institutions exemplifies the very point of democracy. Above all, ensuring that officers and departments are abiding the law and preserving civil rights secures citizens equality under the law.
1 42 U.S.C. § 14141
12 United States, Congress, “Department of Justice Report Regarding the Criminal Investigation Into the Shooting Death of Michael Brown by Ferguson, Missouri Police Officer Darren Wilson.” Department of Justice Report Regarding the Criminal Investigation Into the Shooting Death of Michael Brown by Ferguson, Missouri Police Officer Darren Wilson, The Department of Justice, 2015.
16 U.S. Constitution, Article VI § 2
The goal of this paper is to address the issues of neglect and abuse towards Chinese girls as a result of China's one child policy, traditional practices and orphanages; specifically, the impact of such in relation to ADHD. Hence, this paper strives to address the impact and trauma associated with international adoption, primarily the movement of orphans from China to North America.

A culture with gender-specific bias and the effect of living without a stable familial structure can have a lasting influence on the mental health of orphans (Dubbowitz, Papas, Black, & Starr, 2002). The impact of abandonment and/or neglect by one's biological parents, living in an orphanage lacking a nurturing environment, and moving between different cultures could lead to higher levels of trauma; also, it can exacerbate symptoms of pre-existing mental health conditions. (Mogavero, Jager, & Glennon, 2016). The condition that is the focus of this paper is attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

ADHD AND CHINESE ORPHANS

By Ella Xiaotong Naslund Piatt

The beginning

A culture with gender-specific bias and the effect of living without a stable familial structure can have a lasting influence on the mental health of orphans (Dubbowitz, Papas, Black, & Starr, 2002). The impact of abandonment and/or neglect by one's biological parents, living in an orphanage lacking a nurturing environment, and moving between different cultures could lead to higher levels of trauma; also, it can exacerbate symptoms of pre-existing mental health conditions. (Mogavero, Jager, & Glennon, 2016). The condition that is the focus of this paper is attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

Attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder

ADHD is characterized by varied levels of impulsiveness, restlessness, the tendency to intrude/interrupt conversations, forgetfulness, logorrhea, and distractibility (Barkley, pg. 27). ADHD is a neuropsychiatric disorder that affects nearly 7%-12% of children, adolescents and adults worldwide (Jordon & Anderson, 2016). In contrast, ADD, which stands for Attention Deficit Disorder, lacks the hyperactive characteristic that an ADHD individual displays (Salman, Idrees, Anes & Idrees 2016). According to Ashford (2014), ADHD is often mistaken for ADD, which is similar but still differs from ADHD.

Individuals with ADD lack hyperactive and restless behavior, which often go undiagnosed. Symptoms of ADHD have also been mistaken for mood disorders, such as Mania and Cyclothymic Disorder. In some cases, ADHD can seem similar to Borderline Personality Disorder (Wender, Wolf and Wassestein, 2001). Despite these differences, there is no clear consensus; for example, some believe that ADD and ADHD are the same condition (Low, 2017).

In 2005, about 6.4 million children, ages 4-17 years, were diagnosed with ADHD in the United States (H & R, 2014). It is a condition largely passed down by the father; one out of three fathers diagnosed with ADHD will produce offspring with ADHD (H & R, 2014). The expression of ADHD is thought to be regulated by two genes: DRD4 and DAT1 (Durston, 2010). DRD4 (dopamine D4 receptor) partially determines personality traits such as cogitation, memory, learning ability, and motor control. A dopamine dysfunction causes lower levels of cognition, memory, learning abilities, and motor
control. These all go hand-in-hand with symptoms of ADHD (Ptáček, Kuželová, & Stefano, 2011). The second gene involved in the expression of ADHD is DAT1. DAT1 is a dopamine transporter gene that regulates dopamine circulation through the dopaminergic circuits (Shumay, Fowler, & Volkow, 2010). Based on the series of studies in *Mouse Models of Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder*, the lack of the DAT1 gene among test mice resulted in impulsive behavior. This resulted in their inability to stay on a small elevated platform (Itohara, Kobayashi and Nakashiba, 2015). Simply, the lack of DAT1 function leads to hindered behavioral control.

Not only does ADHD affect the neurological characteristics of the brain, it also causes physical defects of the brain. Normal brain development is achieved around age five and during early adolescence the brain reaches its maximum volume (Krain & Castellanos, 2006). However, most Chinese orphans are malnourished and deprived of proper early childhood care which becomes a contributing factor to deficient brain development. According to the article *Structural Brain Imaging of ADHD-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder*, individuals that have been diagnosed with ADHD have a significantly smaller dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, cerebral cortex, corpus callosum, and cerebellum than that of non-ADHD individuals (Seidman, Valera, and Makris, 2005). To clarify, the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex is responsible for attention and the ability to control behavior. Also cited in the article are studies that reveal adults with ADHD to have significantly smaller prefrontal cortices, giving rise to difficulty in attention and behavioral control (Seidman et al., 2005). The corpus callosum is a mass of nerve tissue that facilitates information transfer between the two hemispheres of the brain. Studies have suggested that individuals with ADHD have a smaller corpus callosum than non-ADHD individuals (Hynd, Semrud-Clikeman, Lorys, Eliopoulos, & Lytyinen, 1991).

