

October 2021

The Hilltop Review, Vol 12, No. 2, Spring 2021

Jessica Rocheleau
Western Michigan University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/hilltopreview>

Recommended Citation

Rocheleau, Jessica (2021) "The Hilltop Review, Vol 12, No. 2, Spring 2021," *The Hilltop Review*: Vol. 12 : Iss. 2 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/hilltopreview/vol12/iss2/1>

This Complete Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Hilltop Review by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.

Footer logo

The Hilltop Review

A Journal of Western Michigan Graduate Student Research

Volume 12

Number 2

Spring 2020 - 2021



The Hilltop Review: A Journal of Western Michigan University Graduate Student Research

Editor and Director:

Jessica M. Rocheleau
Department of Psychology

Editorial Board:

Akshay Hiremath
Department of Philosophy

Viola Sawyer
Department of Sociology

Joseph Garcia
Department of History

GSA President:

Craig Morris
Department of Educational Leadership, Research and Technology

Cover Art:

“Polluted Waters” by Elizabeth V. Netcher

Table of Contents

Notes from the Editor <i>Jessica M. Rocheleau</i>	1
--	---

Articles

The Effect of Respondent Race and Sex on Police Use of Threatened Use of Force <i>Viola L. Sawyer</i>	2
--	---

Freedom or Responsibility? On the Unreason of Public Reason <i>Mitchell L. Winget</i>	21
--	----

The Macroeconomic Impacts of Entitlements <i>Ateeb Akhter Shah Syed</i>	37
--	----

Delusional Mitigation in Religious and Psychological Forms of Self-Cultivation: Buddhist and Clinical Insight on Delusional Symptomatology <i>Austin J. Avison</i>	49
--	----

Justifying Advocacy of Patients' Belief Diversity w/ Support from William James' Lectures on Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking , the Variety of Religious Experiences & The Will to Believe <i>Sterling Courtney</i>	68
--	----

Mentalities and the Search for Total History in the Works of Annalists, Foucault, and Microhistory <i>Jason U. Rose</i>	84
---	----

Systematic Review of Transition Assessments for Young Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder from Early Intervention to Special Education <i>Akrum Hassan Eidelsafy</i>	100
---	-----

Art

Polluted Waters <i>Elizabeth V. Netcher</i>	121
--	-----

Full Moon <i>Elizabeth V. Netcher</i>	122
Peace in Pink <i>Elizabeth V. Netcher</i>	123
Creative Writing	
As I go Along... <i>Ivylove M. Cudjoe</i>	124
How to be Held <i>Andrew Collard</i>	143
Age of the Universe <i>Sydney Sheltz-Kempf</i>	148
3.14.21 – Spring <i>Clayton Meldrum</i>	150
The Star-Gazer <i>Jennifer Kean</i>	152

Notes from the Editor

Dear readers,

I am thrilled to present you with the Spring 2020 – 2021 issue of *The Hilltop Review*. Over one year ago, our university rapidly converted its offerings into online formats to allow students a safe education in the face of COVID-19. This issue serves as a collection of works submitted throughout our virtual experience as graduate students. The global pandemic has continued to affect our higher education system in major ways, and I am grateful to the incredible effort these authors invested in their work during such uncertain times. As an editor, it was my pleasure to continue offering students across disciplines the opportunity to publish their work.

Serving as the Director and Editor has provided me with an invaluable opportunity to manage the publication process of an interdisciplinary journal. First, I would like to thank the Spring 2020 – 2021 Executive Board of the Graduate Student Association for their assistance in communicating the needs of the journal throughout a virtual academic year. Next, I wish to thank the former President of the Graduate Student Association, Craig Morris, for his support throughout this term. In addition, I am thankful to those who served on the 2020 - 2021 Editorial Board for providing additional insight on manuscripts. Finally, I would like to offer a special acknowledgement to all who served as peer reviewers, for this issue would not be possible without their voluntary commitment to our journal's success.

Sincerely,

Jessica M. Rocheleau

The Effect of Respondent Race and Sex on Police Use or Threatened Use of Force

By Viola L. Sawyer

Abstract: This study examines the interacting effects of race and sex on police use of force. Survey data drawn from the Police-Public Contact Survey were used to conduct a binary logistic regression to assess effects of different configurations of self-reported race and sex identities, respondents age, and absence of deference to authority on self-reported police use or threatened use of force in interactions with police officers. Results indicate that the multiplicative effect of respondents' race and sex overall, had a statistically significant relationship with the likelihood of reporting police use or threatened use of force in police-public contacts. Additionally, age, overall, was found to have a statistically significant relationship with police use of force. Further, respondents who reported displaying insufficient deference, were more likely to report police use or threatened use of force in their interactions with police than those who did not. Limitations are discussed and directions for future research are proposed.

In the last few years, incidents of police violence against Black people in the United States have sparked a national discussion about the function of police in our society, the militarization of our police forces, police brutality, and, most importantly, police accountability. In the summer of 2014, we bore witness to the police shooting and killing of 18 year old Michael Brown in St. Louis, Missouri, and the use of an illegal chokehold on Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, which ultimately killed him (Hill 2016). The deaths of Black men and boys, like Tamir Rice, garnered extensive coverage that appears to render invisible the experiences of Black women, and other people of color in their interactions with police.

Sandra Bland was a twenty eight year old Black woman who was on her way to start a new job when she was pulled over by Officer Brian Encinia, for failing to signal while turning on July 10th, 2015 (Pitman, Ralph, Camacho, and Monk-Turner 2017). Upon initial observation, this appeared as a routine traffic stop. However, this situation escalated after the state trooper took note of her irritated disposition, and her refusal to put out her cigarette at Encinia's request. In response to Bland's demeanor and behavior, Encinia threatened to "yank" Sandra out of her car, refused to answer questions, and warned her that he would "light [her] up" (Pitman et al. 2017: 1). When he ordered Bland to step out of her car, the state trooper threatened her with a Taser, injured her arm while throwing her to the pavement, and charged Bland with assaulting a public servant (Graham 2015; Pitman et al. 2017: 1). Within three days of her arrest, authorities reported Bland dead in her cell (Graham 2015). The medical examiner ruled that Bland's death was a suicide. However, this finding has been widely contested as many argue that Bland did not take her own life (Graham 2015; Rogers 2016). Ultimately, the fundamental and common components in the deaths of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland, and many others, are twofold: while Michael, Eric, and Sandra were racially marginalized, Sandra experienced racialized gender marginalization as a woman. Their interactions with police are situated within a social context informed by the interlocking systems of oppression that we call White supremacy and patriarchy, hence, their movement through social spaces-and their interactions with police officers were racialized and gendered. Secondly, at the core of the interactions between these three individuals is the issue of police use of force.

The purpose of the present study is to provide evidence that the intersection of race and gender is an important dimension of police use of force in police-public contacts. Since the summer 2014, we have continued to see the streaming of incidents in which police officers exert excessive and lethal force on unarmed civilians, who are often racially marginalized. We have borne witness to the rise of #BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName, as responses to the public brutalization of Black men, women, and gender nonconforming people by police. We have also seen the backlash to such claims taking the form of "Blue Lives Matter." In this paper, I review the pertinent literature about factors that influence police use of force, provide an overview of intersectionality theory and examples of intersectionality in criminology. Then, I discuss the logistic regression of the Police-Public Contact survey data (2008). Ultimately, the results of the binary

logistic regression provide support for the contention that the multiplicative identities of race and gender have an effect on police use, or threatened use, of force.

Research on Factors Influencing Police Use of Force

The relationship between a suspect's race and police use of force has been widely examined (Engel and Calnon 2004, Lawton 2007; McCluskey and Terill 2005). The relationship between race and police use of force is one informed by an historical legacy of racialized social control (Blackmon 2008; Bass 2001). Bass (2001) asserts that during slavery, slave patrols constantly policed the movement of slaves and tracking down runaways whom they would punish with impunity. Further, Alexander (2010) argues that the hyper-surveillance of Black bodies and the exposure to physical force from state agents of social control continued after slavery ended, throughout Reconstruction, and through Jim Crow. Jim Crow refers to the period after the Civil War, between the 1870s and the 1960s, during which a brutal, formal, codified system of racial segregation emerged and crystallized in the American South (Blackmon 2008; Alexander 2010).

Immediately after the Civil War, almost every Southern state implemented several "interlocking laws essentially intended to criminalize black life" and routine black behaviors (Blackmon 2008: 53, 67). For example, by 1865 almost every Southern state outlawed unemployment (vagrancy); vagrancy was loosely defined so that any formerly enslaved person "not under the protection of a white man could be arrested for the crime" (Blackmon 2008: 53). Often Blacks were arrested for a range of actions including carrying a weapon, "riding on the empty freight train cars.... , speaking loudly in the presence of White women" (Blackmon 2008; 67), failing to show deference to Whites in public spaces, violating segregation laws, "mischief" and a variety of behaviors that appeared to threaten the dominant racial social order (Kelley 2016: 19; Alexander 2010: 31).

Another behavior that appeared to threaten White supremacy was eye contact. Throughout slavery, slaves who made eye contact with whites were seen as committing an act of rebellion (Hill 2016: 69); this idea pervaded Jim Crow. Black men and women who made eye contact with whites and police officers were suspected of being "insufficiently deferential," and starting trouble (Taylor 2016; Kelley 2016). This characterization of mundane behavior engaged in by Black people towards whites and police officers as "insufficiently deferential" persists today. When Black men and women fail to demonstrate appropriate deference, in the form of suspicious eye contact police officers or "talking back, they are often regarded by police officers as committing a "sign of guilt, an act of disrespect, and an affront to state power" (Hill 2016: 6). Because these assumptions remain today, Black men and women are often more likely to experience the threat of use of force or use of force from police officers when interacting with them (Hughey 2015).

Studies on police stops appear to be consistent with the persistence of the overrepresentation of racially marginalized people in stops. Findings from the Ferguson Report (2016:5) reveal racial dimensions of police stops:

Data collected by the Ferguson Police Department from 2012 to 2014 shows that African Americans account for 85% of vehicle stops, 90% of citations, and 93% of arrests made by FPD officers, despite comprising only 67% of Ferguson's population...These disparities are also present in FPD's used of force. Nearly 90% of documented force used by FPD officers was used against African Americans. In every canine bite incident for which racial information was available, the person bitten was African American.

As this evidence shows, the current era of neoliberal colorblindness has not encouraged a decline of the hyper-policing of Black communities. In fact, it has persisted.

Although the historical legacy of racialized social control of Blacks in the United States is an important element of understanding likelihood of police use or threatening to use force in police-public contacts, it is equally as important to explore the effects of racialization for other groups in the United States. In their study about the intersectionality of race and gender among Latino participants, Bell (2013) asserts that most research examining the intersection of race and gender is limited to Blacks and Whites. Incorporating Hispanics into the current study aids in disrupting binary understandings about race. Armenta (2017) considers the institutional production of immigrant criminality regarding Latinos and reveals the mechanisms by which Latinos are criminalized. This process occurs through the construction and implementation of facially neutral and colorblind policies, police practices, and through encounters with police, as part of the emergence of the "cimmigration" system (Stumpf 2006). Although Armenta's (2017) work illustrates the unique process by which Latinos are criminalized, they do not consider the intersection of race and gender, and how criminalization of Latino people impacts differentially racialized and gendered Latino people.

While it is established that race is a prominent factor in terms of how often individuals from certain groups are likely to interact with police and experience police use of force (Brunson and Weitzer 2009; Russell-Brown 2009; Crutchfield, Skinner, Haggerty, Anne McGlynn, and Catalano, 2012), there are several different factors documented in the literature that inform police use of force. Westley (1953) found that police were more likely to deploy force when confronting a suspect who did not demonstrate respect for officers, and as a method to gain information. Paoline et al.'s (2018) study resulted in similar findings. They found that both White and Black police officers used force in response to suspects' actions that undermine their authority. However, while their study suggests that Black officers only respond to threats to their authority, White police appeared to use more forceful actions against Blacks who undermine their authority as a result of the absence of deference *and* because of the suspect's race (Paoline et al. 2018). In other words, for White police officers, the need to maintain control over the encounter is informed by both their status and potentially perceived racial superiority.

Additional factors that are consistently identified with increasing the likelihood of police using force in interactions with citizens include evidence of criminal behavior being present (Paoline and Terill 2004), suspect is in possession

of a weapon (Rydberg and Terill 2010), officer is in the presence of conflict between citizens (McCluskey and Terrill 2005), and police officer is arresting the suspect (McCluskey and Terill 2005). In addition, Rydberg and Terill (2010) found that social class impacts officer likelihood to use force. They found that lower class individuals have a greater risk of experiencing officers' use of force during encounters. Bolger (2015) argues that there still exists uncertainty regarding the effect of the suspect's sex on police use of force. In response to this uncertainty, Bolger (2015) suggests that the type of force used by police officers may impact the relationship between suspects' sex and use of force.

Intersectionality

Multiracial feminism and intersectionality provide a useful lens through which we can explore how the intersection of race and sex impact police use of force. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, women of color feminisms were challenging taken-for-granted explanations of women's and people of color's experiences. As a tenet of both Black feminism and critical race theory, intersectionality (Collins 2006; Potter 2013; Delgado and Stefancic 2012) acknowledges that oppression is not experienced along one dimension of social inequality. Davis (2008: 68) defines intersectionality as the interaction between race, class, gender, and "other locations of inequality in individuals' lives, social practices, institutional arrangements and cultural ideologies, and the outcome of these interactions in terms of power." In other words, an intersectional analysis takes into consideration and centers certain forms of intersecting systems of oppression (e.g., race, gender, class inequalities) and challenges us to acknowledge that these systems of oppression work simultaneously to produce inequality and injustice (Collins 2006).

Critical race and Black feminist scholars have used intersectional approaches to examine how the intersection of race and gender shape various experiences, including interpersonal victimization, criminal offending, and interactions with police. For example, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) applied Black feminism to understand how anti-racist and anti-violence against women movements, which either centered Black men or White women, erased Black women and neglected their interest. Because these movements were mobilized along single dimensions of social inequality (i.e., race and gender, respectively), Black women's experiences as racialized gendered people, experiencing oppression as a result of their Blackness and femininity, were rendered precarious and vulnerable to racialized gendered violence in ways the Black men and White women were not. Similarly, Beth Richie (2012) deployed Black feminism to understand how Black girls and women uniquely experience gendered violence. In her work, she develops the male violence matrix, which is comprised of the "intersectional relationship between male violence and ideology around race, gender, sexuality, and class" (Richie 2012:132), and illustrates how Black girls and women experience physical and sexual assault, and emotional manipulation in unique ways. Bell (2013) used a multiracial feminist and intersectional approach to explore offending across the early life course, and found that the intersection of race and gender is significant for young adult offending. Ritchie (2017) explicitly

explores the ways in which differently racialized women experience encounters with police, while demonstrating the historical and contemporary role of policing of gender and sexuality in the criminalization of communities of color.

While intersecting identities shape women of colors' experiences with victimization, criminal offending and how they experience policing, Messerschmidt (2014) argues that intersecting identities also shape boys and men's engagement in crime. Rios' (2011) work demonstrates just how intersecting identities and systems of oppression shape youths' interaction with formal social control agents. In *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*, Rios (2011) highlights the significance of exploring the relationship between racialized gender, class, and age, and policing for young Black and Latino adolescent boys in Oakland, California. Specifically, he examines the effect of racialized masculinity and policing, and found that these youth used the commission of crime and interactions with various social control agents, including police, as a method through which they construct and demonstrate their manhood. Rios (2015: 66) has also discussed issues regarding young Black and Latino boys and their expression of resilience and resistance in ways that were "were often rendered deviant, and the boys were excluded as criminal." In sum, intersectionality has been used to examine the experiences of both boys and men, and girls and women in the criminal processing system.

Although attributing the concept of intersectionality to Black feminism is important, my use of intersectionality in the current study looks at two other racialized groups: Whites and Hispanics. Therefore, I am also drawing on a multiracial feminist perspective. According to Burgess-Proctor (2006: 28), multiracial feminism was developed by women of color who recognized the need to develop approaches to studying gender that called attention to issues of "power and difference in ways that previous models had not." Like Black feminists, multiracial feminists reject gender-alone analyses of social phenomena. They assert that gendered experiences are informed by race, class, age, sexuality, physical ability, and "other locations of inequality;" and that the "social relations based on gender and race [are] interactive terms and not just additive" (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996: Burgess-Proctor 2006: 36). Thus, where Black feminism centers the lived experiences of Black women and other Black genders, and sexuality, marginalized people, multiracial feminism provides a framework to examine, and hold relationally to each other, differential racialized genders, and the effect that race and gender have on police use of force in police encounters.

The Present Study

Data, Methods, and Hypotheses

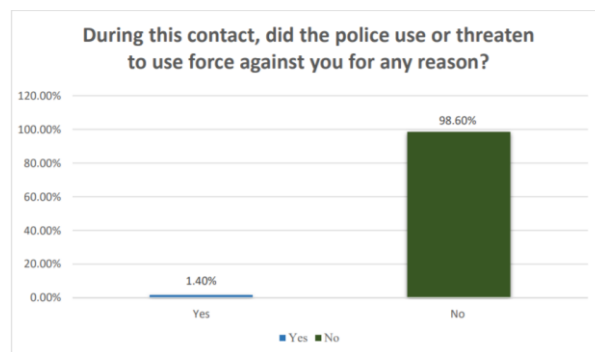
The survey data set in this study is from the Police-Public Contact Survey (2008), a supplement of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). The data were obtained from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research. The Police-Public Contact Survey (2008) was administered via telephone and in person interviews with a stratified, multistage cluster sample of U.S. households. It was administered as a supplemental survey in 2008 to all persons 16 years old or

older within households sampled for the NCVS (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2008).

The purpose of the Police-Public Contact Survey (2008) was to gather data regarding the nature and characteristics of face-to-face contacts between police and the public, including the reason for the contact and contact outcomes (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2008). Respondents were asked about police officer behavior during face-to-face interactions, whether police used force in interactions, whether they felt the use of force was excessive, whether respondents were injured in interactions with police and the type of injury suffered, whether respondents were arrested and handcuffed in this police-citizen interaction, as well as the nature of their behavior when they interacted with police. Respondents were also asked about the reasons for contact with police, and a series of questions that pertained to traffic stops, specifically. Additionally, respondents were asked about whether they were searched by police in their interaction with them, and outcomes of other contacts with police (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2008). Demographic data including race, ethnicity, sex, age, and employment status were also collected. Ages of those surveyed ranged from 16 to 90, with a mean of 39.84 and a median of 38. Respondents were 53.1% male and 46.9% female, while 74.9% were White, 10.3% Hispanic, 9.5% Black, 3.5% Asian/Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 1.1% two or more races, .7% American Indian/Alaskan Native (N= 37,872,494).

For the purpose of this study,¹ I identified one dependent variable from this data set-- likelihood of police use or threatening to use force in face-to-face interactions with citizens. The specific question used in this analysis was, "During this contact, did the police USE or THREATEN TO USE force against you for any reason?" The frequency distribution for this question can be found in Figure 1. A large majority reported that the police had not used or threatened to use force against them, 98.60%, while 1.40% reported that the police had used or threatened to use force against them. The dependent variable was dummy coded, where 1 = yes and 0 = no.

Figure 1 Frequency distribution of police using or threatening to use force in police-public contacts



Source: Police-Public Contact Survey, 2008

Independent Variables

¹A filter was created so as to only include those who indicated that they had a face-to-face contact with a police officer in the last 12 months.

Primary independent variables for this study include race and sex, while control variables include age, verbal altercation with the police,² respondent disobeyed the police, respondent tried to flee from the police, and respondent resisted arrest. All independent variables except for the intersectionality and age variables were transformed into dichotomous dummy variables (1= yes, 0= no) for analysis. The intersectionality variable is comprised of the sex and race variable and consists of six categories: White male, White female, Black male, Black female, Hispanic male, and Hispanic female.³ Age⁴ is a six-category variable comprised of the following intervals: 16 to 19, 20 to 29, 30 to 39, 40 to 49, 50 to 59, and aged 60 and older.

Review of literature regarding police use of force suggests that race is an important factor in police use of force, while the effect that sex has on use of force is fairly inconclusive. I hypothesize that, generally, the intersection of race and sex will have an effect on use of force. Specifically, I hypothesize that Black males, Black females, Hispanic males, and Hispanic females will have greater likelihood to report police use or threatened use of force than White males. I also expect White females to have a lesser likelihood to report police use or threatened use of force than White males.

Youths, adolescents, and young adults tend to have greater encounters with the police than older people (Langton and Durose 2013). As a result, I hypothesize that because they have more contacts with police, respondents between the ages of 16 and 19, and 20-29, will be more likely to report police use or threatened use of force than older respondents.

Displays of “insufficient deference” with police have been linked with police use of force, historically and contemporarily (Hill 2016: 69; Taylor 2016; Kelley 2016). Therefore, I hypothesize that respondents who indicated they had verbal altercations with police, disobeyed the police, attempted to flee the presence of the police, and attempted to resist arrest would be more likely to report police use or threatened use of force than respondents who did not indicate engaging in any of these behaviors.

Analysis

The dependent variable in my analysis of the Police-Public Contact Survey (PPCS) data was dichotomous. As a result, I ran a binary logistic regression model to assess the likelihood of respondents reporting that police either use or threatened to use

² The survey question was: At any time during this contact did you (a) disobey or interfere with the officers(s) (b) Try to get away? (c) Push, grab, or hit the police officer(s)? (d) Resist being handcuffed, arrested, or searched? (e) Physically do anything else? Please specify

³ Multicollinearity is not a problem as tolerance and VIF values were within the acceptable range of greater than .40 and less than 2.5, respectively (Allison 1999)

⁴ Multicollinearity is not a problem as tolerance and VIF values were within the acceptable range of greater than .40 and less than 2.5, respectively (Allison 1999)

force when interacting with people. Because this study relies on a binary logistic regression, I do not run the risk of violating core assumptions of the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions, including linearity (Pampel 2000). Moreover, there are multiple statistics that are used in the logistic regression analysis. The chi-square statistic shows me to determine whether the model is statistically significant, while the unstandardized slope, B , represents the change in the dependent variable based on the independent variables in log odds (Pampel 2000). For this logistic regression analysis, I use the Wald statistic to determine the statistical significance of the independent variables. In addition, the odds ratio estimated in the logistic regression allows me to determine the likelihood of a statistically significant independent variable increasing or decreasing the extent to which police used force or threatened to use force when interacting with respondents (Bachman and Paternoster 2004).

Missing Data

Listwise deletion of missing data in the logistic regression resulted in an insubstantial loss of cases in the data set; .5% of the 9,504 cases were dropped due to missing data.

Results

Table 1 presents the results of my logistic regression using the PPCS data. The model χ^2 is statistically significant, indicating that the model significantly reduces the -2 loglikelihood ($\chi^2 = 962541.164, p = .000$). The Hosmer and Lemeshow test for goodness of fit of the model to the data is statistically significant, suggesting that we reject the null hypothesis of good fit ($\chi^2 = 19506.671, p = .000$). McFadden’s pseudo R^2 shows there is a 17.3% reduction in error compared with the null model.

Table 1 Police-Public Contact Survey (2008): binary logistic regression coefficients, standard errors, and odds ratios for police use of force

Variable	Coeff.	se	Odds
White Male White Female	- .779**	.00 4	.459
Black Male	.789**	.00 5	2.201
Black Female	.646**	.00 5	1.909
Hispanic Male	.180**	.00 5	1.197

Hispanic Female	-.696**	.008	.498
Age (60 or older)			
Age 50-59	.058**	.009	1.060
Age 40-49	.595**	.008	1.814
Age 30-39	1.003**	.008	2.727
Age 20-29	1.594**	.007	4.924
Age 16-19	1.599**	.008	4.947
Verbal Altercation	2.733**	.005	15.386
Disobeyed	3.530**	.008	34.111
Flee	.951**	.015	2.588
Resisted Arrest	1.405**	.013	4.076
Constant	-5.442**	.007	.004
Model χ^2	962541.164*		
	*		
Omnibus χ^2 for Race, Sex and Age	962514.164	.007	.004
McFadden pseudo R2	.173		
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	19506.671**		

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$ one tailed tests

The results of the regression indicate that the intersectionality variable, RaceSex, overall, had a statistically significant relationship with the likelihood of reporting police use or threatened use of force in police-public contacts. When observed as individual categories, being Black male ($\beta = .789$, $p < .01$), Black female ($\beta = .646$, $p < .01$), and Hispanic male ($\beta = .180$, $p < .01$), had statistically significant positive relationships with police use of force. Black males and females were about 2 times more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force in police-public contacts than White males. Hispanic males were 19.7% more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force in interactions with police than White males. These results support the hypotheses about the overall effects of the intersection of race and sex, on police use force, and they also support the hypotheses about the effects of being Black male, Black female, and Hispanic male on police use of force.

It was found that being White female ($\beta = -.779$, $p < .01$), and Hispanic female ($\beta = -.696$, $p < .01$), had statistically significant negative relationships with police use of force. White females were 54.1% less likely to report police use or threatened use of force in police-public contacts than White males, while Hispanic females were 50.2% less likely to report police use or threatened use of force in police interactions than White males. While results for White females support the hypothesis about the effect of being White female on police use of force, the results

for Hispanic females contradict the hypothesis about the effect of being Hispanic female on police use of force.

Age, overall, was found to have a statistically significant relationship with police use of force. For respondents between the ages of 50 and 59 ($\beta = .058, p < .01$), they were 6% more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force than the oldest respondents, aged 60 and older. Respondents between the ages 40 and 49 ($\beta = .595, p < .01$), were 81.4% more likely to report police use or threatened use of force. Those between the ages of 30 and 39 ($\beta = 1.003, p < .01$), were 2.7 times more likely to report police use or threatened use of force than the oldest respondents. Respondents between the ages of 16 and 19 ($\beta = 1.599, p < .01$), and those between the ages of 20 and 29 ($\beta = 1.594, p < .01$), were about 5 times more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force in police-public contacts than the oldest respondents. These results are consistent with the hypothesis about the youngest groups of respondents--those aged 16 to 19 and 20 to 29—would be most likely to experience force or the threat of force in police encounters.

Consistent with the hypotheses about the effect of absence of deference variables on police use of force, it was found that all four absence of deference variables had statistically significant positive relationships with police use of force. Respondents who indicated they disobeyed or interfered with the officer(s) ($\beta = 3.530, p < .01$) during contact were 34 times more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force than those who did not. Respondents who claimed to have argued with, cursed at, insulted, or verbally threatened the police ($\beta = 2.733, p < .01$) were 15 times more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force in contacts with police, than respondents who did not. Additionally, respondents who indicated that they resisted being handcuffed, arrested, or searched ($\beta = 1.405, p < .01$), were 4 times more likely to report police use, or threatened use, of force by police in police-public contacts. Respondents who claimed that they tried to get away from the police ($\beta = .951, p < .01$) were about 2.5 more likely to report police use of force than those who did not such attempts.

Discussion and Implications

This research analyzed whether the combined effects of respondent race and gender identities on police use, or threatened use, of force are significant. My hypothesis that the intersection of race and sex will have an effect on use of force, generally, was supported. The more specific hypotheses regarding Black males and females, White females, and Hispanic males were supported, while the hypothesis about Hispanic females was not supported. Because there remains a need for the quantitative exploration into the combined effect of race and gender on police officers use or threatened use of police force when interacting with civilians, this study aimed to address this need in the literature. The revelation of the positive association between Black males, Black females, and Hispanic males and police use of force is consistent with literature regarding racially marginalized populations and policing in the United States (Jacobs 2017; Kelley 2016) and may be related to police officers having racialized gendered expectations of members of marginalized groups (Kelley 2016, Paoline et al. 2018).

The significance of the insufficient deferential authority measures, and the significant effect that age has on police use of force in this model suggests that police officers also have racialized and gendered expectations for deference, especially among younger people. In his study about Black and Latino youth, Rios (2015) suggests that youth of color may engage in behaviors toward police officers, that police likely interpret as inadequate deference. As a result, police may feel the need to deploy force to “keep them in their place” (Bonilla-Silva 2014: 42). However, the likelihood of reporting that the police threatened the use of force or used force in their interactions, by respondents between the ages of 40 and 49 is a surprising finding; there is an expectation that the quality of interactions with police should improve as respondents age. This is a change we can see in the gradual decline in odds between those respondents in the response categories of 20-29 and 30-39. It is worth conducting an in-depth analysis on the factors and influences that shape respondents’ experiences with police who fall into the age range between 40 and 49 years old.

White females’ reduced likelihood to report police use or threatened use of force compared to White males was consistent with my expectations about effect of this combination of respondent’s race and sex, because White female’s position as the normative standard for femininity (Jacobs 2017) may afford them an assumption of innocence not extended to women of Color. In their study about Black women’s perceptions of the police, Gabbidon, Higgins, and Potter (2011) note White females are less likely to be arrested for violent offenses and incarcerated for drug offenses than Black females. White females’ lower arrest rate compared to their Black counterparts suggests that they also have fewer contacts with police than Black females. Additionally, White females’ social status may render them less likely to have interactions with police informed by the conflation of their racialized gender expressions with deviance, hyper-sexuality, or aggression-- all of which may be viewed as needing to be restrained (Jacobs 2017). It appears that Black females are disadvantaged by misogynoir, or the co-constitutive, anti-Black racist misogyny that Black women experience (Bailey 2010; Bailey and Trudy 2018), in their interactions with police in ways that White females are not.

The findings for Hispanic females suggest that, unlike their male counterparts who are more likely than White males to report police use or threatened use of force, they are less likely than White males to report that police used or study aimed to address this need in the literature. The revelation of the positive association between Black males, Black females, and Hispanic males and police use of force is consistent with literature regarding racially marginalized populations and policing in the United States (Jacobs 2017; Kelley 2016) and may be related to police officers having racialized gendered expectations of members of marginalized groups (Kelley 2016, Paoline et al. 2018).

The significance of the insufficient deferential authority measures, and the significant effect that age has on police use of force in this model suggests that police officers also have racialized and gendered expectations for deference, especially among younger people. In his study about Black and Latino youth, Rios (2015) suggests that youth of color may engage in behaviors toward police officers,

that police likely interpret as inadequate deference. As a result, police may feel the need to deploy force to “keep them in their place” (Bonilla-Silva 2014: 42). However, the likelihood of reporting that the police threatened the use of force or used force in their interactions, by respondents between the ages of 40 and 49 is a surprising finding; there is an expectation that the quality of interactions with police should improve as respondents age. This is a change we can see in the gradual decline in odds between those respondents in the response categories of 20-29 and 30-39. It is worth conducting an in-depth analysis on the factors and influences that shape respondents’ experiences with police who fall into the age range between 40 and 49 years old.

White females’ reduced likelihood to report police use or threatened use of force compared to White males was consistent with my expectations about effect of this combination of respondent’s race and sex, because White female’s position as the normative standard for femininity (Jacobs 2017) may afford them an assumption of innocence not extended to women of Color. In their study about Black women’s perceptions of the police, Gabbidon, Higgins, and Potter (2011) note White females are less likely to be arrested for violent offenses and incarcerated for drug offenses than Black females. White females’ lower arrest rate compared to their Black counterparts suggests that they also have fewer contacts with police than Black females. Additionally, White females’ social status may render them less likely to have interactions with police informed by the conflation of their racialized gender expressions with deviance, hyper-sexuality, or aggression-- all of which may be viewed as needing to be restrained (Jacobs 2017). It appears that Black females are disadvantaged by misogynoir, or the co-constitutive, anti-Black racist misogyny that Black women experience (Bailey 2010; Bailey and Trudy 2018), in their interactions with police in ways that White females are not.

The findings for Hispanic females suggest that, unlike their male counterparts who are more likely than White males to report police use or threatened use of force, they are less likely than White males to report that police used or threatened to use force in their interactions. This indicates that there is something unique about occupying a social position in which one is both Hispanic and female, that reduces the likelihood of police threatening or using force in their interactions with Hispanic females. Additionally, the institutional and structural dynamics that shape Hispanic females’ interactions with police officers may have a different impact on Hispanic males and may differ from those that influence Black males’ and Black females’ interactions with police. Future research should examine the broader social forces that shape Hispanic females’ interactions with police, and when police are more likely to threaten to use, or use, force when interacting with Hispanic females. In the last few years, we have seen anti-immigrant rhetoric targeting Hispanic and Latinos and their presence in the body politic, so it is important to consider how the more recent political climate influence interactions between police and Hispanic females.

Limitations

Although the results from this study have afforded us some insight into the effects of the intersection of race and sex on police use of force and provide support for the claims of criminologists who conduct intersectional analyses, this study is not without its limitations. First, I only examined the likelihood of police use or threatened use of force. Further questions raised by the results of this study include whether and to what extent the race*sex intersection predicts specific use of force outcomes, like the use of a Taser on a suspect, or being shot by the police. Additionally, due to the dichotomous nature of the use of force outcome in the data set, I was not able to examine whether there is a linear relationship between race*sex variables and use of force. Therefore, future research should examine more specific use of force outcomes and develop continuous measures of use of force to assess whether there exists a linear relationship between race*sex and other important variables. In particular, the use of continuous outcome variables may present an opportunity to conduct more complex analyses in the future.

Second, because this research utilizes a cross-sectional design, causality cannot be inferred from the model. While it may appear that the independent variables tested in this variable are in fact predictors of police use or threatened use of force in police-public contacts, it is also very much possible that variations in police behavior, like type of force used by individual police officers may influence the effect that the interaction of race and sex has on police use of force (Paoline and Terill 2004). Therefore, I propose the following suggestions. Future research should use a longitudinal research design to examine the effect of the intersection of race and sex on police use or threatened use of force, across time. Currently, there are several police-public contact survey data sets available, so it is a possible option for future researchers. It may be useful to test three-way interactions between respondent race, sex, and officer race, as well as respondent race, sex, and each of the different insufficient deference variables.

The use of secondary data sources presents a unique set of limitations for the present study. The purpose for collecting these data was to provide information about the nature and characteristics of face-to-face contacts between police and the public, including the reason and outcome. While these data were helpful in gaining insight about the effect of race and sex on police use or threatened use of force, I was still left with some less than ideal measures that resulted in the removal of categories from some variables that may have enriched the current study. The most pressing problem with using this data set is that there does not exist a gender variable. Because “sex” is being used as proxy for gender in this model, it is important to exercise caution about the conclusions that can be made about the combined effect of race and sex on police use of force. In other words, as sex refers to biological traits, not the more fluid and dynamic social construct that is gender, caution must be used when attempting to generalize these claims. Future research should merge available data sets from the police-public contact survey to provide enough cases in certain variables (e.g., race categories including two or more races), as a remedy for the former issue. For the latter, it is important that surveys and questionnaires that collect official data include items treating gender and sex

separately, including more than two sex categories for those who are intersex, and including more categories in the gender item beyond the binary “woman/man” categories to capture more than these two genders.

While this study draws on Black feminist and multiracial perspectives, the variables in the study do not allow for an exploration into the ways in which the Black, Hispanic, and White females and males are experiencing their interactions with police officers in uniquely gendered ways. In other words, we are not able to gain insight into how the context within which the situations in which police officers threatened to use force or use force in their interactions with civilians, are experienced differently by males and females. This is another direction in which future research may be directed.

Given the different odds ratios revealed in these analyses, future researchers may begin more in-depth, qualitative studies to explore the dimensions of racialized gender identities that either increase the odds of certain racially marginalized people to experience and report police use of force in interactions with police, and decrease them for others, compared to White males. Additionally, along with theorizing about how White maleness and masculinities are privileged in this society and how these privileges appear to make respondents more or less likely to report police use of force, we should conduct qualitative studies to explore those who identified as both White and male to understand what other social conditions, and identities enhance or minimize their likelihood to report police use, or threatened use, of force in interactions with police. Lastly, another possibility for future research might be to look at the interaction between intersectionality and the absence of deference items on likelihood to report police use, or threatened use of force in interactions with police.