In addition to a smaller prefrontal cortex and corpus callosum, evidence supports that ADHD individuals have smaller cerebral cortices (Cubillo, Halari, Smith, Taylor, & Rubia, 2012). Having a smaller cerebral cortex results in reduced perception, memory, motor function, social abilities, language, and problem solving (MedicineNet, 2016). Studies suggest that children diagnosed with ADHD have significantly reduced cerebellums (Stoodley 2014). The region of the brain that is most impacted by ADHD is the frontal lobe. According to a study conducted by S.H. Mostofsky (and associates), individuals with ADHD were found to have smaller frontal tissue volume than non-ADHD individuals (Mostofsky, S., Cooper, K., Kates, W., Denchla, M., & Kaufmann, W. 2002). The frontal lobe is the portion of the brain that is responsible for executive functions such as cognitive skills, memory, language, and judgement (Healthline 2015). A trio of scientists conducted brain scans of 89 male (mean age 10.5 years; range 5.1-18.4) and 63 female (mean age 9.4; range 5.3-16.0) children who were diagnosed with ADHD (Castellanos, Lee and Sharp 2002). The results indicated a -3.2% decrease in overall brain volume. The same researchers conducted the study again four years later, but with larger samples. The results were consistent with their initial results in 2002 (Krain 2006).

---

**DOPAMINE:**

a chemical that acts as a neurotransmitter within the brain to help regulate movement and emotion
As mentioned earlier, ADHD is strongly linked to genetics. However, heritability is not the only factor that affects the function of individuals with ADHD (Adesman 2017). While genetics determine the presence of ADHD, external factors such as traumatic events in an individual's life account for intensified symptoms of ADHD, according to the National Child Traumatic Stress Network (NCTSN, 2016). One group of individuals that are particularly susceptible to exacerbated symptoms of ADHD are orphans. This could be due to the sequential experience of three major (and traumatic) events: first, neglect/abuse; secondly, lack of a familial environment, and lastly the trauma of international adoption (based on age of the adoptee and the additive factor of culture shock).

**ONE CHILD POLICY**

According to the World Bank Group, in 1960 China's population was at 667 million. In 1979, China's population jumped to 969 million (WBG, 2016). By 1982, China had reached over 1 billion. Within the current population, there are a total of 56 ethnic groups (Lilly 2009); the 10 biggest ethnic groups (respectively) are the Han, Zhuang, Hui, Man, Uyghur, Miao, Yi, Tujia, Tibetan and Mongol (Sawe, 2017). Hans makes up for 91.15% of China's population, the remaining 55 ethnic groups are in the eighth percentile (Linzhu, 2015). In 2010, Tibet had 6.2 million people, 20 years earlier the population was 4.6 million, a 34.8% increase (Hao, 2000 & Tibet Data, 2015). As of 2016 the age structure of China is as follows: 17.10% are 0-14 years, 13.27% are 15-24, 48.42% are 25-55; 55+ make up 21.22% of the population (Index Mundi, 2016). The evidence shows that the elder generation outnumbers those within the 0-14 age group (Index Mundi, 2016); that is a 21.50% difference. To put this into perspective, it was reported that in 1975 (four years prior to the one child policy) individuals of 0-14 years made up 40.1% of the population; ages 15+ were the remaining 59.9% (Clarke 2015). That is nearly a 57.4% drop in the youth population.

The one child policy was established in 1979 under the command of Deng Xiaoping. The policy was mainly targeted at the Han group because they made up the majority of China's population (Berson, 2015). Deng's goal was to reduce the birth rate -- consequently, he enforced the one child policy by rewarding those who obeyed his law with financial support and employment (Connett, 2015). While this new law did cause a significant decrease in birth rates, it remained greatly controversial, argued by some as violating "human rights and reproductive freedoms" (BBC, 2015).
NEGLIGENCE/ABUSE

In China, the mortality rate for females from the ages one to five is 40% higher than males. According to the 2012 documentary It’s a Girl (IG), there is a near even global ratio of boys to girls. However, in China and India the gender ratios are skewed: about 140 boys for every 100 girls (IG). In 2008 the sex ratio was 1.22 million men for every 1 million women (Powell 2015). It is suggested that the sex ratio has shifted as a result of a more relaxed “one-child policy” (to be discussed). In 2015, the ratio was 1.16 million men to 1 million women. In the eyes of Indian society and traditions, having a girl was a “drain on family resources” (Powell, 117) whereas having a son was “perceived as an opportunity for upward mobility” (Patel, 149, 2007). During a community meeting of women in Haryana, India, they came to the conclusion that the leading cause for female infanticide which they conclude is due to tradition (Patel). Traditionally, when a girl grows up and marries, it is her family’s responsibility to pay a large dowry to the future groom’s family. Although the dowry system was outlawed in 1961, it is still practiced to this day (Ramakrishnan, 2013). The dowry includes various gifts such as property, livestock, jewelry, and money. In many cases, it is too much for poorer residents to pay, thus leading to the social pressure to have a boy and neglect girls (Mitra, 2014). Similarly, the one child policy law combined with Chinese tradition has made girls susceptible to neglect, abuse, and infanticide. Methods of infanticide include suffocating daughters with a cloth, throwing acid on them, poisoning them, strangling them as soon as they are born, and drowning the child in a bucket of water (IG). In a two minute CNN video clip, Chinese officials are seen pulling an abandoned infant out of a squat toilet. Reportedly, the crying newborn baby girl was wedged face down in the toilet pipe (Ripley 2015).