References

- Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in an Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press
- Armenta, Amanda. 2017. "Racializing Crimmigration: Structural Racism, Colorblindness, and Institutional Production of Immigrant Criminality." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3(1):82-95.
- Baca Zinn, Maxine, and Bonnie Thornton Dill. 1996. "Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism." *Feminist Studies* 22 (2): 321-331.
- Bachman, Ronet, and Raymond Paternoster. 2004. *Statistical Methods for Criminology and Criminal Justice*. 2nd Edition. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill
- Bass, Sandra. 2001. "Policing Space, Policing Race: Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions." *Social Justice* 28 (1):156-176
- Bell, Kerryn E. 2013. "Young Adult Offending: Intersectionality of Gender and Race." *Critical Criminology* 21: 103-121.
- Blackmon, Douglas A. 2008. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. NY: Anchor Books.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2014. *Racism Without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Bolger, Colin P. 2015. "Just Following Orders: A Meta-Analysis of the Correlates of American Police Officer Use of Force Decisions" *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 40: 466-492.
- Brunson, Rod K., and Ronald Weitzer. 2009. "Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods" *Urban Affairs Review* 44(6): 858-885
- Burgess-Proctor, Amanda. 2006. "Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Crime: Future Directions for Feminist Criminology." *Feminist Criminology* 1(1): 27-47.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2006. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 14: 139–67.
- Crutchfield, Robert D., Martie L. Skinner, Kevin P. Haggerty, Anne McGlynn, and Richard F. Catalano. 2012. "Racial Disparity in Police Contact" *Race and Justice* 2(3): 179-202
- Delgado, Richard, and Jean Stefancic. 2012. *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Engel, Robin Shepard, and Jennifer Calnon. 2004. "Examining the influence of drivers' characteristics during traffic stops with police: Results from a national survey." *Justice Quarterly* 21: 49-90.
- Gabbidon, Shaun L., George E. Higgins, and Hillary Potter. 2011. "Race, Gender, and the Perception of Recently Experiencing Unfair Treatment by the Police: Exploratory Results From an All-Black Sample" *Criminal Justice Review* 36(1): 5-21
- Graham, David A. 2015. Sandra Bland and the Long History of Racism in Waller County. *The Atlantic* Retrieved June 16, 2018.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/07/sandra-bland-waller-county-racism/398975/>
- Hill, Marc Lamont. 2016. *Nobody: Casualties of America's War on the Vulnerable, from Ferguson to Flint and Beyond*. New York, NY: Atria Books
- Hughey, Matthew W. 2015. "The Five I's of Five-O: Race Ideologies, Institutions, Interests, Identities, and Interactions of Police Violence." *Critical Sociology* 41(6):857-871
- Jacobs, Michelle S. 2017. "The Violent State: Black Women's Invisible Struggle Against Police Violence." *William and Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 24(1): 39- 100.
- Kamat, Anjali. 2016. "The Baltimore Uprising" Pp. 74-82 in *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*, edited by J.T. Camp and C. Heatherton. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Kelley, Robin D.G. 2016. "Thug Nation." Pp. 15-33 in *Policing the Planet: Why The Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*. Edited by J.T. Camp and C. Heatherton. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.

- Kelley, Robin D.G. 2016. "Thug Nation." Pp. 15-33 in *Policing the Planet: Why The Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*. Edited by J.T. Camp and C. Heatherton. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- McCluskey, John, and William Terill. 2004. "Departmental and citizen complains as predictors of police coercion." *Policing: An international Journal of Police Strategies and Management* 28: 513-529.
- Lawton, Brian A. 2007. "Levels of nonlethal force: Baseline data from an observational study" *Journal of Crime and Delinquency* 44: 163-184.
- Langton, Lynn and Matthew Durose. 2016. *Police Behavior during Traffic and Street Stops, 2011*. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice.
- Lipsitz, George. 2016. "Policing Space and Taxing Time on Skid Row." Pp. 123-139 in *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*. Edited by J.T. Camp and C. Heatherton. Brooklyn, NY: Verso
- Messerschmidt, James. 2014. *Crime as Structured Action: Doing Masculinities, Race, Class, Sexuality, and Crime*. United Kingdom: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Pampel, Fred. 2000. *Logistic Regression: A Primer*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage University Press
- Paoline, Eugene, and William Terrill. 2004. "Women police officers and the use of coercion." *Women and Criminal Justice* 15: 97-119.
- Paoline III, Eugene, Jacinta M. Gau, and William Terill. 2018. "Race and the Police Use of Force Encounter in the United States." *British Journal of Criminology* 58: 54-74.
- Pitman, Brian, Asha M. Ralph, Jocelyn Camacho, and Elizabeth Monk-Turner. "Social Media Users' Interpretations of the Sandra Bland Arrest Video." *Race and Justice* 9(4): 1-19.
- Potter, Hillary. 2013. "Intersectional Criminology: Interrogating Identity and Power in Criminological Research and Theory." *Critical Criminology* 21:305-318
- Richie, Beth E. 2012. *Arrested Justice: Black women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New York: New York University Press.

- Ritchie, Andrea J. 2017. *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rios, Victor M. 2015. "Policed, Punished, Dehumanized: The Reality for Young Men of Color." Pp. 59-80 in *Deadly Injustice: Trayvon Martin, Race and the Criminal Justice System*, edited by D.Johnson, P.Y.Warren, and A. Farrell. New York: New York University Press.
- Rogers, Katie. (2016). F.B.I. investigating police accounts of black woman's death in custody. The New York Times Retrieved February 19, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/17/nytnow/online-campaign-questions-official-account-of-sandra-bland-death.html>
- Russell-Brown, Kathryn. 2009. *The Color of Crime*. 2nd ed. New Yor: New York University
- Rydberg, Jason. and William Terill. 2010. "The effect of higher education on policebehavior." *Police Quarterly* 13: 92-120.
- Taylor, Keenga-Yamahatta. 2016. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Chicago,IL: Haymarket Books.
- Westley, William A. 1953. "Violence and the police." *American Journal of Sociology* 59:34-41.
- U.S. Department of Justice. Office of Justice Programs. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Police-Public Contact Survey, 2008 [Computer File]. Conducted by U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Freedom or Responsibility? On the Unreason of Public Reason

By Mitchell L. Winget

Abstract: This article argues that the public reason tradition of political normativity is flawed. As a result, I argue for a politically normative approach that rationally justifies morally legitimate political power for democratic political societies from outside the paradigm of public reason. To this end, I propose that neo-Aristotelian virtue theory lends us such a framework. Furthermore, I'll defend this framework against the objections that such a theory of political normativity is unreasonable and anti-democratic.

Introduction

When considering what justice means in a contemporary liberal society, some notion of freedom often comes to mind. To paraphrase the late Gerald Gaus, our freedom is normatively basic and the onus of justification always falls on those who try and coercively limit freedom (Gaus, 2011, p. 17). But in the realm of politics whereby certain decisions always rule over the free will of others, freedom can be a rather paradoxical concept. In fact, since the Enlightenment, Western political philosophy has produced a long lineage of thinkers attempting to unravel this paradox while rationally preserving the moral value of freedom in political life. These thinkers belong to an intellectual tradition known as philosophical liberalism and for many centuries, one of the most prominent theories regarding the moral legitimacy of political power within that tradition has been public reason liberalism.¹ Public reason liberals argue that freedom is preserved in political life when certain principles of political power can be demonstrated as justifiable to all reasonable persons who are subjected to such power.² But again, one might wonder what sort of principles guiding the use of political power could ever achieve such a feat given that persons regularly reach opposing political conclusions in their reasoning. This is why contentious issues concerning what is just dominates our political discourse and political power always fails to secure comprehensive agreement among all rational persons who are subjected to it. Nevertheless, public reason liberals argue that in being *reasonable*, rational persons can converge on common principles of political power.

So then who are the reasonable and what kind of political power do they endorse? This article explores the answers to these questions offered by the public reason tradition and ultimately argues that the answers prove to be untenable. However, I'll argue that a neo-Aristotelian framework of political virtue can avoid these pitfalls while providing a rational framework for political normativity. Of course, this transition is sure to elicit some serious objections. Firstly, the neo-Aristotelian account strikes many public reason liberals as unjustifiable. Secondly, the account seems at odds with democracy. In section I, I will survey the normative perspective underlying public reason liberalism and its theory of justice. In section II, I will explore the normative perspective of a neo-Aristotelian account and its own theory of justice. Then, in section III, I will argue that only the latter conception of justice is rationally acceptable. Lastly, I'll conclude by briefly touching base on the practical implications of what I have argued.

¹ According to Gaus, "social contract theory was fundamentally and explicitly concerned with identifying a source of public reason" (Gaus, 1996).

² Various theorists will expand and contract the scope of "political power" as it concerns justice. For Rawls, justice applies only to constitutional essentials and the distribution of primary goods but not any further decisions of the legislature under such an order. See Rawls (2001, p 91). For other contemporary arguments in favor of public reason liberalism, see Nussbaum (2011), Gaus (2011), Quong (2010), Estlund (2008), Nagel (1991), Larmore (1987). Some have extended the tenets of public reason to moral epistemology itself. Gaus (2011), Darwall (2006), and Scanlon (1998).

The Freestanding Self

Perhaps the most influential articulation of the politically normative framework known as public reason liberalism comes from John Rawls. Rawls perceived the problematic contentions of society as marked by the fact that persons come to possess incompatibly doctrinal conceptions of a good life and thus they inevitably contend on the distribution of ‘primary goods,’ which is to say the liberties and economic means necessary to effectuate that life. Rawls referred to this as the fact of reasonable pluralism. Given this contention, Rawls felt that the chief task of political philosophy was to delineate political principles governing the distribution of primary goods that all rational persons can accept. In his seminal work, *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls attempted to derive these political principles with the construction of a thought experiment now famously known as The Veil of Ignorance. From behind The Veil, all rational persons are eclipsed from the many incompatible doctrines - or “burdensome judgments” - that facilitate our political contentions with one another so that we can freely and fairly choose principles of justice to govern our society. This experiment exemplified what it means to be reasonable according to Rawls. When deliberating on the issues of distributive justice, the reasonable are “mutually disinterested” persons who dismiss any burdensome political judgments in order to locate political judgments that all rational persons can assent to (Rawls, 1999 [1971], pp. 6-7, 58 – 59, 81-82).

Due to the fact of reasonable pluralism, Rawls believed that no society could reach or maintain any actual consensus concerning just political power and so our natural freedom would never be preserved in politics. Nonetheless, Rawls demonstrated that a kind of *political freedom* is preserved by advancing mutually disinterested principles that all *freestanding* rational persons can still accept in abstraction from the various incompatible doctrines that facilitate our contentions to begin with. Such a consensus is what Rawls would later refer to as an “overlapping consensus” (Rawls, 2005, p. 26). For Rawls, rational disagreement in the realm of everyday political discourse posed no threat to the overlapping consensus that reasonable persons uphold. For our purposes, we can think of this general argument as the Public Reason Argument for Justice (PRAJ), which goes as follows:

- (1) All rational persons have sufficient reason to be mutually disinterested (i.e. reasonable).
- (2) All mutually disinterested persons have sufficient reason to endorse a certain form of political power.
- (3) If all rational persons have sufficient reason to be mutually disinterested, and all mutually disinterested persons have sufficient reason to endorse a certain form of political power, then all rational persons have sufficient reason to endorse a certain form of political power.
- (4) Therefore, all rational persons have sufficient reason to endorse a certain form of political power.

So what exactly are these certain forms of political power that all rational persons have sufficient reason to endorse? Ultimately, Rawls delineated what he argued were the two principles of political power concerning the distribution of primary goods in this respect. The most controversial of these principles departed from classically liberal conceptions of economic justice and included a maximin scheme of state redistribution that ensured the greatest possible gains for the comparatively least well off. This “new liberal” take on economic justice was part of a principle that Rawls called the “difference principle.”³ Many rational persons in liberal societies endorse the difference principle, but many rational persons in liberal societies reject its highly redistributive powers in favor of the free market justice advocated by classical liberals. This contention is not unfamiliar in debates concerning economic justice today. However, let’s recall that mere disagreement alone does not challenge the public reason liberal. The point is to locate principles that preserve our political freedom by appealing to an overlapping consensus. In fact, this is precisely why Rawls rejected classical liberalism. Rawls believed that the free market conception of justice championed by classical liberals was unreasonable because it was not predicated on mutually disinterested reasoning but rather burdensome judgments concerning the moral supremacy of private property, and a doctrinal perception of persons as comprising a competing network of private associations. On Rawls’s account, classical liberalism could never maintain a publicly acceptable notion of justice because it fails to respect persons as freestanding individuals whose interests always stand prior to the doctrinal preferences of classical liberalism (Rawls, 2005 pp. 11, 264 - 65).

Although Rawls remained committed to the PRAJ, he would eventually begin to question how the principles he’d prescribed could be the practically feasible principles of any social order given that there was no guarantee that rational persons in a pluralistic society would come to see that they have reason to uphold mutually disinterested political principles over whatever principles might be entailed by the various doctrines that often guide us in our everyday lives (*ibid*, p. 18). In effect, Rawls had acknowledged that premise 1 of the PRAJ could not be accepted as true in the absence of certain antecedent conditions. Thus, Rawls conceded that nothing of his theory had established that the principles of justice could be those of both a just and *stable* society. However, in *Political Liberalism*, Rawls argued that his principles of justice could be stably upheld from within a politically liberal ethos and its cultural perception of the self. According to Rawls, political persons in liberal societies generally have, above all else, a freestanding conception of the self as well as others in the public sphere as “self-authenticating

³ See Rawls (2001, p. 42). Maximin redistributions will permit economic inequalities over more equitable redistributions if such distributions would ultimately decrease the economic standing of the least well off under liberal market conditions. Because of this, not all egalitarians agree with Rawls. For example, socialists like G.A. Cohen have pointed out that the difference principle makes economic justice dependent upon the interests of the property-owning classes who otherwise have the capacity to threaten the economic standing of the least well-off in response to redistributive taxation under liberal market conditions, thus making greater economic equality appear unjustified by the standards of the difference principle. According to Cohen, no economic principle permitting such an imbalance of power could be a principle of justice. See Cohen (2008).

sources of valid claims”(ibid, pp. 26, 169). Therefore, liberal cultures are generally disposed to accept a “duty of civility” to actually uphold the mutually disinterested principles of political power that all freestanding rational persons can accept *over* the various doctrines that otherwise guide so many of us in our everyday lives.⁴

Moving onto the next section, we’ll consider an alternative tradition of political normativity. Such a tradition departs from public reason liberalism’s commitment to the mutually disinterested judgments of freestanding rational persons and moves towards what can be called the virtuous judgments of responsible rational persons.

Virtue and Responsibility

When it comes to political normativity, Aristotle may have left us with an important insight:

“The city does not exist for the sake of an alliance...nor for exchange and [commercial] dealings...whoever is concerned about good government keeps an eye on political virtue and vice. It is therefore evident that virtue ought to be a care for every city that is truly...called a city. Otherwise, the city becomes an alliance...and law becomes a treaty...not that which makes the citizens good and just” (Aristotle, 1280a34-b12).

The suggestion here is that a legitimate political society will be one where persons flourish in the cultivation of virtuous ideals and the just political institutions that serve those ideals. But more must be said about virtues and human flourishing. Drawing from the MacIntyrean account of virtue, I’ll present a neo-Aristotelian account of political virtue.

On the neo-Aristotelian account of political normativity, there are two dimensions of human value: The external goods of distribution and the internal goods of human virtue (MacIntyre, 1993[1981]). The external goods of distribution (e.g. wealth, power, opportunities, etc.) are akin to what Rawls called “primary goods” and include any good that is external to the agent. We might think of external goods in the sense that any external good that I have is one that you don’t have. On the other hand, the internal goods of human virtue are internal to human practices. Such goods are an acquired human quality, the possession and

⁴ This is also called the internal conception of public reason liberalism. For contemporary advocates, see Estlund (2008) and Quong (2010). However, it should be noted that this assumption that politically liberal persons have reason to endorse public reason liberalism in virtue of what it means to be liberal, is controversial. Liberal perfectionists, for example, reject the tenets of public reason while maintaining their own commitment to liberal values. For a prominent defense of liberal perfectionism, see Raz (1986).

exercise of which are of a cumulative value benefiting all who share in its collective developments (*ibid*, p. 232). So to further understand what a virtue is we must look to the concept of a practice as stipulated within the neo-Aristotelian tradition. According to MacIntyre, a practice constitutes: *an ongoing context present within human life whereby certain goals and themes of conflict present themselves, and whereby virtues can and have been realized, refined, and extended over time through a continued recognition of, and engagement with, its practical and relational structures*. It's from the standpoint of one's engagement with a practice that rational persons can begin to recognize certain virtuous ends, which is to say: *any feasible human pursuit, the cultivation of which rationally serves to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and relational structures in which they are situated while remaining internally consistent with other similarly situated virtues*. Correspondingly, whatever ends fail to characterize these features while perpetuating the practical and relational challenges of the practice, are understood as vices. Therefore, virtues are constitutive of any successful – i.e. flourishing - practice (*ibid.*)

Given this framework, recognizing political virtue requires one to acknowledge their own engagement with (i.e. responsibility to) the practical and relational structures of politics as a practice. Since a practice constitutes an ongoing context present within human life whereby certain goals and themes of conflict present themselves within its practical and relational structures, political life arguably embodies a certain practice. Political life is that ongoing context whereby one must *attempt to communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. In other words, the practice of politics is essentially communal reasoning and this kind of activity is of course prior to any governing institutions. Furthermore, it's important to recognize that politics is the most basic of social practices because it is inherent to all communities, as all communities have the capacity to reason with one another concerning community issues. Upon the recognition of politics as a practice, recognizing political virtue means calling into question those characteristic pursuits that *rationally serve to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the [political] practical and relational structures in which they are situated while remaining internally consistent with other similarly situated virtues*.

Given the practical and relational structure of the political practice, the neo-Aristotelian tradition is able to derive at least three virtues of political life: The political virtue of honesty as derived through experience with what it means to successfully engage in any attempt to *communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. Furthermore, the political virtue of courage as derived through experience with what it means to successfully engage in any attempt to *communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. Lastly, the virtue of justice as derived through experience with what it means to successfully engage in any attempt to *communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. In summary, flourishing political societies require rational

persons to be honest, courageous, and just if they are to successfully attempt to communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them. Public reason liberals needn't find this general perspective to be that contentious. However, notice that on a neo-Aristotelian account, the normativity of justice is conceived somewhat differently than for public reason liberals. This is because neo-Aristotelians hold that one can only *successfully* engage in any attempt to communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them, in the event that all rational persons in question are responsible to the relevant practices in question.

In closing this section we now have two competing conceptions of justice:

(1) the public reason conception of justice as issuing mutually disinterested principles that all freestanding rational persons can accept and (2) the neo-Aristotelian conception of justice as issuing virtuous principles that all responsibly rational persons can accept. As we continue, I'll argue that the first conception is not successfully pursuant of any *principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of public reason liberalism, the essence of justice is to resist the allegedly "burdensome" moral judgments of virtue in political life. This objection will need to be overcome in order to proceed with the argument.

Freedom or Responsibility?

Any declaration concerning what persons ought to do in the event that such persons do not already wish to do so is undoubtedly controversial. In fact, the burdensome character of politically telling persons what they ought to do is what motivates the search for public reason. For the public reason liberal, it's the fact that we have so many varying social circumstances and conceptions of the moral good that we're incapable of true freedom in the form of normative principles that we all can accept. This is why any virtue theoretic approach like that of the neo-Aristotelian tradition generally strikes public reason liberals as unjustifiable. Nevertheless, the tendency to reject the virtue theoretic approach as unjustifiable comes predominantly from one of two misconceptions. The first misconception concerns the hierarchical and rather unscientific conception of teleological virtues found in the classical Aristotelian tradition. On the classical Aristotelian account, virtuous character was something available only to persons who were naturally inclined towards that purpose. Such a conception understandably lends itself to the contemporary notion that virtues are elitist. The second misconception concerns the Enlightenment conception of virtues found most readily in the work of David Hume. On Hume's account, virtues were thought to be those qualities of human character that arouse in others the "pleasing sentiments of approbation" (Hume, 1998[1751], I.10). Such a conception understandably lends itself to the contemporary notion that virtues are non-rational, and hence the importance of

moral neutrality for the liberal tradition.⁵ Consequently, neither account was capable of explaining how it could be rational to say that any particular person ought to be virtuous. But none of this means that the prescriptive claims of virtue are rationally unjustifiable; it simply means that they are rationally unjustifiable if we assume that they are terms used simply for denoting naturally superior humans or an affectively pleasing character.

The neo-Aristotelian tradition allows for a rationally justifiable understanding of virtues. This is because wherever rational persons are engaged with (i.e. responsible to) any *ongoing context present within human life whereby certain goals and themes of conflict present themselves...through the continued recognition of its practical and/or relational structures*, then it's rational to say that such persons ought to pursue what proves to be a *feasible human pursuit, the cultivation of which rationally serves to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and/or relational structures in which they are situated while remaining internally consistent with other similarly situated virtues*. For example, an educational practice consists of such virtues as patience, attentiveness, and studiousness (among others). Now one may not be able to rationally derive the arbitrary conclusion that they ought to be patient from the simple fact that they are a rational person. However, from the fact that they are a rational person engaged with (i.e. responsible to) the practice of education, it can be rationally derived that they ought to succeed at doing what an educator does. Depending on the circumstances this might entail, among other things, patience, attentiveness, and studiousness. But notice that educational virtues do not depend on what an educational institution mandates, or whether virtues of education are emotionally agreeable, or whether the natural purpose of such a person is to be an educator. Instead, they depend on whether they serve to rationally overcome and improve upon the challenges presented by the practical and relational structures of education; challenges to which the virtuous practitioner perceives themselves responsible. Therefore, persons who are rationally responsible to education judge various preferences, affective approbations, and institutional mandates in accordance with virtue so that they can succeed in realizing the internal goods of the practice. To do otherwise suggests that one is either being irrational or does not see oneself as responsible to the practice of education.

Although public reason liberals generally reject the neo-Aristotelian tradition, they must adopt its framework in their own theory of justice. This is because to say that one ought to uphold the mutually disinterested principles that all freestanding rational persons can accept can only be rationalized in the event that one also perceives themselves as responsible to an *attempt to communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. We might also think of it this way. If any persons in question were not political persons but were rationally self-interested persons

⁵ Many have argued that such a principle of neutrality is central to liberalism. See Rawls (2005, pp. 56-57). Larmore (1987), Dworkin (1985), Ackerman (1980). See Simmons (2005) for a libertarian endorsement of the principle. Even J.S. Mill, a utilitarian, seemed to embrace the notion in his categorical rejection of legal moralism. See Mill (1859, Ch 1).

who, rather than engage themselves responsibly as political citizens, seek to overcome practical and relational contentions with actions that suppose no justifiability whatsoever but merely the effectuation of their immediate interests, then such a person could not possibly rationalize any obligation to justice.

One might object and say that invoking the practice of politics is irrelevant. Of course public reason justice isn't justified to self-interested persons. The point of public reason justice is that it is justified to the freestanding rational perspective that everyone - even rationally self-interested persons - possesses at some level. However, this reply would be unsuccessful because all that can be said of the freestanding rational person from the public reason perspective is that, amidst contentions, persons attempt to rationally effectuate their ends and that such ends will require the use of external goods. But to assume that one is committed to doing this in a justifiable (i.e. political) fashion, rather than the apolitical nature of rational self-interest, is to move beyond the freestanding perspective of rational persons and to encumber them with certain tendencies towards resolving contention; tendencies that are not intrinsic to freestanding rational humanity but developed through experience. No political principle could be rationally justifiable to all freestanding rational persons merely in this sense because freestanding rational persons, in being freestanding, have no responsibilities to the practice of politics.

In securing the neo-Aristotelian framework, we can establish that claims of justice are justifiable to any rational persons in question if and only if (1) the rational persons in question are responsible to the practice of politics, and (2) what norms are being prescribed are successfully justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them. The rational sensibility of such a framework is arguably why Rawls recast his theory of justice in *Political Liberalism*. If the principles he put forward were to be that of a just and stable social order, they had to be predicated on certain developments allowing persons to even rationalize the pursuit of justice to begin with. Rawls placed confidence in that achievement through the developments of a politically liberal culture where rational persons are said to perceive themselves as responsibly political yet otherwise freestanding rational persons. Thus in coming to recognize the antecedent conditions of a politically responsible community to which justice is prescribed, public reason liberals meet condition one. However, if the principles themselves are to meet condition two, then the principles must be virtuous principles from the standpoint of rational persons who are further responsible to whatever practice the norms in question apply. In other words, it must be a *feasible human pursuit, the cultivation of which rationally serves to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and relational structures in which it is situated while remaining internally consistent with other similarly situated virtues*. It's in meeting this condition that public reason liberalism fails to deliver because although it recognizes persons as politically responsible, it still presumes that they are to be otherwise freestanding with regards to whatever practice in which one has become political. Moving forward we'll consider a particular domain, or practice, in which these shortcomings of public reason liberalism prove to be problematic - economic life. On this particular issue, the public reason liberal's disposition

allows for no further rational normativity because just as rational persons must be responsibly political persons (in pursuit of political virtue) in order to rationalize the norms of political life, rational persons must be responsibly political *and* economic persons (in pursuit of politically economic virtue) in order to rationalize the norms of a politically economic life.

Near the end of section I, I alluded to liberal society's inability to rationalize to one another the norms of economic justice given the incompatible ends of new liberalism and classical liberalism. However, Rawls diagnosed this particular problem, not as a failure of public reason's conception of justice, but rather the burdensome moralizations of unreasonable persons - i.e. classical liberals - when attempting to recognize justice. In other words, classical liberalism's arbitrary attempt to characterize political persons as fundamentally private consumers complicates our understanding of *principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them*. Although this criticism may have challenged Nozickian or Randian-style libertarians, the critique does not undermine the claims of prominent public reason liberals like John Tomasi. Such theorists ground their classically liberal conceptions of economic justice on mutually disinterested principles that all freestanding rational persons can allegedly accept.⁶ Unfortunately, however, two public reason liberals attempting to advance rationally inconsistent principles of justice cannot be said to successfully communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them. Therefore, public reason liberals have failed to advance the principles of economic justice.

Of course, staunch defenders of either Rawlsian or classically liberal justice within the public reason tradition will reject this conclusion. From the standpoint of public reason, someone is still being unreasonable by issuing political principles predicated on "burdensome" doctrines concerning socially situated conditions (such as a practice), or moral conceptions of the good (such as virtues) rather than a political yet otherwise freestanding rational perspective from which we all can agree. But let's look more closely at this political yet otherwise freestanding rational perspective that all rational political persons can supposedly use to derive the same principles of economic governance. Such a person is of the judgment that one must have, amidst economic contention, certain political principles of economic governance in order to politically and economically effectuate their conception of a good life. This judgment is political yet otherwise rationally freestanding because all rational political persons would still possess such a judgment in abstraction from the otherwise incompatible doctrines that guide their economically contentious lives. But as we continue, it turns out that this judgment concerning the politically economic effectuation of any good life is complicated further by reducing to competing questions of acquisition and possession.

⁶ For public reason arguments against new liberalism and in favor of classical liberalism, see Tomasi (2012, pp. 241-243), Gaus (2011, p. 514).

Rawlsians argue that their political principles of economic governance are the reasonable ones because when rational persons abstract themselves from the various incompatible doctrines that guide their economically contentious lives, it becomes clear that all rational persons would accept the difference principle and its maximin redistributions of economic wealth as just. But this can only be true if we assume that politically protected *acquisition* is the only political yet otherwise freestanding means by which one economically effectuates their conception of the good life. After all, Rawlsian justice will always discriminate against certain political yet otherwise freestanding rational persons seeking political protection of the *possessions* by which they economically effectuate their conception of the good life. Rawlsians may attempt to reject appeals to possession as unreasonable, but this cannot succeed because possession is not an economically doctrinal concept like private property. All political yet otherwise freestanding rational persons can accept the basic proposition that in order to effectuate one's conception of the good life, one must have the possessions needed to economically effectuate that conception of a good life. As a result, reasonable persons can still recognize that Rawlsian justice will produce a continuous class of freestanding possessors who will perceive themselves as unjustifiably subordinated under such a social order.

However, the same problem confronts public reason liberals in the classical sense. They argue that if persons abstract themselves from the various incompatible doctrines that guide their economically contentious lives, it becomes clear that all rational persons would accept extensive private property rights along with the efficiently generated wealth of politically liberated markets as just.⁷ But this can only be true if we assume that politically protected possession is the only political yet otherwise freestanding means by which one economically effectuates their conception of the good life. After all, classically liberal justice will always discriminate against certain political yet otherwise freestanding rational persons seeking political *acquisition* in order to economically effectuate their conception of the good life. Classical liberals may attempt to reject appeals to acquisition as unreasonable, but this cannot succeed because acquisition is not an economically doctrinal concept. All political yet otherwise freestanding rational persons can accept the basic proposition that in order to effectuate one's conception of the good life, one must have the acquisitions needed to economically effectuate that conception of a good life. As a result, reasonable persons still recognize that classically liberal justice will produce a continuous class of freestanding acquirers who will perceive themselves as unjustifiably subordinated under such a social order.

Politically protected possession and acquisition are not doctrinal considerations of economic life but rather practical and relational structures that can be rationally deduced from any economic effectuation of a good life. In other words, any economic effectuation of a good life will necessarily entail some

⁷ Some classical liberals even argue for small levels of social assistance. See Tomasi (2012). However, they reject the maximin scheme of redistribution that new liberals endorse, as well as egalitarian economic justice in general.

interpersonal dimension of acquisition and possession. Therefore, no political yet otherwise freestanding rational person could dismiss the practical and relational reality of either acquisition or possession within any economic life while still remaining rational. If the production, distribution, and political management of economic goods were not practically and relationally situated but rather an entirely separate function from the body politic capable of producing economic goods while both providing for the acquisition of such goods as well as protecting private possessions, perhaps the institutions of this somewhat miraculous conception of a political and economic reality would be justified to all freestanding rational persons. Of course, public reason liberals do not actually have such a cartoonish notion of society, nor would its institutions need to be predicated on Rawlsian or classically liberal justifications. Nonetheless, only such a freestanding manifestation of society could be justified to all freestanding rational persons. Thus public reason liberals face a dilemma. If public reason justice requires reasonable persons to deny the place of possession and acquisition in economic life as doctrinal, then it cannot offer a practically feasible pursuit, the cultivation of which rationally serves to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and relational structures in which it is situated. But if they permit this understanding, their principles will not be internally consistent. Therefore, the issuing of mutually disinterested principles that all freestanding rational persons can accept cannot be justifiable to all rational persons, and is thus not the virtue of justice.

One might try and argue here that the public reason principles of economic justice are those that impose upon acquisitive and possessive interests the least and that this is the operative concern when discerning principles from the standpoint of reasonable persons. This would acknowledge the place of possession and acquisition in economic life, but notice that applying this line of reasoning would not give equal respect to possessive and acquisitive persons as they are but rather it would attempt to aggregate them into categories of least imposing and non-least imposing while institutionally respecting only those persons who fall into the former camp at any given time. Therefore, this approach would not only fail to be just in creating an unjustifiable class of subjugated rational persons with regard to economic life, it isn't even public reason liberalism. Conversely, it's economic utilitarianism – a position that public reason liberals already reject for these reasons.

As this argument has shown, the freestanding perspective championed by public reason liberals is precisely what eviscerates us of rational normativity to begin with, while once again perpetuating the very structures of unjustifiable subordination that we wish to escape in political life. In economic life, the freestanding rational person is devoid of the practical and relational structures of possessive and acquisitive tendencies - tendencies that could otherwise be tempered by the virtues of responsible persons with any understanding of a politically economic community. Fortunately, however, this void isn't exactly hopeless. Persons arguably have a continued recognition of the practical and relational challenges of possession and acquisition that comprise the ongoing context of a politically economic practice. Such practical and relational challenges

have been recognized with regard to something of vicious possession in the (e.g. greedy) possessors who politically neglect persons who are unwillingly destitute and vulnerable, economically speaking. Similarly, there is something of vicious acquisition recognized in the (e.g. exploitative) acquirers who attempt to politically exploit one another's economic contributions with no intention of making any contributions of equal value in return. Virtues and vices reveal themselves to rational persons who responsibly recognize a politically economic community, and thus political reasoning on these matters beyond the standpoint of freestanding persons speaks to feasible human pursuits, the cultivation of which rationally serve to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and relational structures of an economic life. Furthermore, such virtues are internally consistent when guiding institutional design within the community, and are thus justifiable to all politically and economically responsible persons who must uphold them. This is because configurations of political power concerning both property and redistribution can be justifiable to all rationally responsible possessors and acquirers alike.⁸

But what if virtues are fundamentally illusory to begin with? After all, I've conceded that the attempt to justify political norms in and of itself cannot be made rational from the standpoint of rational self-interest. For such persons, the justifiability of one's actions is of simply no concern and so if humanity amounts to nothing more than this will to power, what is to rationally keep us from navigating our lives as so? Such a nihilistic position undermines political normativity of any kind. But I suspect that this is not a fact of human nature so much as a despondent reply to the rational failures of previous political traditions. Fortunately, nihilism cannot succeed as a critique of the neo-Aristotelian tradition because such a tradition allows for rational persons to transcend the paradoxical implications of preceding political traditions. There will always be unjustifiable subordination in the pursuit of political freedom or utility given the practical and relational reality of any social order, but this is not inevitable to the politically responsible pursuit of virtue. Recall an educational community and its virtues. For those who have committed themselves to a recognition of the practical and relational structures of an educational practice, internal goods - albeit demanding - are no longer deemed oppressive but rather an opportunity to cultivate *feasible human pursuits, the cultivation of which rationally serves to overcome and improve upon the challenges of the practical and relational structures* of education. The only means by which the cultivation of these internal goods becomes an oppressive proposition to the educator is in the event that they find themselves more concerned with external goods or mere self-interest. This is something gravely misunderstood in political life by utilitarians, public reason liberals, and their nihilistic successors. Under these circumstances, the responsible

⁸ This is somewhat akin to the Aristotelian conception of justice as "treating equals equally" since its conception of justice shows equal regard for the ends of virtue, but not freestanding ends that are unequal in the eyes of virtue. See Aristotle (1130b-1132b). As neo-Aristotelians note, however, Aristotle's own elitist philosophy falsely assumed that certain humans were naturally inclined towards virtue, and thus his conception morally expected subservience to such persons.

choice would be to resign from education, while the responsible choice for the latter would be to resign from government.

Although a nihilistic response to the rational failures of public reason liberalism is not irrational, one can still question the value of dismissing any attempt to communicate and/or uphold amidst contention, principles that are justifiable to all rational persons who must uphold them. After all, such a person lives either in continuous exile or proceeds politically with no more regard for courage, honesty, and justice than the cowardly, deceptive, and imperious tendencies of a tyrant. The immense existential challenge of either exile or indifference suggests that such a life is not only more demanding than justice but a far less viable path to human flourishing. Therefore, one might fare better in first trying to recognize the unresolved practical and relational conditions that have compelled them towards exile or indifference to begin with. The neo-Aristotelian tradition allows one to recognize these unresolved contentions while positing rational resolutions in response.

This leads us to our last criticism. Why should the neo-Aristotelian tradition justify the institutional structure of a democratic political society? After all, the virtue theoretic tradition can invoke antiquated notions of political life that once advocated subservience to authoritarian governance. But once again, the misconceptions surrounding these conservative applications of virtue should only be attributed to classical Aristotelian thought.⁹ Principles of subservience in political life fail to be virtuous because politically responsible rational persons recognize that if anything is to be a justifiable principle, then its authority must be rationally grounded in something other than the persons who issue those principles because such persons are fallible. Thus, if persons are fallible in the issuance of political principles, then politically responsible rational persons know that there is never any reason to be subservient to them. Hence the virtuous principle of mutual accountability that guides the institutional design of democratic governance is also pursuant of justice as issuing virtuous principles that all politically responsible rational persons can accept.

Conclusion

Public reason liberals continue to reject the neo-Aristotelian tradition of political normativity as unreasonable because they claim that the concept of virtue is inevitably unjustifiable to others. But as I've argued, not only is this criticism predicated on a misconception of virtue theory, no politically normative principle is capable of achieving rational justification from outside the neo-Aristotelian

⁹ In fact, this kind of elitism was not only prevalent in classical Aristotelian thought, but also the proto-liberal work of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes, who was no fan of Aristotle, attempted to issue a political – i.e. allegedly justifiable – argument in favor of subservience to an absolutist state. See Hobbes (2010, pp. 106 – 112).

tradition of political normativity. This void is precisely why the public reason tradition itself continues to fracture into the oppositional camps of Rawlsianism and classical liberalism whereby allegedly “reasonable” persons still perceive one another as unreasonable in economic life. Therefore, the purpose of this argument has been to show that public reason liberalism has no good argument in rejecting the democratic voices of those who are politically guided by what virtues have been discerned through knowledgeable experience with the underlying practical and relational structures that our institutional powers come to govern.

References

- Ackerman, B.A. (1980). *Social Justice in the Liberal State*. Yale University Press.
- Aristotle. (2017). *Politics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, J Barnes (ed). Princeton University Press.
- Cohen, G.A. (2008). *Rescuing Justice and Equality*. Harvard University Press.
- Darwall, S. (2006). *The second-person standpoint: Morality, respect, and accountability*. Harvard University Press
- Dworkin, R. (1985). “Liberalism.” In *A Matter of Principle*. Harvard University Press.
- Gaus, G. (2011). *The Order of Public Reason*. Cambridge University Press.
- (1996). *Justificatory Liberalism: An Essay on Epistemology and Political Theory*. Oxford University Press.
- Hobbes, T. (2010 [1651]). *Leviathan*, Ian Shapiro (ed.). Yale University Press.
- Hume, D. (1998 [1751]). *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Tom L. Beauchamp (ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Larmore, C. (2008). *The Autonomy of Morality*. Cambridge University Press.
- (1987). *Patterns of Moral Complexity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacIntyre, A.C. (1993). *After Virtue: a Study in Moral Theory*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Mill, J.S. (1859). *On Liberty*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nagel, T. (1991). *Equality and Partiality*. Oxford University Press.