Gender screening during early stages of pregnancy can end in a forced abortion – if the child is a girl, that is. The enforcers are a group called the Family Planning Police (FPP) (BBC News & IG). Parents who do not wish to abort are forced into constant hiding; the FPP financially rewards those who report people who have violated the one child policy. In economically poor regions of China this type of enforcement has created a culture where the acquisition of money is held more important than a child’s life. However, the parents of female children have to beware of more than the FPP and reward-seekers; as the skewed sex ratio leaves few wives to be found, it is not uncommon for parents of a male to kidnap girls in order to ensure their son will have a wife. In some cases, the girl’s family will sell their daughter(s) to a family that has a son and collect the money (IG). Approximately 200 million girls are missing from the world due to this rampant genocide, now commonly called ‘gendercide’ (Hatten, 2012). Fox News reported in 2007 that infanticide was more common in the poorer areas of China; after the establishment of the one child policy, infanticide rates rose in wealthier parts of China. The one child pol-

In relation, the effects of neglect in young children result in reduced brain volume, which exacerbates symptoms of ADHD even more so than those of ADHD individuals who have not been neglected.
PHYSICAL ABUSE

- Difficulty trusting others
- Low self-esteem
- Anxiety and fears
- Physical problems
- Internalization of aggression
- Depression
- Difficulty with touching
- Inability to play
- Difficulty with relationships
- Abuse of alcohol and drugs
- Perception of powerlessness

NEGLECT

- Difficulty trusting others
- Low self-esteem
- Anger
- Impaired object relations
- Lowered intelligence
- Impaired development
- Verbal inaccessibility
- Inability to play
- Difficulty with relationships
- Abuse of alcohol and drugs
- Perception of powerlessness

SEXUAL ABUSE

- Difficulty trusting others
- Low self-esteem
- Anxiety and fears
- Shame and guilt
- Anger
- Self-abusive tendencies
- Depression
- Inability to play
- Difficulty with relationships
- Abuse of alcohol and drugs
- Perception of powerlessness
- Distorted view of body
- Sexual problems

In a 2008 study consisting of a small sample group of ADHD individuals (ages 8-11 years), researchers found that participants with a history of neglect and abuse "displayed more impulsivity and inattention than non-abused children with ADHD" (Peterson, Joseph et al, pg. 4.17) (Becker-Blease and Freyd, 2008).

Even if a Chinese girl is not killed at infancy, she still faces a multitude of dangers, including human trafficking and sex slavery. Since the initiation of the one-child policy sex trafficking has increased (IG, Fetterly, and Littlejohn 2014, 2015); indeed, "sex trafficking has been exacerbated even further by the one child policy" (Fetterly 2014). The one child policy contributes to the lucrative business of human trafficking, results of a faulty legal system, poverty, unemployment, poor access to education, and gender inequality. It is also a product of a long standing cultural tradition that devalues women, a clear violation of human rights (Tiefenbrun & Edwards, 2009, Littlejohn, 2015). In some of the poorer locations of China, parents sell their daughters to sex traffickers. It has been estimated that nearly 30,000 to 60,000 kidnappings occur per year; however, that number is disputed; some claim that numbers are as high as 200,000 per year (Hays, 2015). The work *Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect* provides a table (see above) that lists the effects of such trauma (Crosson-Tower's, 375, 2010).

According to a study of 30 ADHD students (10 girls and 20 boys), it was discovered that 60% of the children had experienced neglect and that 35% had experienced psychological abuse. In conclusion, it was suggested that “society and families should be trained to better know how to deal with ADHD children” (Hadianfard, 2014). Many of the children with ADHD in China do not have a supportive family or stable social structure. According to another study, 228 girls between the ages of six and 12 (140 with ADHD and 88 without ADHD) participated in a study of the effects of abuse and neglect on individuals with ADHD (Brinsco-Smith and Hinshaw, 2006). The study showed that the “ADHD sample [group] had numerically higher rates of all types of abuse, most notably neglect and sexual abuse”; the profound effects of neglect and abuse are described by parents, teachers and peers of those with ADHD as a tendency towards aggression and the experience of social rejection (Brinsco-Smith & Hinshaw, 2006).
To test the effects of neglect and its relation to symptoms of ADHD, a team of researchers conducted a study on rats to test their response to maternal separation (Womersley, Hsieh, Kellaway, Gerhardt and Russell 2011). Their hypothesis was that separation from the mother for three hours per day (from postnatal to 14 days) would induce anxiety-like behaviors, altering DAT1. They were able to conclude that maternal separation did cause (1) decreased surface expression of DAT1 and (2) decreased DAT affinity. Both cause increased time needed to clear dopamine from the extracellular fluid. This discovery reinforces the argument that neglect plays a part in exacerbating symptoms of ADHD. ADHD is a leading mental disorder consistent among neglected and abused individuals (Hunter 2014).

ORPHANAGE LIFE

In addition to neglect and abuse, life at an orphanage can have a profound effect on young Chinese girls. In recent years, due to the more relaxed one child policy law, orphanages in China have seen a decrease in orphans. However, there has been a clear shift from abandonment of children due to gender bias to those with a mental/physical disability (Ripley, 2015).

One definition of an orphan is a child who has lost both parents, as opposed to a “single orphan” that has only lost one parent (Bunkers, Cox, Gesiriech and Olson’s 2014). The group of orphans emphasized in this paper are those who have lost both parents. As of 2014, it has been estimated that 158 million children have lost either a father or mother and about 17.8 million have lost both (due to death or abandonment).

Globally, reasons for abandonment vary. Europe saw a 90% increase in abandoned children due to poverty and homelessness. According to the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF, 2003), an estimated 11 million African children are orphaned after testing positive with HIV/AIDS. In Russia the cause for orphaned children is a combination of (1) high rates of alcoholism, (2) lack of proper juvenile law system to protect and provide protection from abuse and (3) inadequate orphanage systems (Gatti 2014). In 2012, Russia banned the US from adopting children from Russia. Approximately 40% of the orphans in Russia who outgrow the orphanage system struggle with substance abuse while 10% committed suicide (Gatti, 2014).