- Nussbaum, M.C. (2011). "Perfectionist Liberalism and Political Liberalism," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 39: 3-45.
- Quong, J. (2010). *Liberalism Without Perfection*. Oxford University Press.
- Rawls, J. (2005). *Political Liberalism*. Columbia University Press.
- (2001). *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement*. E. Kelly (ed.). Harvard University Press.
 - (1999 [1971]). *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard University Press. Revised edition.
- Raz, J. (1986). *The Morality of Freedom*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Scanlon, T.M. (1998). *What We Owe to Each Other*. Harvard University Press.
- Tomasi, T. (2012). *Free Market Fairness*. Princeton University Press.

The Macroeconomic Impacts of Entitlements

By Ateeb Akhter Shah Syed

Abstract: The worries expressed by Alan Greenspan that the long run economic growth of the United States will fade away due to increasing burden of entitlements motivated us to empirically investigate the impact of entitlements of key macroeconomic variables. To examine this contemporary issue, we estimate a vector error-correction model to analyze the impact of entitlements on the price level, real output, and the long-term interest rate. The results show that a shock to entitlements leads to decrease in output and lends support to the assertion made by Alan Greenspan. Several robustness checks verify that the results remain unchanged qualitatively.

Introduction

Since the end of the great moderation era, the slowing down of the economic growth in recent years is appearing as a defining challenge for macroeconomists. In the United States (U.S.), this slowdown is generally attributed to increased spending on entitlements. The increasing share of entitlements in GDP of the U.S. has been a matter of serious concern for economists and policy makers. Since last two decades, numerous experts are expressing concerns by highlighting that the Americans are turning into a nation of takers and the Government of the U.S. has become an entitlements Machine Eberstadt (2012). This disproportionate growth in entitlements is viewed as unsustainable and would have serious repercussions for fiscal balances and economic growth.

The former Federal Reserve chairman, Ben Bernanke warned lawmakers that they need to fix the entitlement system. He pointed out that if early and meaningful action is not taken, the U.S. economy could be seriously weakened, with future generations bearing much of the cost. By attributing the rising burden of entitlements on budget to aging population in the United States, he emphasized that if difficult choices are not made, financial stability and healthy economic growth will be lost Bernanke (2010). Similar fears were expressed by Alan Greenspan, the former Federal Reserve Governor. While discussing the causes and implications of secular stagnation at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, he pointed out that spending on entitlements is crowding out gross national saving leading to decreased investment and low productivity Greenspan (2016). He warns recently in an interview that though in the short run economy looks reasonably good, the gains in the economy are draining out from the increasing entitlements and in the long run economic growth will fade away due to crowding out of capital investment Cox (2019). Like Bernanke, he attributes the rise in entitlements to aging population. Samuelson (2016), a renowned columnist highlights the thoughts of Greenspan and emphasizes repeatedly to control over growing burden of entitlements arguing that entitlements are draining funds productivity-enhancing investments.

The term entitlements are referred to benefits that are conferred on any person or unit of government that meets the eligibility requirements established by legislation (Congressional Budget Reform and Impoundment Control Act of 1974) History Art & Archives United States House of Representatives (2020). Social security, Medicare and Medicaid compose more than 75% of entitlement programs in the United States, therefore they are synonymously used as the term entitlements. As pointed out earlier, economists, researchers, analysts and politicians are showing great concern over the rising entitlements spending which is staining the budget, deficit is on the rise since several years. This situation is projected to turn into a nascent fiscal crisis and will fade away economic growth amid pandemic

The share of entitlements spending in GDP is growing year after year and is projected to increase further. As reported in CBO report 2020, mandatory spending on social security and major health care programs make 10.3 percent of the GDP which is projected to be 12.4 percent of GDP by 2030. The budget deficit

is projected to climb to 5.0% of GDP in 2030 from 4.6 percent of GDP in 2020. Because of the large deficits, federal debt held by the public is projected to grow, from 81 percent of GDP in 2020 to 98 percent in 2030. The economic growth is projected to slow down. From 2021-2030, output is projected to grow at an average annual rate of 1.7 % CBO report (2020).

Based on the above concerns and statistics, it appears that there is little doubt over the fear that entitlements are one of the major responsible factors for low economic growth and there should be cuts on entitlement expenditures or increase in taxes. However, Lawrence Summers (2013), the former U.S. treasury secretary warned the world about the secular stagflation in a seminal speech at the International Monetary Fund headquarters in New York. He suggested that the solution is increased government spending Summers (2013). Further, Summers (2020) asserts, "We don't need fewer entitlements for the American middle class. We need more". He argues that several other structural factors are responsible for slowing economic growth rather than increased entitlement spending. He explains that secular stagnation is due to persistent low interest rate, global in-equality, and low productivity growth. He believes that real interest rate required to achieve full employment level is so far into negative territory which is effectively impossible. Hence, there is little room for monetary policy to be effective to increase investment and growth. He prescribes that more social insurance will enhance the demand in the economy and increase in interest rate will push the economy forward and contribute to financial stability.

Despite the serious concerns expressed on the role of entitlements in slowing down the growth, the recent literature provides little empirical evidence. Some studies examine the fiscal context of major entitlement programs such as social security, Medicare and Medicaid and recommend reforms in these programs by cutting these spending or increasing tax revenues [see for instance, Palmer (2006) and Gist (2007)]. The increased entitlements are due to aging population in the United States. Maestas, Nicole, Kathleen Mullen, and David Powell (2016) estimate the economic impact of aging population in the states of U.S. over the period 1980 to 2010. They document that 10% increase in the fraction of population ages 60+ decreases per capita GDP growth by 5.5% of which two-third is due to slower growth in labor productivity whereas one-third is caused by slower labor force growth. They predict that annual GDP growth will slowdown by 1.2 percentage points this decade and 0.6 percentage points in the next decade due to population aging. However, Acemoglu, Daron, and Pascual Restrepo (2017) investigated the impact of aging on economic growth across countries including OECD economies and conclude that the data do not verify the negative impact of aging population on economic growth. On the other hand, Sheiner (2018) analyzed the long-term impact of aging on the federal budget and showed that debt path of the United States is not sustainable. The literature though limited focuses on the impact of aging population on debt, budget deficit and economic growth. There is no empirical research which investigates the direct impact of entitlements on economy such as economic growth, interest rate and the price level.

The relationship between spending on entitlements and slow economic growth is yet to be empirically investigated as stated by Robert J. Samuelson,

“What other economists will think remains to be seen. An obvious question is whether Greenspan’s relationships are correlations, not cause and effect” Samuelson (2016). Hence, this article is an attempt to address the question raised by Samuelson. It will contribute to the existing literature in the following way; to best of our knowledge, it will be the first study to use a monthly dataset to empirically investigate the macroeconomic impact of entitlements in the U.S. using a VECM framework.

Data Description

The data for all the variables used in our paper is taken from Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Database (FRED). The main variable of interest is the entitlements. We use the seasonally adjusted personal current transfer receipts, government social benefits to persons measured in billions of

U.S. dollars as our measure of entitlements (E). As our sample runs through the time of the great financial crisis, we use the Federal Reserve’s assets (A)¹ as a measure of monetary policy. We add A in our analysis to control for the monetary stimulus as it also has the ability to stimulate the economy in the short-run. We follow Wheeler (1999) in selection of variables that represent macroeconomy of the U.S., that is, the price level, real output and a long-term interest rate. For this purpose, seasonally adjusted industrial production is included as a measure of real output (Y), seasonally adjusted consumer price index, all items in the U.S. is included as a measure of the price level (P) and the 10-year government bond yields in included as a measure of interest rate (R). All the variables except the interest rate are in log-levels. The interest rate is in levels. The variable A is available only on a weekly basis; therefore, monthly average¹ was taken to form the monthly variable. A is also not seasonally adjusted at the² data source; therefore, it is seasonally adjusted using the U.S. Bureau of Census X11 seasonal adjustment program in statistical analysis software (SAS).

¹ For a detailed know-how on the unconventional policy approaches at the zero-lower bound, see Clouse et al. (2003), Bernanke and Reinhart (2004), Bernanke et al. (2004) and Kuttner (2018).

Empirical Analysis

In our paper, we have considered two sample² periods for empirical analysis. We start our analysis by testing each variable for stationarity. For this purpose a series of Dickey and Fuller (1981) unit-root tests (ADF) were conducted on each variable. The results of these unit-root tests are presented in Table 1. Introduced by Schwarz (1978), we use the Bayesian information criteria (BIC) to determine the optimal lags to be used in the ADF tests. Panel A of Table 1 shows the results of the ADF test with drift. The test reveals that variables E, P, A and Y are non-stationary in log-levels. R is found to be non-stationary in levels. However, all these variables are stationary in first difference.

Panel B of Table 1 shows the results of the ADF test with trend and drift. Similar to the drift test, the test reveals that variables E, P, A and Y are non-stationary in log-levels. R is found to be non-stationary in levels. However, all these variables are stationary in first difference. All these variables are non-stationary in log-levels/levels; therefore, they should be first differenced to³ achieve stationarity. However, Engle-Granger (1987) points out that a vector autoregressive (VAR) model estimated in log-levels/levels is miss-specified if the variables are cointegrated. Therefore, we tested the data for presence of cointegration due to Johansen (1988) and Johansen and Juselius (1990). Johansen's [(2000), (2002)] small-sample correction is also employed. The results of the cointegration analysis were obtained using CATs in RATs, version 2 (2005).

BIC is used to determine the optimal lags for cointegration test. BIC suggested to use 6 lags for the test cointegration. The results of cointegration trace test are presented in Table 2. The trace statistic shows that one cointegrating vector exists among the variables. Therefore, to evaluate the impact of E on the P, Y and R, we employ a VECM model estimated using the Engle-Granger (1987) two-step estimator.

We estimate the VECM containing variables E, P, A, Y and R. To preserve degrees of freedom, a maximum lag length considered is 6 lags for the model. The pre-sample extends from 2002M12 to 2003M6, and the estimation of the VECM models is carried out over 2003M7 to 2019M06. The lag length for the model is chosen with the BIC. The BIC suggested a lag length of 5. The residuals from each VECM equation are required to be white noise. To test for serial correlation among the residuals from each VECM equation, we conducted a series of Ljung-Box (1978) tests with the null hypothesis of no autocorrelation. The Q-

² The first estimation sample is from 2003M7 to 2019M6 (henceforth, short sample). The pre-sample for lags in the ADF tests and VECM for short sample extends from 2012M12 to 2003M6 (1 lag for the difference and 6 maximum lags for the estimation). The second estimation sample is from 2004M2 to 2019M6 (henceforth, long sample). The pre-sample for this exercise extends from 2012M12 to 2004M1 (1 lag for the difference and 12 maximum lags for the estimation). To conserve space, we only report the results of model using the short sample. The results qualitatively remain the same when long sample² is used for the analysis.

TABLE 1 Results of Augmented Dickey Fuller Test (estimation period: 2003M7 – 2019M6)

Panel A: Augmented Dickey Fuller Test with drift					
Variable	Log-Levels/levels	No of Augmenting Lags (Log-Levels/Levels)	First Difference	No of Augmenting Lags (First Difference)	Critical Value*
E	-1.31	3	-11.43	2	-2.88
P	-1.87	2	-9.09	2	-2.88
A	-1.24	2	-9.24	1	-2.88
Y	-2.49	4	-3.51	3	-2.88
R	-1.59	1	-9.78	1	-2.88
Panel B: Augmented Dickey Fuller Test with drift and trend					
Variable	Log-Levels/levels	No of Augmenting Lags (Log-Levels/Levels)	First Difference	No of Augmenting Lags (First Difference)	Critical Value*
E	-1.93	3	-11.46	2	-3.43
P	-2.32	2	-9.24	1	-3.43
A	-1.86	2	-9.29	1	-3.43
Y	-3.03	4	-3.52	3	-3.43
R	-3.32	1	-9.75	1	-3.43

Notes: E: Entitlements, P: Price Level, A: Federal Reserve's Assets, Y: Real Output, R: Interest Rate.

* denotes critical value reported in the table at 5% level of significance; The values in bold shows that the variable is stationary in Log-Levels/Levels or first differences

TABLE 2 The Cointegration Test Results (short sample)

Null Hypothesis	Alternative Hypothesis	Eigen Value	Trace Statistic*	Critical Value**	P-values**
r = 0	r = 1	0.204	79.427	69.611	0.006
r = 1	r = 2	0.108	45.507	47.707	0.081
r = 2	r = 3	0.080	24.523	29.804	0.185
r = 3	r = 4	0.044	10.015	15.408	0.285
r = 4	r = 5	0.027	3.713	3.841	0.054

* the small sample corrected trace statistic

** the critical value at 5% level of significance and the p-values are approximated using the gamma distribution, see Doornik (1998)

The results of the model are presented in terms of the impulse response functions (IRFs). To compute IRFs, the residuals from the VECM must be orthogonalized. One technique to compute orthogonalized residuals is Choleski decomposition of contemporaneous relationships. Under the Choleski decomposition, variables in the system are required to be ordered in a particular manner. Variables higher in the ordering contemporaneously influence the variables lower in the

ordering and not vice versa. We use the Choleski decomposition with ordering E, A, P, Y and R for our model, when short sample is used.

The current study is concerned with the response of the P, Y and R to a shock in E. This is consistent with the hypothesis we are testing. An increase in entitlement spending may act as a fiscal stimulus and impact the macroeconomy. Hence, it is placed first in the ordering. The key element of our ordering is positioning of policy variables E and A first in the ordering. This permits shocks to

these variables impact other variables in the system with in the same month. However, these variables have an impact on E and A through the lags in the system. Hence, like Wheeler (1999), we assume that the policymaker's information set only contains lags of P, Y and R.

In the short-run, certainly contemporaneously, prices are sticky. Hence, Y shocks do not have an impact on P. This places P above Y. Assuming markets are efficient and interest rates reflect all the available information quickly, R is placed at the end. P, Y and R are placed below E and A, the placement of these variables relative to each other is a matter of indifference as long as we are testing the impact of E on Y, P, and R. The conclusion of the model does not change when we alter the ordering of P, Y, and R relative to each other or use alternate ordering.³ Therefore, we report results with ordering E, A, P, Y, R.

In order to determine if the lag 6 of each variable in the system enters the equations of each variable in the system significantly, we performed a joint significance test on coefficients of this lag. We found that the coefficients on this lag is jointly insignificant. This provides further evidence that lag 5 is appropriate. However, as a robustness check, we also estimated the base model with 6 lags. The results obtained from this robustness check exercise qualitatively remained the same.

Results and Discussion

The results⁴ of our model are presented in Figures 1 through 3. Figure 1 indicates a shock to E has a positive and significant impact on P at first 4 forecast horizons. It also produces a negative and significant impact on P at forecast horizons 6 and 7. Hence, we find that entitlement expenditure is initially inflationary. We know that the funds transferred from the U.S. government to the economic agents leads to an increase in demand; therefore, it will lead to an increase in the price level. However, this impact dampens and eventually becomes insignificant forecast horizon 8 onwards.

³ The alternate-ordering for the model estimated using 3 lags is: E, A, Y, P, R; The difference in this ordering is the placement real output before the price level and this exercise is performed as a robustness check. The main result of the model qualitatively remains the same. In addition to this robustness check exercise, we performed many other robustness exercises and found that the results remained qualitatively the same. These include: estimation of the model over the longer sample period, change in the ordering of the variables in the Choleski decomposition for the long sample, joint significance test on lags 5 through 12 for the long sample and estimation of the model with 6 lags [we do not use more than 6 lags for the long sample; 1) to match with the estimation exercise performed on the short sample, that is, estimation with 5 and 6 lags, 2) due to degrees of freedom that occurs due the use of a longer lag length].

⁴ The results of this paper are reported in terms of IRFs. To compute the confidence bands for the IRFs, MONTEVECM procedure is followed in RATs program. The confidence intervals for the IRFs are computed via ten thousand Monte Carlo draws. For each IRF, the bootstrapped confidence bands indicate the 0.05 and 0.95 percentiles of the draws.

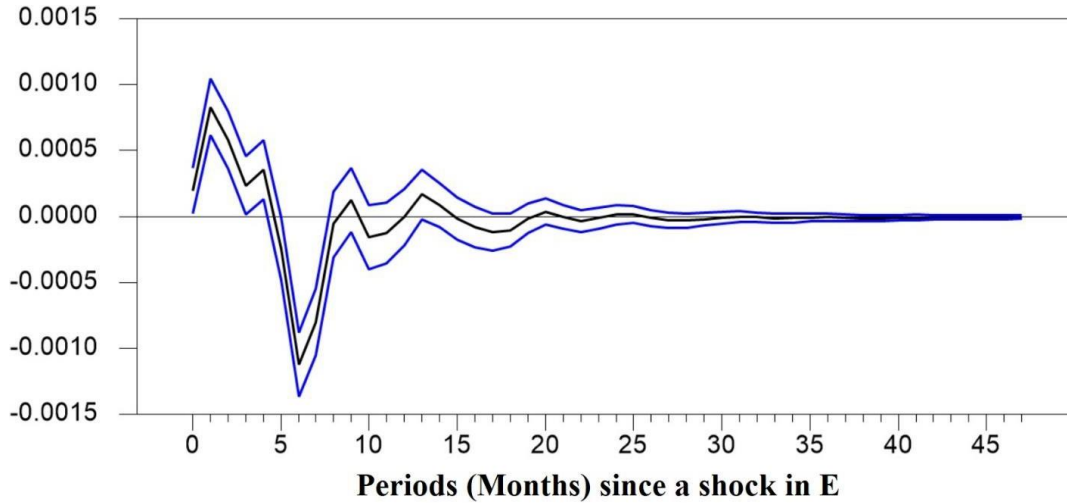


FIGURE 1 Response of the price level to a shock in Entitlements

The main emphasis of our paper is to find out, if the prosperous performance of U.S. fades away due to an increase in E. Hence, Figure 2 contains the most important results of our paper. An analysis of Figure 2 reveals that a shock to E has a short lived positive and significant impact on Y at forecast horizons 1, 2 and 5 months. However, shock to E has a negative and significant impact on Y at 14 forecast horizons (4, 7, 8, 10 to 16, 18 to 20, 22, 24 and 30 months). This result supports the concerns that majority of the experts of the U.S. who believe that economic performance achieved post great financial crisis will eventually start to fade due to increasing burden of E.