In recent years, an additional 500 orphanages have been added to the already staggering 576,000 orphanages in China. The quality of these orphanages vary greatly due to the amount of staff available per number of orphans (Vanderklippe 2014); fortunately, the level of care provided by these orphanages has been improving: orphanages have seen a decline in abandoned children since 2005; despite this, it is estimated that 10,000 abandoned children are received each year (Hui and Blanchard 2014).

Although orphanages are generally considered to meet a child’s basic needs, orphanages are often considered inadequate for any developing youth (Thurston). On average, for every 48 children there are 3–4 staff members (Thurston). Consequently, the amount of attention given to each child is inconsistent: out of these children, several will feel lonely, reinforcing feelings of neglect; children in orphanages are less likely to receive the attention and love they need to be able to establish proper relationships with others. The unbalanced ratio of orphans to caretakers hampers critical nurturing and establishment of a familial environment (Neimetz, 586, 2010).
Proper care and nurture in the early stages of childhood are key factors in the development of a child's brain (O'Connor and Joffe, 2013). In addition, "childhood maltreatment is a key risk factor for poor mental and physical health" (Cecil et al., 2016). According to the Raising Children Network (RCN, 2013), the first five years of a child's life is when their brain develops most quickly. It is during this time that the foundations for learning, health and behavior are established. In a recent study that compared foster to orphaned children, it was found that children placed in foster care not only possessed a normal skull size, but had a relatively higher attention span and IQ (Szalavitz, 2012). According to studies done in a Romanian orphanage, it was concluded that "institutional rearing was associated with substantial psychiatric morbidity...[and] that placing [children] in families significantly reduced internalizing disorders" (Zeanah et al., 2009).

One condition that directly hinders normal brain growth is Malnutrition. It results in reduced sensory perception, memory and executive control (Schoenmaker & et., al., 2014). One study compared the learning abilities of malnourished Korean orphans compared to a healthy group. The result was consistent with the initial claim: that malnourished children would have significantly lower IQ scores than that of well-nourished children (Winick, Meyer and Harris 81, 1975).

**ADOPOTION**

The term adoption has a tendency to breed misconceptions. Adoption is a historically successful social solution for children who have one or two unavailable parents; of course, it is preferred that a child receive critical parental care and consequent nurture (Brodzinky, 153, 1993).

"[International adoptees] grapple with who they are, how they are same and different from others, and what the future holds for them" (Mohanty and Newhill 2011). In relation, the term marginality means to "have a sense of isolation and of not quite belonging", which is often a result of international adoption (Mohanty and Newhill). There are two main factors of post-adoption that contribute to exacerbated symptoms of ADHD: age and culture shock.

**META-ANALYSIS:**

the statistical procedure for combining data from multiple studies

**BINOMIAL-LOGIT REGRESSION:**

a statistical technique used to predict the relationship between predictors (independent variables) and a predicted variable (dependent variable) where the dependent variable is binary

**AGE**

Age at adoption is suggested to play a major role in heightened symptoms of ADHD in an individual. China's orphan population is estimated at over 1 million children of 0-17 years (Neimetz, 858). If adopted at a young age (mean age of around 13.6 months), children are often able to form new attachments with adoptive mothers/fathers. This process takes about two years. Not only do studies see an increase in secure behavior in reaction to familial stability but also a decrease in inhibited behaviors (Cohen & Farnia, 2011).

One intriguing study analyzed how adopted Norwegian adolescents (ranging from age 11-19 years) showed greater levels of mental health disorders than non-adopted Norwegians (Askeland et al., 2015). It has also been noted that "international adoptees have been found to have a 3-4-fold increased risk of both suicide attempts and death, as well as being admitted to a psychiatric hospitals compared to the general population" (Askeland et al., 2015).
China represents the largest group of internationally adopted children. In relation, “the older the child is at adoption, as correlated with the length of time spent in an institution [orphanage], the greater the [developmental] delay[s]” (Krakow and et. al., 2005).

An experiment tested 2,148 international adoptees (ranging from 10-15 years) compared to 933 non-adopted individuals (12-15 years) (Verhulst, Althaus and Bieman, 1990). The parents of all the subjects (both adoptees and non-adoptees) were asked to fill out the Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist. The results were consistent with those of international adoptees. They displayed significant behavioral hindrances compared to non-adopted children. Another study used a meta-analysis binomial-logit regression mode; the findings suggested that persistence of ADHD decreased with age (Verhulst, Althaus and Bieman, 159).

Similarly, Joanne Ostrow describes the struggles and discoveries of four internationally adopted Chinese girls in 2012 (ages ranging from 13-15 years). She observed the way cross-cultural adoption has affected them as all four were raised in different parts of the United States (Ostrow, 2012).

There is a lot of emotion and stress that occurs for both the adoptee and the adopters: “...physical [and]/or emotional trauma and neglect and relationship difficulties... tend to be exacerbated in times of rapid cultural change” (Raphael-Leff, 2003).

The stress caused by culture shock also causes lasting anxiety. According to NCTSN, stress induced events such as being immersed in a completely different culture overlaps with ADHD, causing more intensified symptoms (NCTSN).

**POSTADOPTION**

Approximately 40,000 orphans are adopted internationally. In 2005, it was estimated that 23,000 international adoptees were adopted into the United States. As one may imagine, adoption has tremendous potential for nursing an abused, abandoned and mentally damaged child. Many adopted children fall under ‘Attachment Theory,’ which suggests that infants are biologically predisposed to form
relationships and that very early years of childhood are crucial for developing social cognitive skills (Golding, 24, 2007). Data collected over a span of three decades indicates that adoption has had a positive impact on emotional and physical recovery (Johnson, 2002). Children who have been adopted tend to show positive development such as physical growth, sense of security, cognitive development and reduced behavioral problems (Askeland et al., 48). This is characterized as resilience.

Resilience is defined as the process in which a person achieves positive outcomes despite negative experiences. They cope successfully and avoid and/or overcome the extreme negative effects that often follow traumatic experiences (Askeland et al., 49).

DISCUSSION

Resilience among abused and neglected children varies depending on factors such as relationships and social support. Professionals and future guardians/parents should gain knowledge about how and why abused and neglected children have developmental issues (Crosson-Tower, 63).

The positive outcomes of adoption is grossly understudied (Miller, 2533, 2005). It could be worth looking into the neurological development of a positive environment on the brain of an individual with ADHD.

An understanding of the effect of aging on ADHD symptoms would add positively to this discussion. Understanding the role of aging on the symptoms could provide guardians and medical providers a better understanding of ADHD.

CONCLUSION

Physical and psychological trauma, pre-adoption, and the effects of adoption result in exacerbated symptoms of ADHD in Chinese orphans. The one child policy and Chinese tradition has created social pressure to have a son. Consequently, this results in thousands of girls being killed and neglected. A lucky few find their way to an orphanage. However, because of the high volume of abandoned children, orphanages are unable to provide adequate nutrition, care, and early childhood developmental support (often causing reduced cognition). Lastly, the process and act of adoption and being immersed into a new culture is an additive stressor that heightens symptoms of ADHD. However, the environment that is provided by an adoptive family often helps in the healing process of an adoptee(s).

ADHD is strongly linked to genetic inheritance; however, traumatic events such as mental/physical/sexual abuse, abandonment, culture shock and neglect can intensify the symptoms. Proper care and patience in adoptive families provides a stable and loving household and reduces the symptoms of ADHD.


Ashford, K. *What's the Difference Between ADD and ADHD?: Doctors are no longer using the term ADD to describe a lack of focus and problems with organization. We explain why.* Retrieved from http://www.parents.com/health/add-adhd/difference-between-add-and-adhd/.


Since the early 1980s, studies have attempted to answer questions regarding the ethnic and racial socialization strategies of parents. The majority of this work has centered on the socialization practices utilized by parents of African American children, with few studies researching the socialization practices of Latinx parents and parents of transracially-adopted children (Hughes et al. 2006). Recently, research regarding the racial socialization practices of white parents has increased. (For an overview of the research I present in this paper, see table on page 48). However, the amount of literature regarding white racial socialization is still less comprehensive than research examining socialization practices within other ethnic groups. Prior research shows that four common themes-cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism, and silence about race, emerge in socialization strategies (Hughes et al. 2006). Silence about race aligns with colorblindness, which is a common strategy white parents use to teach their children about race (Hamm 2001, Hagerman 2014, & Kelley 2016). Hughes et al. reminds us that while not talking about race has been often overlooked as a form of socialization, a “failure to mention racial issues also communicates race-related values and perspectives to children” (757). Similarly, Robin DiAngelo acknowledges “white silence” as the tendency of white people to remain silent when given the opportunity to discuss race. DiAngelo suggests that the racial status quo in the United States is racist and that by not speaking up or participating in conversations about race, the status quo is reinforced (2012). In addition, the authors that I discuss posit salient questions about the manner in which parents transmit messages regarding race to their children. I also address parents who hold color-conscious ideologies, examining the possibly unforeseen damage to communities of color that occur when these parents attempt to raise racially-conscious children in a non-mutually beneficial way.

COLOR-BLIND FRAMEWORKS

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva provides comprehensive definitions of color-blind frameworks in his book, *Racism Without Racists* (2003). Describing frames as “set paths for interpreting information” (26), Bonilla-Silva incorporates interviews and surveys with white adults to determine four color-blind frames of thinking. Bonilla-Silva points out that these frames, which “misrepresent the world,” have been normalized and accepted in society because the dominant group within the United States,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STUDY</th>
<th>AGE OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>RACE/ETHNICITY</th>
<th>PARTICIPANTS</th>
<th>SAMPLE SIZE</th>
<th>METHOD OF STUDY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CASTELLI ET AL. 2008</td>
<td>3-6 years old</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>3-6 year old children</td>
<td>78 children</td>
<td>Videos &amp; follow up interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAGERMAN, MARGARET ANN 2017</td>
<td>10-13 years old</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Affluent white fathers &amp; their white children</td>
<td>8 fathers</td>
<td>Semi-structured interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAGERMAN, MARGARET ANN 2016</td>
<td>10-13 years old</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White children</td>
<td>35 children</td>
<td>Semi-structured interview, spending time in social settings with participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAGERMAN, MARGARET ANN 2014</td>
<td>10-13 years old</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Affluent white parents &amp; their white children</td>
<td>40 parents, 35 children</td>
<td>Semi-structured interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAMM, JILL V. 2001</td>
<td>Required: at least one child in 5th grade or high school. Some parents had other children in middle school.</td>
<td>African American, White</td>
<td>African American parents (low &amp; middle SES), White parents (middle SES)</td>
<td>18 African American parents, 10 White parents</td>
<td>Semi-structured focus group style interviews, semi-structured individual interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KELLEY, JENNA A. 2016</td>
<td>8-12 years old</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White parents</td>
<td>161 parents</td>
<td>Online survey, vignettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSEY, LINN 2012</td>
<td>Elementary-aged children</td>
<td>White (majority), African American, Mixed race, Latino/a</td>
<td>Majority middle &amp; upper class parents</td>
<td>71 parents</td>
<td>Observation in parent meetings, semi-structured interviews, a prospective parent survey, artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SKINNER ET AL. 2011</td>
<td>Preschool-aged children</td>
<td>White (majority), African American, mixed race, another race</td>
<td>Preschool-aged children</td>
<td>148 parents</td>
<td>Video &amp; questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMPSON, VITTRUP, BRIGGITE 2007</td>
<td>5-7 years old</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>White parents &amp; their white children</td>
<td>93 children, 186 parents</td>
<td>Video &amp; questionnaire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIALIZATION:

A learning process that involves development or changes in the individual’s sense of self.