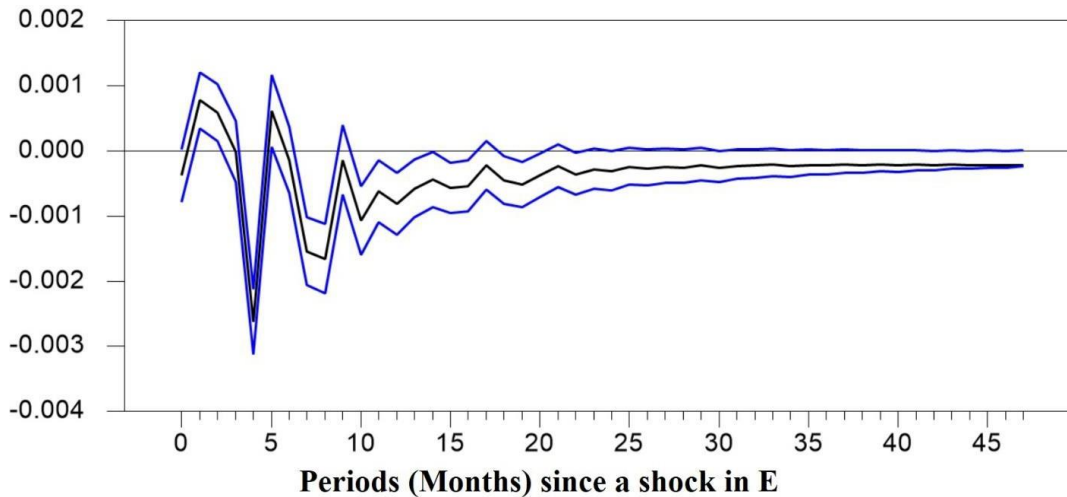


FIGURE 2 Response of real output to a shock in entitlements

Figure 3 indicates that a shock to E has a positive and significant impact on R at first horizons 1 and 13. It also has a negative and significant impact on R at forecast horizon 6 to 8 and is insignificant otherwise. E are financed by tax money as well as through borrowing. Therefore, it may be the case that an increase in E led to an increase in demand for loans through the banking system and pushes R upward. This result is in line with a commonly known notion of the crowdingout effect, where a fiscal stimulus if financed by bank borrowing pushes the interest rates high enough that crowds out the private sector borrowing through this channel. However, the impact becomes negative for a few months and insignificant there onwards.

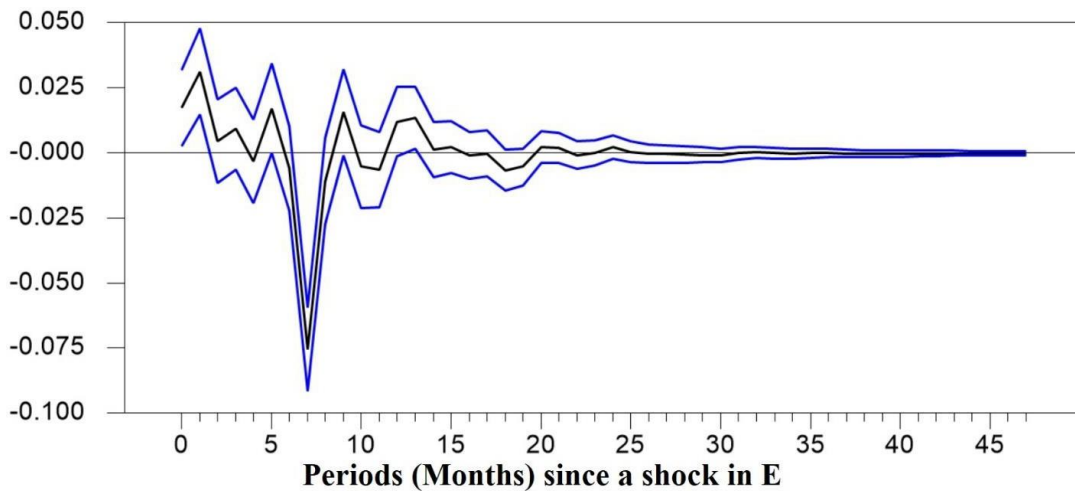


FIGURE 3 Response of 10-year government bond yield (interest rate) to a shock in entitlements

Conclusion

In this paper, we estimate a VECM to investigate the impact of entitlements on key macroeconomic variables of the U.S. economy. we report results in the form of impulse response functions. The IRFs from the base model reveal that a shock to entitlements has positive and short lived negative, and significant impact on the price level and the interest rate. whereas output is impacted negatively and significantly at 14 forecast horizons. These results remain robust to a change in ordering of the variables in the Choleski decomposition, change in the lag length of the VECM from 5 to 6 lag and a change in the sample (short and long). Hence, this investigation provides empirical evidence on the statement made by Alan Greenspan that though in the short run economy is doing well; however, entitlements will pull healthy performance of economy down. Thus, to move positively on growth trajectory, the U.S. must manage entitlements smartly.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest that could be perceived as prejudicing the impartiality of the research reported.

Data Availability

The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the supplementary material of this article

References

- Acemoglu, D., & Restrepo, P. (2017). Secular Stagnation? the Effect of Aging on Economic Growth. *NBER Working Paper*, 23077, 11.
- Bernanke, B. S. (2010). *Economic Challenges: Past, Present, and Future Remarks*. CBO Report. (2020). *The 2020 Long-Term Budget Outlook* /.
- Cox, J. (2019). Alan Greenspan: Economy will “fade” because of entitlement burden.
- Dennis, J. ., Hansen, H., Johansen, S., & Juselius, K. (2005). CATs in RATs. *Estima*.
- Dickey, D. A., & Fuller, W. A. (1981). Likelihood Ratio Statistics for Autoregressive Time Series with a Unit Root. *Econometrica*, 49(4), 1057–1072. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1912517>
- Doornik, J. A. (1998). Approximations to the asymptotic distributions of cointegration tests. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 12(5), 573–593.
- Eberstadt, N. (2012). *A Nation of Takers: Nicholas Eberstadt : 9781599474359*. Radnor, UnitedStates: Templeton Foundation Press,U.S.
- Engle, R. F., & Granger, C. W. J. (1987). Co-integration and error correction: representation, estimation, and testing. *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society*, 251–276.
- Gist, J. (2007). Population Aging, Entitlement Growth, and the Economy. In *AARP Public PolicyInstitute*.
- Greenspan, A. (2016). Alan Greenspan on causes and implications of secular stagnation and,possibly, stagflation.
- History Art & Archives United States House of Representatives. (2020). Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974. Retrieved from <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1951-2000/Congressional-Budget-and-Impoundment-Control-Act-of-1974/>
- Johansen, S. (1988). Statistical analysis of cointegration vectors. *Journal of Economic Dynamicsand Control*, 12(2–3), 231–254.
- Johansen, S. (2000). A Bartlett correction factor for tests on the cointegrating relations. *Econometric Theory*, 16(5), 740–778.
- Johansen, S. (2002). A small sample correction for the test of cointegrating rank in the vectorautoregressive model. *Econometrica*, 70(5), 1929–1961.

- Johansen, S., & Juselius, K. (1990). Maximum likelihood estimation and inference on cointegration—with applications to the demand for money. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, 52(2), 169–210.
- Kuttner, K. N. (2018). Outside the box: Unconventional monetary policy in the great recession and beyond. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 32(4), 121–146. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.32.4.121>
- Ljung, A. G. M., & Box, G. E. P. (1978). *Biometrika Trust On a Measure of Lack of Fit in Time Series Models Published by : Oxford University Press on behalf of Biometrika Trust StableURL : <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2335207>*. 65(2), 297–303.
- Maestas, N., Mullen, K., & Powell, D. (2016). *The Effect of Population Aging on Economic Growth, the Labor Force and Productivity* (No. WR-1063-1). <https://doi.org/10.7249/wr1063-1>
- Palmer, J. L. (2006). Entitlement Programs for the Aged. *Research on Aging*, 28(3), 289–302. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0164027505285851>
- Samuelson, R. J. (2016, November). Greenspan: Entitlements are killing productivity. *Albuquerque Journal*.
- Schwarz, G. (1978). Estimating the Dimension of a Model. *The Annals of Statistics*, 6(2), 461–464. <https://doi.org/10.1214/aos/1176344136>
- Sheiner, L. (2018). *The Long-term Impact of Aging on the Federal Budget* (No. 40).
- Summers, L. (2013). IMF Fourteenth Annual Research Conference in Honor of Stanley Fischer.
- Summers, L. (2020). We need more entitlements for middle class. Retrieved from WV News website: https://www.wvnews.com/we-need-more-entitlements-for-middle-class/article_3e2c80bf-0009-5041-b1cf-a0e2949993e4.html
- Wheeler, M. (1999). The Macroeconomic Impacts of Government Debt: An Empirical Analysis of the 1980s and 1990s. *Atlantic Economic Journal*, 27(3), 273–284.

Delusional Mitigation in Religious and Psychological Forms of Self- Cultivation: Buddhist and Clinical Insight on Delusional Symptomology

By Austin J. Avison

Abstract: This essay examines Buddhist forms of self-cultivation and development that enable a psychosocial capacity for emotional, cognitive, and behavioral adjustment by improving an individual's characteristic mode of interaction within the world. First, we will consider the religious form of self-cultivation seen in the context of Buddhism and its desire to remove delusional perspectives through developmental practices. In this, we will consider the cultivating function of clinical psychology through the therapeutic application of cognitive restructuring techniques as a form of cultivation. Next, considering psychological self-cultivation, training, development, and education concerning the treatment of schizophrenia and its characteristic criterion of delusions. Further, Buddhism's delusional-mitigation strategies will be compared to clinically based treatments of psychotic delusions within the spectrum of schizophrenia. Within religious self-cultivation is the development through the progressive growth of one's mind or capacities through intentional action; the project of clinical psychology, in the therapeutic setting, speaks to much of the same goals of religious self-cultivation.

The question and nature of human suffering will continue to be one of the most significant challenges humanity faces, and the means to alleviate human suffering continues to be a deserving aim of human activity. Human suffering is one of the most complex challenges we as a human species face in the forms of extreme hunger and poverty, domestic and inter-state conflict, famine, drought, health-care access, child mortality, racial, gender, and sexually-orientated forms of discrimination and prejudice that pose existential challenges to human happiness and flourishing. Central to the concerns of all the world's religions is the nature of human suffering in the world. Countless religious and spiritual traditions have proposed ways of overcoming this suffering since the beginning of human history. Religion poses a unique cognitive method of dealing with and effectively responding and interacting with the world in which we are located.

The project of psychology shares a similar aim with that of many of the world's religions: alleviating human suffering. Much of the science of psychology is directed towards the alleviation of human suffering, though the source and means of overcoming this suffering may differ between the approaches. The project of clinical psychology shares the goal of addressing human suffering, where suffering may be a feature of physical or mental illness that entails real human suffering to which psychological science seeks to alleviate and ultimately remove (Fleischman, 1999, pp. 3-32).

It is hypothesized that religion and psychology represent independent but compatible domains of addressing the problem of human suffering. Human beings have the radical ability to transform themselves and the world around them, and it is that religion and psychology enable radical human change in addressing the *real* presence of suffering in the world. The aim here is to consider how religion and psychology enable individuals and societies to effectively perceive and interact within the world of events. Buddhism and psychology effectively train individuals to respond to events by cultivating states of clear human perspective that enable greater happiness and flourishing through modifying delusional perspectives that influence human suffering.

Buddhist Perspectives on Cultivation and Delusions

Fundamental to the Buddhas' teachings are to "avoid all evil, cultivate the good, purify your mind: this sums up the teaching of the Buddhas" (Easwaran, 2007, p. 170: Dhammapada, verse 183). The wide range of practices seen within Buddhism today still emphasizes cultivating what is ethically wholesome. The process of purifying one's mind enables an understanding of how human beings may change themselves through a process of intentional action (Harvey, 2000). Buddhism has a variety of teachings that function as a process of helping individuals develop a calmer, more integrated, and compassionate disposition that removes delusions that reduce the ability to see things as they truly are (Harvey, 2000, p. 3). Delusions are central within Buddhism; delusions cause attachment, creating suffering for individuals and those they interact with (Harvey, 2000, p. 3). Buddhism provides a guide that enables the transformation of human experiences away from the reality of suffering in the *dharma*: the nature of reality

regarded as a universal truth taught by the Buddha, with the end of suffering gained through reaching a liberated state in *Nirvana* (Harvey, 2000, p. 3). Buddhism essentially consists of understanding, practicing, and realizing the reality of the dharma (Harvey, 2000, p. 3).

The Buddha teaches that greed, hatred, and delusion (*moha*) are states that contribute to suffering; and are harmful to the person when they arise (Harvey, 2000, pp. 9-10). When an individual is overwhelmed by negative cognitive states, they are more likely to commit harmful deeds and suffer due to the karmic results of their action (Harvey, 2000, p. 10). The Buddha notes that the opposite of delusion, posed as a negative, in being non-delusional is beneficial, wholesome, and conducive to happiness, and therefore we should undertake to remove delusions as a means of producing happiness (Harvey, 2000, p. 10). The Buddha places a high value on states of mind, which are the antithesis of greed, hatred, and deluded unclarity or disorientation, as they are found to contribute to human happiness rather than human suffering (Harvey, 2000, p. 10). Delusions are suspended in the practitioner through the progressive development of human insight that facilitates greater understanding and introspection (Harvey, 2000, p. 10). Buddhists see the current context of life as a result of the karmic principle of actions, but Buddhism does not hold that individuals are to be presently blamed for their conditions since the actions of a past life are behind them; what is important is how they behave in the present and how others now treat them (Harvey, 2000, p. 16). Buddhist systems of belief and practice teach that human beings should not be judged and left to suffer, no matter the cause of such. Essential in the teachings of Buddhism is how individuals seek to address their conditions and how others treat them as capable of transformation.

The law of karma is seen as a natural and universal law inherent in the nature of things, and good and bad rebirths are not rewarding or punishing per se but are the natural result of certain kinds of actions (Harvey, 2000, pp. 16-17). Karma is viewed as the overall psychological impulse behind human emotion and action that influences their causes and affects karmic results (Harvey, 2000, p. 17). Deliberately mitigating negative affectivity is understood to derive good mental karma, where the mind is seen as continually generating good and bad karma (Harvey, 2000, p. 18). Buddhists hold that wrong views lead to wrong thought and that wrong speech and action come from misperceiving the nature of reality or being in discord with the fundamental nature of things: a delusion (Harvey, 2000, p. 18). Wrong actions or behavior results from misperceiving reality; *delusions go against the grain of reality*, and they naturally lead to unpleasant results (Harvey, 2000, p. 18).

Dukkha is of primary concern within Buddhism; dukkha is commonly translated: as suffering, unhappiness, pain, dissatisfaction, discontentment, or strain (Harvey, 2000, p. 33). The aim of overcoming dukkha or suffering is both a personal and collective concern (Harvey, 2000, p. 33; De Silva, 2005, p. 107). Buddhists come to understand the role of suffering in human existence by seeing that they contribute to their suffering through a path of incorrect perceptions, cognitions, and behaviors (Harvey, 2000, p. 33). Through our knowledge of suffering, we gain the knowledge and care that others also experience similar

qualities of suffering in existence. Individuals lack an understanding of impermanence, where the inherent nature of change and decay operates, and this lack of understanding concerning impermanence leads to suffering. Impermanence does not imply a fixed nature or self, which means humans are always capable of changing for the better and should be regarded accordingly, rather than dismissed as unworthy (Harvey, 2000, p. 34). Labeling someone as having a particular fixed nature often has a more harmful effect on them, whereas respecting them helps elicit change for the better, paralleling Carl Rogers' unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1951). Rogers held that it is necessary within a clinical setting to support individuals despite what they have said or done in order to facilitate positive humanistic growth (Rogers, 1951, p. 64).

Buddhists perceive delusion or spiritual misorientation as *the veiling of truth from oneself* that obscures clear states of cognitive perception (Harvey, 2000, p. 47). Non-delusional states entail a clarity of the mind that enables insight into the nature of reality (Harvey, 2000, p. 47). Buddhists hold that the roots of unwholesome and harmful actions are interrelated, where greed and hatred manifest in delusional states (Harvey, 2000, p. 47). Buddhists highly value developing or cultivating wisdom and knowledge to overcome deluded perspectives (Harvey, 2000, p. 47.) In Buddhism, human behavior is assessed in terms of its direct effects of causing suffering or happiness (Harvey, 2000, p. 47). Within the beliefs of Buddhist practitioners, a system of cultivation or development exists which helps individuals overcome negative states of greed, hatred, and delusion (Harvey, 2000, p. 51). Above all, the Buddhist perspective views prosocial behavior as part of a spiritual path that cultivates a more wholesome character by undermining ethical defilements through developing counteractive virtues (Harvey, 2000, p. 58). A process of gradual transformation is seen to culminate in a state of liberation (*Nirvana*) from all greed, hatred, *delusion*, and the subsequent suffering that follows. Liberation requires that people have not a fixed, unchangeable self but are capable of radical transformation brought about by analyzing the nature of the mind and behavior; this is the essential project of psychology. (Harvey, 2000, p. 58).

In conclusion, Buddhism aims to overcome greed/attachment, hatred, and delusion, which are seen as the roots of harmful actions, behaviors, and mental states that are the principal conditions of human suffering. The ultimate reality perceived within Buddhism is *Nirvana*, which entails the destruction of cognitive delusions and distortions. Delusions may be mitigated by avoiding intoxication and cultivating mental clarity that allows individuals to see things as they truly are through meditative development that cultivates insight (Harvey, 2000, p. 122).

Clinical Insight on Delusions

Delusional symptomatology is a characteristic and chronic feature of the schizophrenia spectrum and includes disorders such as schizophrenia, schizotypal personality disorder, schizoaffective disorder, and other psychotic disorders (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 2013, p. 87). Abnormalities define the spectrum of schizophrenia in one or more of the following five domains: delusions, hallucinations, disorganized thinking, speech,

and grossly disorganized or abnormal motor behavior (including catatonic states), and negative symptoms (i.e., those which take away affective or experiential states) (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87).