ETHNOGRAPHIC:

Relating to the scientific description of peoples and cultures with their customs, habits, and mutual differences.

white folks, subscribe to them. These frames can be adequately used as an aid to understand ways that white parents may interpret racial problems. The four frames presented are not mutually exclusive, but are instead used in conjunction with each other (29).

The first frame, abstract liberalism, involves the abstract use of ideas, such as individualism and equal opportunity to justify racial inequalities. For example, many white people find it reasonable to verbalize their opposition to affirmative-action policies, stating that they provide an unfair advantage to minority groups. Bonilla-Silva points out that white people often justify this stance by stating the importance of equal opportunity for all, while ignoring the underrepresentation of people of color in all major societal institutions. He also finds that white people often use the idea of individualism and free choice to explain segregated neighborhoods and schools. By stating that people choose to live in specific neighborhoods, white people are ignoring the historical redlining gentrification practices that have led to modern day segregation.

The second frame, naturalization, is another way to rationalize societal segregation and inequality. Many whites argue that it is natural for people who are alike to want to group together. This frame also suggests that it is natural for white people to have mostly white friends and white interactions. Bonilla-Silva sees this frame as one of colorblindness because it enables whites to defend their preferences for other whites as a non-racial issue, “because they (racial minorities) do it too” (28).

The third frame, cultural racism, has historically been used by whites to explain the “cultural differences” between themselves and people of color. While these beliefs of cultural difference have historically been expressed in blatantly racist terms, today white people often convey such beliefs by framing black poverty as a result of not working hard enough or having children at a young age (i.e. racialized generalizations such as “lazy” or “don’t value education”). This frame is mentioned and utilized by white parents in Hagerman’s research, which I will discuss later. Cultural racism allows whites to claim they are not racist while simultaneously blaming black “culture” for the poverty and other disadvantages many black people face, rather than examining the institutionalized racism of the United States that appoints systematic advantages to.

The fourth and final frame, minimization of racism, greatly downplays the effect that discrimination plays in the lives of people of color. In this frame, discrimination is considered antiquated. When people of color bring up ways they have been discriminated against, whites using this frame can attribute those experiences as exaggerations. In addition, it has been a common misconception that only overtly racist people would practice acts of individual discrimination, and that racism is not experienced on a larger systematic scale.

Parents who believe that racism is a non-issue in society often do not discuss race with their children, due to one or more of these frames. This leaves children to interpret for themselves the implicit biases that come along with these frameworks, as well as navigate our racialized society parents who do not acknowledge that there is a problem in the first place. Providing alternative explanations to these frames is crucial for educating white parents so they can make the choice to raise anti-racist children.

1 I also want to point out that the statements made below are generalizations about white people and people of color, and obviously do not reflect the entirety of these two groups.
PARENTAL BIASES

Some studies have found that the explicit racial attitudes of parents are not correlated to their preschool aged children's racial attitudes (Aboud and Doyle, 1996). Castelli et al.'s (2008) research however, asks the more probing question of "whether nonverbal behaviors that signal potential friendliness or uneasiness are somehow recognized by very young children (3-6 years of age) and shape the formation of their social attitudes" (1505). To test this question, the authors showed four different videos to the children, one in which a white actor displayed clear negative nonverbal signals toward a black actor, whom he was having a conversation with. These behaviors included avoiding eye contact with the black actor, and sitting far away from him. Interestingly, there was not a strong significance associated with negative verbal behaviors nor the children's personal attitudes towards the black actor. Even if the white adult model used positive verbal messages, the children still noticed the underlying negative nonverbal signals. This study serves as a reminder that body language speaks much louder to young children than well-intentioned words.

In a similar study, Skinner et al. (2017) adds to Castelli et al.'s research by examining the potential formation of group bias, by observing the negative nonverbal interactions of adults. The authors found this to be supported, stating that, Preschool children who watched a brief demonstration of nonverbal bias on video subsequently showed more positive attitudes toward the target of positive nonverbal signals than toward the target of negative nonverbal signals and also showed more positive attitudes toward, and imitation of, the best friend of the target of positive nonverbal signals than toward the best friend of the target of negative nonverbal signals (221).

RACIAL CONTEXTS & RACIAL ATTITUDES

In another facet of familial socialization, researchers study the effects of the racial contexts in which children grow up. Ideally, parents choose the environment in which their children live, providing them with schools and neighborhoods "...in which specific norms...rules...and associated meaning structures reside" (Hughes et al. 2016, 18). These "racial spaces" (18) may lead children to ask questions about race, or may lead them to remain oblivious to the significant role that race plays in the lives of the U.S. population (Hagerman 2014).