Delusions are highly personal ideas or belief systems, not endorsed by one's culture or subculture, that are maintained with conviction despite irrationality or evidence to the contrary (American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2020). Delusions may be transient and fragmentary; in delusional disorders, they are often highly systematized and elaborate (American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2020). Statistical data suggests that delusions are not primarily logical errors but are derived from emotional events (Kiran & Chaudhury, 2009, pp. 3-18; American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2020). Some research suggests that delusions may be the most significant symptom of schizophrenia (American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2020).

Delusions are fixed beliefs that are not amenable to change considering conflicting evidence (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Common types of delusions are delusional jealousy, delusions of control, delusions of reference, nihilistic delusions, and somatic delusions (American Psychological Association Dictionary, 2020). Persecutory delusions entail the belief that one will be harmed, harassed, and so forth by an individual, organization, or group in the pursuit of goals (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Referential delusions entail the belief that certain gestures, comments, environmental cues are directed at oneself, falsely believing they have personal meaning or significance (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Grandiose delusions entail individuals believing they have exceptional abilities, wealth, or fame (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Nihilistic delusions involve convictions that a major catastrophe will occur (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Somatic delusions are preoccupations regarding health and organ functioning (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Erotomaniac delusions entail the false belief that another romantically desires them (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). The DSM-5 does not address or specify religious delusions as a facet of the symptomatology of delusions and instead prefers to resist pathologizing religion. The Encyclopedia of Mental Disorders defines *religious delusions* as any delusion with religious or spiritual content, which may co-occur with other delusions (1998). It is necessary to note that beliefs considered normal for an individual's religious or cultural background are not delusions, regardless of their veracity (DSM-5, 2013).

Delusions may be bizarre and non-bizarre. Delusions are considered bizarre if they are implausible and are not understood, nor are common within same-culture peers and do not derive from ordinary life experiences (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Bizarre delusions are impossible ;non-bizarre delusions are plausible, though they are not probable since they do not hold convincing evidence (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Delusions that express a loss of control over the mind or body are considered bizarre, including believing that one's thoughts have been removed and other thoughts not of personal origin have been inserted (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). Another example of bizarre delusions entails believing that one's body is being manipulated by an outside force that entails delusions of control. The distinction between a delusion and a strongly held idea is sometimes difficult to differentiate and depends largely upon the level of conviction held with a

particular belief despite strong and clear contradictory evidence of its validity (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87).

Psychological Forms of Delusion-mitigation through Cultivation

In referencing psychological forms of cultivation, we employ a comparative analysis of the respective lexical domains of religious and scientific knowledge to consider religious cultivation in terms of development, benefit, or improvement that essentially strongly covaries with the construct of cultivation. The essential project of clinical psychology is aimed towards generating a healthy cognitive and behavioral composition of the person that enables the greatest level of functionality with a minimum amount of suffering. Psychology necessarily entails the cultivation or development of new cognitive states of human existence that transcend or mitigate the effect of major mental illnesses.

Self-cultivation is hypothetically constructed to define a process of cultivating the mind and body through a process of integration and communication. Self-cultivation is associated with attempts to go beyond normal states of being that enhance and continually develop an individual's capacities and potentials (Wang, Wang, and Wang, 2014, p. 351). Self-cultivation is conceived by Wang et al. (2014) as a psychological process that develops and improves one's mind and body into a more stable and organic whole (pp. 340-351). Self-cultivation is a developmental model that sees human beings as progressively becoming integrated into larger and larger circles of human concern (Wang et al., 2014, pp. 340-351). Self-cultivation entails the possibilities for growth towards an individual's potential (Wang et al., 2014).

There is a two-sided relation between nature and cultivation/improvement; culture relates to nature in a way that dialectically combines apparent contradictions between the nurturing of nature (Derksen, 2017, p. 202). Development as cultivation tends to shape and change nature, but the tools of cultivation are themselves derived from nature (Derksen, 2017, p. 202). Cultivation suggests spontaneous growth and its regulation through a natural process, while simultaneously, the practice of cultivation is a process that is intended through human regulation (Derksen, 2017, p. 202). The cultivated implies the uncultivated that comes before it; *cultivation transforms and shapes human nature, but only up to a point* (Derksen, 2017, p. 202). The concept of self-cultivation in psychology offers a perspective on human nature that entails transforming our conditions through developmental practices (Derksen, 2017, p. 202). Self-cultivation is increasingly done with the help of experts, but it is not done by experts (Derksen, 2017, p. 202).

The pursuit of well-being broadly refers to states of optimal development, flourishing, happiness, life satisfaction, or otherwise leading a life worth living (Sovereign & Walker, 2020, p. 1-20). Happiness is a complex construct describing optimal function and experience; subjective well-being is described as the integration of several socio-affective constructs (Sovereign & Walker, 2020, p. 1-5). Subjective well-being constructs encompass an individual's emotional responses, cognitive satisfaction with their lives, and global judgments regarding their overall level of satisfaction (Sovereign & Walker, 2020, pp. 1-9). Sovereign

and Walker (2020) note that the innate capacity for human learning, growth, and development are regarded as humanity's greatest potentials for continual development (pp. 1-20). Sovereign and Walker (2020) hypothesized that cognitive mechanisms might be fortified through self-development techniques that enhance subjective well-being (pp. 1-20). The human capacity to shape oneself according to one's own will has widely been held as the fundamental premise of most psychological and counseling techniques (Sovereign & Walker, 2020, pp. 1-9). This outlook is referred to as a growth mindset, one in which continually develops talents, skills, and abilities; and thereby increases the likelihood of attaining their ambitions (Sovereign & Walker, 2020, pp.1-20).

Within a clinical application of psychology, the cultivation, development, or improvement of clinically significant levels of delusional symptomatology are endowed through a process of cognitive restructuring. Cognitive restructuring refers to a process of recognizing negative thoughts and changing them to be more realistic and rational (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 148). Cognitive restructuring is designed to help patients identify and challenge their patterns of thinking to see things in a more objective manner (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p.148). Cognitive restructuring seeks to replace negative patterns of thought and perception with alternative thoughts that are positive, calming, and insightful (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p.667). Cognitive restructuring entails identifying emotions, using emotions, understanding emotions, and managing emotions through self-regulation (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 217). In the 1960s, psychologist Aaron Beck developed cognitive therapy based upon the principle that maladaptive behavior (ineffective, self-defeating behavior) is caused by irrational or deluded thinking patterns (Strickland, 2001, p. 134). Beck's theory is based upon the idea that instead of reacting to a situation's reality, individuals misperceive the situation and incorrectly respond to that context (Strickland, 2001, p. 134). Cognitive-based therapy seeks to change cognitive distortions by examining the rationality and validity of assumptions behind them; such is the process of cognitive restructuring (Strickland, 2001, p. 134; Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 148). One prominent therapy that employs this model is known as Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT).

Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) involves exposing individuals to situations they apprehend until their anxiety subsides (i.e., in-vivo exposure) (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 74). Second, CBT replaces anxious thoughts with a more balanced, realistic perspective, considering all possible factors rather than assuming the worst (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 74). Third, CBT entails teaching individuals other relevant skills that help regulate their emotions (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 74). CBT is a psychological treatment widely regarded as the treatment of choice for a wide range of mental disorders, including anxiety disorders, bulimia nervosa, and affective disorders (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, pp. 74, 148). Numerous studies have demonstrated that most patients treated with CBT benefit from treatment, and such improvements are durable in reducing symptomatology (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 148). Woolfolk argues that psychotherapy, a form of talk therapy, comprises an activity involved in the development, elucidation, and application of practical knowledge

through the cultivation of character or the development of practical wisdom that may be applied to the world in which they operate (2015, p. 5).

In the clinical setting, patients strive for development and improvement through a therapeutic exercise of cultivating positive regard for themselves and others as a means of developing a differential state of experience (Waring, 2012, p. 25-35). In the therapeutic setting, individuals engage in structured activities to cultivate, develop, and improve their mode of being in the world. The goals of treatment can include positive states of mental health that transcend symptom relief, entailing a changing of an individual's emotional, cognitive, and behavioral dispositions in a way that increases the chances of achieving a satisfactory life (Waring, 2012, p. 25-35). The clinical application of psychology entails cultivating healthy psychological states through the development of practical wisdom by restructuring individuals' cognitive and behavioral patterns (Woolfolk, 2015).

Delusions are fixed and false beliefs that accompany major mental disorders (Alberini, Ye, & Johnson, 2013, pp. 81-87). Models constructed within translational neuroscience indicate that delusions override brain mechanisms that influence predictive learning, where prediction errors mismatch our expectancy in a given situation, and what is actually experienced is central to the basis of delusional formation (Alberini et al., 2014, 81-117). From the perspective of Alberini et al., delusions form due to aberrations of brain systems that underpin the successful anticipation of an adaptation to external and internal events (2013, 81-117). CBT therapy for psychosis has demonstrated efficacy for treating delusions and hallucinations (Freeman, 2011, pp. 135-139). Reasoning biases, skewed views of self, and other factors based on adverse life experiences such as rumination, interpersonal sensitivity, catastrophic appraisals, and avoidance behaviors all show correlation with delusions (Freeman, 2011, pp. 135-139). Delusions entail distress for those experiencing them, and this distress contributes to human suffering, comparable to levels seen in generalized anxiety disorder (Freeman, 2011, pp. 135-139). Further, delusions can become exceedingly strong and override current environmental influences and social cues (Alberini et al., 2014, 81-117). Freeman (2011) found that by allowing individuals to discuss their experiences constructively in a psychoeducational setting, patients experienced a 25% reduction in their worries associated with persecutory delusions (pp. 135-139).

Psycho-Religious Eastern and Western Cultivation

Buddhism and Western psychology endow theoretical and methodological systems that facilitate well-being by cultivating mental balance through individuals intentionally and effectively addressing that which restricts human potential (Hwang & Chang, 2009, pp. 1010-1032). Traditional Buddhist literature does not generally discuss mental health as a topic distinct from teachings about the path to enlightenment (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). However, Buddhist texts extensively explain how to train the mind in ways that alleviate suffering, which entails a psychological process of addressing the *causes* of human suffering (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). All schools of Buddhist

thought share a similar aim with Western psychology in the fundamental goal of reducing suffering (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). The emphasis on human well-being in the absence of suffering transcends a stimulus-driven basis and instead depends upon the cultivation of a specific type of enduring beliefs and attitudes developed in one's psychological character (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). This process of cultivating meaningful priorities, attitudes, perspectives, and behaviors is prominent within positive psychology, and it is strongly emphasized in Buddhist practice (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032).

Western psychology and Buddhism both hold that happiness resulting from internally mediated mental training is more likely to be durable than externally derived happiness (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). Current psychological research suggests a preliminary confirmation of Buddhist teachings, which hold that the degree of one's happiness is not fixed but instead can be consciously cultivated or developed (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). In part, cognitive-based therapies sustain the Buddhist principle that all of existence is a creation of the mind, where people can gradually change their way of thinking, feeling, and acting *from psychological incongruity to homeostasis* that attains therapeutic goals (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). It is noted that Buddhist meditation, in conjunction with psychotherapy, is effective in facilitating mood stabilization, reduced anxiety, reduced neurotic symptoms, and greater self-control (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). Buddhist meditation helps one to be calm, relaxed, and peaceful and is effective for coping with negative emotions (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032).

Until recently, Western psychology primarily focused on diagnosing and treating mental disorders; now, scientific attention has shifted towards understanding and cultivating positive mental health (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). In contrast, for the past 2,500 years, Buddhist teachings have systematically identified and diagnosed the symptoms of human suffering, determined their cause, and described cures for pathologies by providing a path to happiness and lasting contentment (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). *Buddhism perhaps signifies one of the first forms of therapeutic counseling.* In many ways, the psychologist seems to play the role of the master in East Asian culture (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). The psychologist comprehends the individual's concerns and provides them with appropriate instruction on overcoming such concerns, where the individual cultivates themselves through the guidance of the psychologist.

However, it is necessary to note that the goal of cultivation within Buddhism is quite different from the conception within Western psychology (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). Instead of using systematic methods of investigation for an individual's authentic self, the Buddhist model encourages the individual to cultivate an understanding of non-self (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032). The construct of self is a core concept in Western psychology; contrary to this, Buddhism is based on a non-self-cultivating process that aims to minimize or extinguish the self, leading to selflessness (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-7). The non-self-approach involves executing the self-cultivating principles of giving up desires, displaying compassion, practicing meditation, and seeking to understand Buddhist wisdom, which directly concerns human suffering and the means of

overcoming it (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Traditionally, Western psychology has sought to understand psychological functioning from an individualist perspective, emphasizing the need to satisfy, maintain, and strengthen the self (Shiah, 2016, pp. 1-2). The origin of the individualist view of self can be traced to early Christianity and marks an epistemological difference between the respective theoretical approaches of Western psychology and Buddhism (Shiah, 2016, p. 2). However, the ultimate aim of Western psychology and Buddhism is to overcome human suffering in pain and emotional disturbances caused by life's difficulties, challenges, and stressors (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-8).

The Buddha's teachings aim to attain authentic and durable happiness by cultivating a transition from the self-state to the non-self-state (Dalai Lama, 1995; Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Clinging to or being obsessed with delusions of self is a major cause of suffering as taught by the Buddha; in contrast to the Western construct of the self, the goal of Buddhists is Nirvana, or a state of selflessness (Dalai Lama, 1995). Human cultivation leads to Nirvana, or the state of non-self, in a state of total liberation (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). However, the concept of a totally liberated state in Buddhism is complex and transcends the magisterium of Western clinical psychology (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Nevertheless, the non-self-state includes psychological benefits, such as authentic and durable happiness, which are of central concern to the project of clinical psychology. Ultimately Buddhism holds that personal identity, and therefore concepts of self, are delusional and that the individual, as the self, turns out not to exist (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). From the perspective of Buddhism, everyone who is not liberated is 'delusional' and is in some sense 'mentally ill.'

Self-cultivation in Buddhism is associated with attempts to go beyond normal states of existence and by enhancing the development of a person's capacities and potentials (Wang et al., 2014, pp. 340-342). *Self-cultivation* is a psychological process that develops one's mind and body to reach beyond the normal or current state of being (Wang et al., 2014, pp. 340-342).

Sustaining and fulfilling human development encompasses both separateness and belongingness. Any social or political system, such as individualism or collectivism that supports individuality or connection over the other is bound to interfere and distort human development (Wang et al., 2014, p. 340). Existential security is created through bonding, not separation (Wang et al., 2014, p. 342). Human development comes in the presence of a secure community that facilitates individual growth through prosocial and collective means (Wang et al., 2014, p. 342). Liberation from emotional disturbances leads to the reclaiming of existential and ontological security that is a human birthright or human right (Wang et al., 2014, p. 342). In Buddhism, to reclaim this birthright means to be reconnected with the essence of humanity through awakening the '*heart-mind*' (Bai, Cohen, & Scott, 2013).

The Eastern idea of health extends beyond pathological reduction and instead encompasses existential and transpersonal concerns (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 84). In the Eastern context, health is defined in terms of reducing unhealthy qualities, particularly regarding deluded perspectives, cultivation of healthy qualities, and maturation to transpersonal stages of development (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 84). As all societies' emotional

regulation processes have been influenced by their cultural philosophies and values, East Asian societies have been influenced by the values of forbearance, emotional self-control, and interpersonal harmony (Sanseeha et al., 2009; Wang, Wei, Koay, Lo, & Lee, 2019). Forbearance is a strategy used in East Asian cultures to regulate emotional processes through suppression, cognitive reframing, empathy, and self-cultivation (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). In the East Asian context, emotional regulation can involve several positive meanings and functions towards maintaining positive prosocial relations (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). A component of emotional cultivation in East Asian cultures is to regulate emotional affect by creating alternative thoughts and perceptions to understand how one's thoughts and actions will affect one's outcomes (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Emotional cultivation in East Asian cultures strongly resembles the process seen in CBT. However, Buddhists' conceptions of self, or lack thereof, resembles Skinner's view that the mind does not exist (Skinner, 1974, pp. 113-131). Skinner holds that the mind, and the self, as conceived in consciousness, is an illusion, a hypothetical construct of cognitive psychology that does not exist (1974, pp. 113-131). Skinner's theory parallels the Buddhist belief that the self, as conceived in the mind, does not exist per se but rather is illusionary in nature. However, Pio notes that Buddhists tend to view psychological disorders as being primarily psychogenic or psychological in origin rather than somatic (physiological) in nature (1988, p. 127). This position of seeing disorder as psychological indicates a position towards cognitive-based approaches rather than a behavioral approach to psychology.

Buddhism suggests we apply the self-cultivating principle by following certain structured activities by applying compassion and obtaining new insight to overcome delusions of self and attain a non-self-state of authentic and durable happiness (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Eastern approaches to psychology emphasize that healthy mental states and qualities must be intentionally cultivated or developed to ensure psychological health and maturity entailing post-formal operational cognition and wisdom, post-conventional morality, transpersonal emotions, and meta-motives, such as altruism (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 84). Post-formal operational cognition and knowledge denotes individuals who are more flexible, logical, willing to accept moral and intellectual complexities (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 579).

Post-conventional morality describes individuals who live by their own ethically formed principles expressed by moral actors who use a heuristic framework to make decisions based upon rights, values, duties, and ideals (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004, p. 579).

Clinical Insight on Buddhism and Psychotic Symptomatology

This section will address the current clinical directions of research as they broadly relate to Buddhism, schizophrenia, psychotic delusions, and studies assessing Eastern-based cultivating practices. Raja, Azzoni, & Lubich (2000), investigated religious delusions through an observational study of 313 acute psychiatric inpatients admitted to emergency psychiatric care and compared patients with and without religious delusion (pp. 22–29). The authors note that

little is known about the clinical features associated with religious delusions and how religious delusions may differ across various diagnostic groups (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). Many patients were apprehended for displaying psychotic symptoms near St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican City State (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). Of those assessed, 20.1% expressed religious delusions on the Assessment of Positive Symptoms, finding no significant variation between male and female patients in the rates of religious delusion (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). The investigators also found that religious delusions are not associated with self-directed harm (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). Raja et al. (2000) found that nearly 40% of those with religious delusions were diagnosed with schizophrenia and schizophreniform disorder, and another 12% were diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). It is necessary to note that the DSM-5 defines delusions as fixed beliefs that are not amenable to change considering conflicting evidence (DSM-5, 2013, p. 87). However, in religious delusions, cases carrying religious themes, the question of the validity of beliefs is not relevant since the veracity of religious beliefs cannot be assessed (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29).