Central to Hagerman's research (2014) is the way in which middle-school aged white children are racially socialized by their families. In this research, Hagerman finds that the process of familial socialization is largely impacted by the "distinctive racial contexts in which white children live" (2599). These unique contexts inform the way children think about race. An ethnographic approach was used to study two different groups of families in two predominantly white neighborhoods, Sheridan and Evergreen. The major difference between the two neighborhoods is the diversity of the local schools. The Sheridan middle and high schools were 93% and 96% white, respectively. The Evergreen neighborhood has public middle and high schools that were 57% and 47% white, respectively (2602). Although Hagerman's research does not focus on the racial socialization that occurs in schools, she draws attention to this stark difference because parents who live

---

2 After watching the video, the children were asked five specific questions about the black actor, called Abdul. These questions included "How much do you like Abdul?" and, "How much do you think that Abdul is a nice person?" (1506). After surveying the responses, the authors found that the personal attitudes of the children were significantly affected after watching the video with negative nonverbal behaviors. In fact, "even when verbal behavior was positive, children were nonetheless influenced by nonverbal behaviors, consistent with the view that the expression of positive verbal statements cannot override the effects of nonverbal cues that signal interpersonal discomfort" (1511).
within these two neighborhoods have different ideologies when it comes to understanding race. Color-blind ideologies are largely held by Sheridan parents, while Evergreen parents are color-conscious.

Hagerman interviews a Sheridan mother, Mrs. Schultz, who intentionally moved to the neighborhood to provide the best education for her children. Throughout the interview, Schultz’s comments do not blatantly mention race, but still illuminate her negative beliefs about people of color. Schultz says that she would welcome more people of color in her neighborhood, though she would want the parents to value education in the same way that she does. Schultz’s sentiments align with the frame of cultural racism. Admittedly, Schultz does not talk about race with her children, and most of the other Sheridan parents interviewed do not talk about race with their children either.

Hagerman’s interviews with the children of the Sheridan neighborhood demonstrate that the children are also living with a color-blind mindset. The Sheridan children and some of their parents believe that working hard means you can overcome anything. This belief is a mixture of two color-blind frames, abstract liberalism and minimization of racism. Hagerman finds that these parents are constructing environments for their children, in which they are surrounded by white people. Thus, they are not exposed to racism, and are led to believe that race is not a problem. In a separate article (2016), Hagerman breaks down the way Sheridan children use their agency and their understanding of the world to rework the color-blind frames their parents use. Hagerman stresses that failing to acknowledge the agency children have when making sense of ideologies “...fails to account for clever shifts in ideology that may or may not serve to reproduce the [racial] status quo” (69). Many of the color-blind parents in the study believe that their children do not care about race and do not see race. Hagerman finds that although these children often follow the general color-blind frames their parents have provided, they rework these frames around their peer groups, often expressing views about black people that they do not express in front of their parents. For example, an interviewee, Natalie, uses the frame of cultural racism to explain the gossip she engages in at sleepovers. Natalie says that the girls expressed “how [the black girls] are not as smart and everything, and how like sometimes they would even say how their clothes are so ugly and all” (66). This gossip is elicited from girls growing up in households where race is not discussed, and goes unchallenged as these children refine if, when and where this frame’s use is acceptable, illustrating the dynamic nature of idealized whiteness” (66). In another example, a group of girls had trouble deciding if Rihanna was black, or if she was white with very dark makeup on. Another child argued with his friend about the athletic abilities of black athletes, stating that biological differences between white and black people were the reason why so many professional basketball players were black. Hagerman states that over the course of her two year study, many of the children’s questions about race went unanswered, leaving them to interpret race for themselves. All of these comments point out that these children do in fact notice race, and have explanations for perceived differences between white and black people. Hagerman gives a final example of a Sheridan girl who described an act of racism that she witnessed, despite her mother’s protests that nothing racist was going on. Hagerman uses this example to remind us that even when children are growing up
with color-blind parents, they are capable of disagreeing. This seems to be rare, but understanding how this particular child, and other children, have come to reject colorblindness are important areas for future research.

The racial contexts provided by the Evergreen parents were much different from the Sheridan parents. Evergreen parents intentionally chose to send their children to diverse schools, and believe that talking about race and privilege are important topics for their children. One Evergreen parent stated that it was important for her child to understand how to interact with people different from himself. Another parent stated that she wanted her son to understand his privilege as a white male. The children of these parents were much more likely to understand that being white is an advantage in everyday life (2611). They also recognized the racism that occurs in everyday situations. The differences between Sheridan and Evergreen children’s responses about race are used to show that racial context is extremely important in the way children understand race and racism.

WHITE PRIVILEGE & COLOR-CONSCIOUS IDEOLOGIES

Hagerman writes about self-defined “progressive” fathers from the Evergreen neighborhood to examine the unique role that fathers play in raising “anti-racist” children. She discusses “how their attempts to raise anti-racist children both challenge and reinforce hegemonic whiteness” (60). The fathers that she interviewed used their structural privilege to teach their children about race in three common ways. They did this by actively seeking out interracial friendships for their children, using strangers, especially foreigners, to point out the privileges their children have, and by encouraging their children to speak up against racism. For example, one father believed it was important to coach a racially diverse soccer team. He stated that it was important for his sons to grow up with friends of other races. Although he was actively trying to challenge hegemonic whiteness, he reinforced negative stereotypes about black fathers when he told Hagerman that there was an absence of black fathers at games and practices. In this way, white superiority and white dominance were reinforced (68). For example, one of the fathers used his privilege to take his daughter out of a racially diverse school because he believed she "...had been victimized in an attempt to resist racism" (71). Hagerman argues that this was a contradictory message to send to his daughter. She was taught to stand up against racism, but then was allowed to switch schools when her efforts became difficult. Lastly, the fathers interviewed found it important to expose their children to people they deemed impoverished or less privileged than their children, often by taking them on international trips or by driving their children through “poor” neighborhoods. Hagerman points out that these excursions often involved objectifying non-consenting strangers. Although the children may have been learning a valuable lesson, it was taught at the expense of others. All three of these themes are collectively aimed at teaching children how to be “better” white people by building relationships with people of color, and by attempting to teach children that they were born with greater privileges than other people. Although Hagerman commends the fathers for rejecting color-blind ideologies, she points out “at times, [they] paradoxically reproduced the very social hierarchies they wanted to dismantle for their children” (72). Importantly, Hagerman also finds that the ways in which the fathers are attempting to raise anti-racist children relied more on intergroup contact than
on explicitly talking to their children about what it means to be white.

Similar parallels can be found in Jill Hamm’s research (2001). Hamm observed that many of the white parents in the study relied on the racially diverse schools their children were enrolled in to socialize their children, instead of considering how they could personally model positive cross-ethnic relationships. One white parent expresses frustration that her children do not seem eager to cross the “wall” that separates her children from the black children at school, saying that she doesn’t understand why this is. Perhaps this has to do with the nonverbal biases the parent exhibits towards other racial groups, or perhaps this parent does not model positive cross-ethnic relationships and therefore her children do not know how to create them. Either way, Hamm’s research makes it clear that simply enrolling a white child in a racially diverse school will not necessarily result in positive cross-ethnic friendships or positive socialization.

Linn Posey’s work (2012) also involves interviews with parents (not exclusively white) who want their children to have positive interracial relationships, but due to their approach, these parents jeopardize the diversity of the local school. Posey studies a middle and upper-class parenting group’s attempts to build up the image of the local urban school, called Morningside. At the time when the parenting group was formed, the school was primarily students of color, which was considered a benefit by the parenting group. Similar to the fathers in Hagerman’s study (2017), these parents wanted their children to attend diverse schools, stating that they wanted their children to have a racially mixed group of friends, and for their kids to understand their privilege by interacting with less privileged classmates. However, Posey writes that by inserting themselves in the local urban school, the influx of white children “ultimately threatened the diversity” and “contributed to patterns of inequality in district enrollment linked to race, class, and residence” (33). Although this study is not explicitly about socialization, the parents quoted are more aligned with color-conscious ideologies, and in their efforts to socialize their children and improve the local school, there is harm being done. An African American parent in Posey’s study expressed her concern with Morningside becoming an “elite place,” stating that she liked the school because “it is not just for the people that can bang on the door the loudest” (31). Posey raises important points of discussion about how middle and upper class parents can become involved in city public schools without disrupting the school’s sense of community and without creating an inequitable environment. While enrolling white children in ethnically diverse schools seemingly benefited the children in Hagerman’s study (2014), there needs to be more conversation about how white parents can go about raising anti-racist children without using marginalized groups of people to teach their children “life lessons” on privilege.
BRAINSTORMING EQUITABLE AND NON-WHITE DOMINANT WAYS TO RAISE ANTI-RACIST CHILDREN

Smith et al.’s research (2011) examines the racial socialization practices of white parents with adopted black children. The authors argue that the race lessons taught by these parents often “reproduce the racial structure by...leaving unchallenged the apparent naturalness of the historical privileging of interests, beliefs, values, and experiences associated with Whites” (1223). To combat this, the authors recommend reframing lessons about race by examining race through the historical experiences and traditions of African Americans. In this way, race can be discussed without reinforcing white superiority. In addition, Dr. Ali Michael provides suggestions for eight guiding principles that can be used when discussing race:

- Talking about race is not racist, race should not only come up at times of conflict, race and racial differences do matter and they are not all bad, racism negatively impacts everyone, and therefore anti-racist action is relevant to all of us, being white may have no meaning for [you], but that doesn’t mean that is has no meaning (2017, 35:22).

Michael also provides a list of skills that white children need to learn in order to be anti-racist. Skills include learning to recognize racism, role-playing responses to racism, media analysis, and learning how to be a friend instead of a bystander (38:40). In alignment with Michael’s suggestions regarding media analysis, Birgitte Vittrup Simpson writes of the importance of “elaborative mediation” (2007). This involves parents’ explaining to their children the “reality behind the programs and characters” (53). Because young children may believe what they see on TV is an accurate depiction of real life, it is crucial that parents give their children the tools to analyze the stereotypes and negative portrayals of people of color that are present in the media and have become normalized in society (Bonilla-Silva 2012). Vittrup Simpson suggests that some parents may benefit from watching TV with their children that features “positive interracial interactions” as a way to bring up race, since many parents do not know when or how to have these conversations (64).

CONCLUSION

The research I have referenced provides insight about the manner in which white parents are racially socializing their children. Color-blind frames of thinking, nonverbal behaviors, and the racial contexts of childhood are all mechanisms by which families either avoid or engage in racial discussions. These findings demonstrate that racial socialization is an ongoing process, and cannot be a one-time conversation. Future research may want to investigate the socialization practices of families with lower socioeconomic statuses as the racial contexts they can provide for their children might potentially be different. Researching queer families and single-parent families might be of interest as well.


OCCAM’S RAZOR is Western Washington University’s undergraduate academic journal. OR is student-run, student-written, and interdisciplinary.

This book was printed on Domtar Cougar Opaque Smooth 70# text and 100# cover weight paper using the fonts Vision and Adobe Caslon Pro.

SUBMIT YOUR WORK
Visit our website occamsrazorwwu.org for OR Volume 9 submission guidelines and deadlines.

READ PAST VOLUMES ONLINE
issuu.com/occamsrazor

FOLLOW US ON
INSTAGRAM & FACEBOOK
@occamsrazorwwu

GET IN TOUCH
occamsrazor@wwu.edu