Raja et al. (2000) found religious delusions to be common among patients with psychotic symptoms, attributing the high rate of occurrence to regional religious influences (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). Raja et al. found that religious delusions occurred at similar rates in all forms of psychosis (2000, pp. 22-29). Raja et al. (2002) found that individuals who presented religious delusions also exhibited comorbid psychopathologies and more severe positive psychotic symptoms compared to other patients and had more chronicity in their psychopathological symptomatology (pp. 22-29). Raja et al. (2002) found an association between religious delusion and more severe and chronic courses of psychopathology (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29).

Religious delusions exert an overt and covert influence on patients' thoughts, affect, and behavior (Raja et al., 2000, pp. 22-29). Tateyama and colleagues (see Tateyama et al., 1993, pp. 151-185; 1998, pp. 59-68) compared the prevalence and contents of delusions of patients with schizophrenia in Japan to patients in Germany and Austria (Lysaker, Dimaggio, & Brune, 2014, p. 32). The number of patients with delusional symptomatology was equal in both samples. The number of patients with delusions about world-ending scenarios and the quantity of negative (paranoid ideas) and positive (grandiosity) delusions was the same (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 32). However, the quality of these delusions differed; 20% of the German-speaking sample expressed religious delusions, only 6% of the Japanese samples expressed similar delusions (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 32). In the German-speaking samples, delusional guilt was a common feature; it was rare in the Japanese sample (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 32). Persecutory delusions were more common in the German-speaking sample than in the Japanese sample (Tateyama et al., 1998, pp. 59-68). One hypothesis into the source of these differences is that Asian religions, such as Buddhism, do not imply apocalyptic ideation or death as a penalty for or absolution from sin (Lysaker et al., 2014). In contrast, ideas of shame, burdensomeness, and being viewed as worthless formed the most common context of delusions in Japanese patients (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 33). Delusions in the Japanese sample included

the feeling or perception that others spoke poorly about them (Tateyama et al., 1998, pp. 59-68). It is important to stress that East Asian countries are considered to be collectivist societies where one's individuality is less important than the interest of one's social group (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 33). One's own needs and wishes might need to be neglected or suspended in favor of the social group's well-being; thus, individuals in collectivistic societies are more susceptible to social feelings of shame and worthlessness (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 33). When considering Eastern and Western cultures, it is necessary to note that individualistic or collectivistic social models of organization influence an individual's perspective of self. In the Eastern context, collectivists view themselves as dynamic entities, continually defined by their social context and relationships (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 33). Individualistic societies perceive the individual self as a stable entity that is autonomous from other people and their environment (Lysaker et al., 2014, p. 33). Thus, differential concepts of self are epistemologically employed. Conceptions of the self are culturally determined, and these perspectives of the individual, in reference to the collective, differentiates views and representations of the self.

Schizophrenia is one of the most common types of severe and chronic mental illnesses, and it affects roughly 0.7% of the adult U.S. population at a given time (Sanseeha et al., 2009; DSM-5, 2013). Half of all of those who suffer from the disorder do not receive appropriate care, and roughly 90% of those with untreated schizophrenia live in developing countries (Sanseeha et al., 2009). Rates of psychopathology are generally similar around the world, while unique social and cultural influences in different population groups might impart differing perceptions of those pathologies (Sanseeha et al., 2009). Buddhism has been an integral part of Thai culture and influences how Thais view the world and express their beliefs (Sanseeha et al., 2009). The foundation of Buddhist morality is the law of cause and effect or the karmic principle that operates in the lifespan of individuals (Sanseeha et al., 2009). It is understood that malady results from wrong deeds done in the past, and *karma* emphasizes the cause and effect of deeds that will directly affect the person (Sanseeha et al., 2009).

Sanseeha and colleagues (2009) investigated the perspectives of Thais diagnosed with schizophrenia and the nature of individuals' views concerning their pathology. Sanseeha et al. (2009) selected 18 individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia, all of whom were practicing Buddhists (Sanseeha et al., 2009). In the study, all participants expressed a belief in the law of karma (Sanseeha et al., 2009). Participants' responses indicated that they view the cause of their illness as stemming from supernatural powers, bad karma from the past, or biological factors (Sanseeha et al., 2009). Many participants and their relatives attributed the cause of their psychopathology to bad karma (Sanseeha et al., 2009). Attributing the cause of their psychopathology to bad karma indicates a strong underlying role that Buddhism and its cultural values and beliefs play in individuals' perceptions of the causes and nature of psychopathology (Sanseeha et al., 2009).

Buddhist Thai participants felt that they were discriminated against by society and were ashamed to be considered different, felt looked down upon because of their limitations, and felt isolated from society (Sanseeha et al., 2009). The findings of Sanseeha et al. (2009) echo the findings presented in Tateyama et

al. (1993, pp. 151-158; 1998, pp. 59-68) that Asian-collectivistic societies express more significant worry with social perceptions in the context of delusional symptomatology than do individualistic cultures, paralleling the more significant social concern expressed within Buddhism. In Sanseeahas' (2009) study, participants believed they were chronically ill and intentionally sought ways to mitigate their condition in realizing they had to manage their illness actively. Buddhist Thai practitioners did so by adjusting their self-care activities and social behaviors, encouraging themselves, seeking mental refuge, and following dharma or Buddhist morality to reduce the disorder's negative impact on their lives (Sanseeha et al., 2009). The participants used Buddhist teachings to provide direction or guidance for being happy by practicing mindfulness, positive concentration, meditation, and chanting to encourage one's mind to be at peace (Sanseeha et al., 2009).

Clinical Research on Buddhist-Derived Interventions

Over the past 30 years, a considerable number of mental health professionals have engaged in various forms of Buddhist psychotherapy such as compassion-based therapy, Buddhism-based grief therapy, and mindfulness-based techniques (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032; Shonin, Van Gordon, & Griffiths, 2014; Shiah, 2016, pp. 1-10). Mindful-based meditation techniques form the foundation of the Buddhist process of self-cultivation (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Many clinical researchers and theorists have attempted to integrate Buddhist practices into formalized psychotherapies, often focusing on meditation, and its effects on increasing emotional stability, positive affect, mindfulness, and improved attention (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). It is of clinical and scholarly interest to investigate the causal relationship that is hypothesized between traditional Buddhist practices of self-cultivation that may serve the *function* of psychotherapy for individual practitioners and patients alike. For example, Zen Buddhism is used as a mode of psychotherapy in Japan (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). Findings on Zen meditation's psychological effects include reduced anxiety, reduced neurotic symptoms, increased self-control, increased work efficiency, and an enhanced sense of compassion (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10). The use of meditation in conjunction with psychotherapy has been found to produce desirable effects in lessening negative self-reprisals, mood stabilization, and a reduced tendency for drug abuse (Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10).

Buddhist-derived practices of mindfulness in the form of mindfulness-based cognitive therapy are supported by the American Psychiatric Association for the treatment of specific forms of depression (Shonin et al., 2014). The clinical utility of Buddhist-derived interventions spans a wide range of psychological disorders, including mood disorders, anxiety disorders, substance use disorders, personality disorders, and of concern; here, schizophrenia-spectrum disorders (Shonin et al., 2014). Buddhist-derived interventions effectively improve psychological well-being, cognitive function, and emotion regulation capacity in subclinical and healthy adult populations, indicating possible benefits to a wide range of individuals (Shonin et al., 2014). The integration of Buddhist principles

into clinical practice is likely due to the similarities between Buddhism and established clinical modes of treatment, such as CBT (Shonin et al., 2014). CBT and Buddhism both encourage individuals to challenge their perceptions of the world to enable greater human happiness and flourishing. Convergent validity is a subtype of construct validity that measures the associations between the construct (i.e., cultivation) and other similar constructs (e.g., cognitive flexibility, cognitive reappraisal, and basic-psychological needs satisfaction) (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). As it is in every culture, East Asian emotional regulation is influenced by its particular cultural philosophies and values (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). The East Asian perspective on emotional regulation is defined by engaging in the practice of creating alternative thoughts to understanding how one's beliefs and actions will affect their outcome (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Wang and colleagues (2019) sought to examine the relationship between emotional cultivation, cognitive flexibility, and cognitive reappraisal. Cognitive flexibility refers to the ability to perceive alternative explanations or generate alternative solutions (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Cognitive reappraisal is the modification of the meaning of an event to influence the experience of emotion (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Wang et al. (2019) sought to establish the convergent association between emotional cultivation and positive affect, emotional regulation, basic psychological needs satisfaction, gratitude, and cognitive flexibility (pp. 409-423). Wang et al. (2019) defined the construct of cognitive emotion regulation strategies as procedures that regulate emotion through self-control that generates alternative thoughts that consider the best for self and others (pp. 409-423).

Cultivating emotional strategies and understanding emotional connotations together accounted for an additional 9% of the variance explained in predicting cognitive flexibility, 2% of the variance explained by positive affect, and 21% of the variance in predicting emotional cultivating strategies was accounted for by the satisfaction of basic psychological needs (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Cultivating emotional strategies and understanding emotional connotations significantly and uniquely predicted basic psychological needs satisfaction and gratitude (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Understanding emotional connotations significantly and uniquely predicted cognitive flexibility (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Emotional cultivation and cultivation emotional strategies had an intercorrelation of .93, indicating they are 93% more alike than they are different (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Cultivating emotional strategies and understanding emotional connotations have an intercorrelation of .57, representing 32% of the variance of emotional cultivation (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423).

Wang et al. (2019) findings indicate that cultivating emotional strategies and understanding emotional connotations explain 32% of the variables of emotional cultivation (2019, pp. 409-423). Emotional cultivation is strongly correlated with cognitive flexibility and reappraisal to the extent of .59 and .61, respectively (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). Emotional cultivation is also strongly correlated with basic psychological needs satisfaction to the extent of .66 and .31 for positive affectivity (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 409-423). The findings of Wang et al. (2019) indicate that cultivating techniques endow a psychological

capacity to attain basic needs and a greater likelihood of experiencing positive psychological affect (pp. 409-423).

Conclusion

It is reasoned that Buddhist-based self-cultivating practices do represent an effectual therapeutic intervention that endows increased psychological well-being, cognitive function, and emotion regulation capacities (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032; Sanseeha et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2014; Shonin et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2019). It is ascertained that Buddhist-derived clinical interventions that entail cultivating practices may be effective treatments for a variety of psychopathologies, including mood-spectrum disorders, substance-used disorders, and schizophrenia (Hwang et al., 2009, pp. 1010-1032; Sanseeha et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2014; Shonin et al., 2014; Shiah, 2016, pp. 2-10; Wang et al., 2019).

It becomes discernible that Buddhism and Western psychology share a desire to overcome human suffering as a core and shared goal, while significant epistemological differences exist between these two magisterial forms of knowledge and meaning. Buddhism does endow a psychological capacity to mitigate delusional perspectives, but it is not towards the same aims seen in Western psychology. Western psychology seeks the alleviation of individual suffering; it is concerned with the individual, Buddhism is wholly concerned with the impermanent nature of human dispositions, and as such, it opposes the Western focus on enduring personality states. While psychology is concerned with the present state of the individual, Buddhism is concerned with the future direction of that individual. Western clinical psychology seeks to alleviate symptomatology that entails human suffering in clinical populations, while Buddhism sees the entire world as intrinsically deluded. In Buddhism, not only do clinical populations experience significant levels of suffering, but all who are not liberated from delusions indeed suffer.

References

- Alberini, C. M., Johnson, S. A., & Ye, X. (2013). *Memory Reconsolidation*. 81-117. Elsevier Science & Technology. doi:10.1016/b978-0-12-386892-3.00005-6
- American Psychological Association. *Dictionary of Psychology*. (2020). Retrieved from <https://dictionary.apa.org/delusion>
- Bai, H., Cohen, A., & Scott, C. (2013). *Revisioning Higher Education: The three-fold relationality framework*. In J. Lin, R. L. Oxford, & E. J. Brantmeier (Eds.), *Re-envisioning higher education: Embodied pathways to wisdom and social transformation* (pp. 3–22). Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Bartels, M., & Heimann, H. (1993). Comparison of schizophrenic delusions between Japan and Germany. *Psychopathology*, 26(3-4), 151–158. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000284815>
- Craighead, W. E., & Nemeroff, C. B. (2004). *The Concise Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology and Behavioral Science*. 74-667. John Wiley & Sons.
- Dalai Lama. (1995). *The Path to Enlightenment*. Snow Lion Publications, Incorporated.
- Derksen, M. (2007). Cultivating Human Nature. *New Ideas in Psychology*, 25(3), 189–206. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2006.09.001>
- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (5th Ed)*. (2013). 87. Washington DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- Easwaran, Eknath. (2007). *The Dhammapada / Introduced & Translated by Eknath Easwaran (2nd ed.)*. Tomales, CA: Nilgiri Press. ISBN 978-1-58638-020-5.; ISBN 1-58638-020-6.
- Fleischman, S. (1999). I am ... , I have ... , I suffer from ... : A Linguist Reflects on the Language of Illness and Disease. *Journal of Medical Humanities* 20, 3–32. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1022918132461>
- Freeman, D. (2011). Improving Cognitive Treatments for Delusions. *Schizophrenia Research*, 132(2-3), 135-139. doi:10.1016/j.schres.2011.08.012

- Harvey, P. (2013). *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values, and Issues* (pp. 3-122). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Hwang, K., & Chang, J. (2009). Self-Cultivation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 37(7),1010-1032. doi:10.1177/0011000009339976
- Kiran, C., & Chaudhury, S. (2009). Understanding delusions. *Industrial psychiatry journal*,18(1), 3–18. <https://doi.org/10.4103/0972-6748.57851>
- Lysaker, P. H., Dimaggio, G., & Brüne, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Social cognition and metacognition in schizophrenia: Psychopathology and treatment approaches*. 32-33. Elsevier Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-405172-0.00019-3>
- Pio, E. (1988). *Buddhist Psychology: A Modern Perspective*. 127. New Delhi: AbhinavPublications.
- Raja, M., Azzoni, A., & Lubich, L. (2000). Religious delusion: An observational study of religious delusion in a population of 313 acute psychiatric inpatients. *Schweizer Archiv für Neurologie, Neurochirurgie und Psychiatrie*, 151(1), 22–29.
- Rogers, C. (1951) *Client-Centered Therapy: Its Current Practice, Implications and Theory*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 64.
- Shiah Y. J. (2016). From Self to Nonself: The Nonself Theory. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7(124),1-12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00124>
- Shonin, E., Van Gordon, W., & Griffiths, M. D. (2014). The Emerging Role of Buddhism in Clinical Psychology: Toward Effective Integration. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 6(2), 123–137. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035859>
- De Silva, P. (2005). *An introduction to Buddhist psychology* (4th ed.). 107. Palgrave Macmillan.<https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230509450>
- Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About Behaviorism* (pp. 113-131). Alfred A. Knopf. Vintage Books. Sovereign, G., Walker, B.R. (2021). *Mind, Body and Wellbeing: Reinforcement Sensitivity Theory and Self-cultivation Systems as Wellbeing Influencers*. *J Happiness Stud* 22, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-019-00216-5>
- Strickland, B. B. (2001). *The Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology*. 134. Detroit, MI: Gale. Tateyama, M., Asai, M., Kamisada, M., Hashimoto, M.,

Tateyama, M., Asai, M., Hashimoto, M., Bartels, M., & Kasper, S. (1998). Transcultural study of schizophrenic delusions. Tokyo versus Vienna and Tübingen (Germany). *Psychopathology*, 31(2), 59–68. <https://doi.org/10.1159/000029025>

Wang, V. C., Wang, W., & Wang, W. (2014). *Handbook of Research on Adult and Community Health Education: Tools, trends, and methodologies*. 340-351. Hershey PA: Medical Information Science Reference.

Wang, L. F., Wei, M., Koay, E., Lo, M. H., & Lee, M. Y. (2019). The development and validation of the Emotional Cultivation Scale: An East Asian cultural perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 66(4), 409–423. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000346>

Waring, D. R. (2012). The Virtuous Patient: Psychotherapy and the Cultivation of Character.

Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology, 19(1), 25-35. doi:10.1353/ppp.2012.0011

Woolfolk, R. L. (2015). *The Value of Psychotherapy; the talking cure in an age of clinical science*. New York: Guilford.

Justifying Advocacy of Patients' Belief Diversity with Support from William James' Lectures on Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking, The Variety of Religious Experiences and the Will to Believe

By Sterling Courtney

Abstract: Predating monastic healthcare in the Middle Ages (Siraisi, 2019), spirituality and/or religion have been unified with healing, caring for the sick and consoling the dying, as documented by historical writings as early as c.3000 BCE-c.500 BCE in Mesopotamia and followed by coinciding accounts from c.750 BCE-c.280 BCE Greece and Rome (Mann, 2014). Via philosophy and science, a movement towards secularization has been perceived (as the Renaissance faded and the scientific revolution led into the Age of Enlightenment), therefore creating a dichotomy between treating the physical body separate from the metaphysical soul. In the early 1900's, Abraham Flexner discredited any connection between health and religion triggering reform in medical education denying spirituality benefits (Puchalski, 2010, p. 12). In addition to a secular tendency, the atmosphere of caregiving had changed (with technology and scientific knowledge) from ceremonial dying with ritual fellowship to an environment void of communal support, with death often considered a failure in the recovery process. A brief history allows for reflection on how progress and technology change the interpersonal dynamics of families and communities... and valued traditions. Faith has been assessed to still be relevant to many patients regardless of secular trends (Puchalski, 2010, pp. 4-5, 14, 90). With reference to William James and other champions of pragmatism of the 19th century, justification of individuals' faith or spirituality is validated and therefore given credence; valued for consideration by caregivers and physicians in today's healthcare environment. James' endorsement of pragmatism is supported by numerous romantic (as containing elements found in Romanticism's literature) statements which encourage happiness and optimism. Leaning on James' lectures published in text *The Varieties of Religious Experience*; aspects of pessimism leading to despair by virtue of a lack of faith, or maybe... active religiosity is proposed.

Introduction

Historically, most societies throughout the world, have shared a common approach in dealing with sickness and death. From ancient times and well into the 20th century care for the body and spirit were integrated into what today some may refer to as holistic medicine. Where the myriad of cultures varies with a diversity of personal and social dynamics as well as religious practices, it appears that caregiving and healing, or attending the dying have similar habitudes.

Although ceremonial and burial rituals vary markedly, the focus of integrating body and spirit has commonality. The vocational caregivers in society attended to both physical and spiritual needs according to the culture; there was no separation between the exigency of the body versus those of the spirit. Whether be the shaman, the witch doctor, or the medicine man; the vocational healer was also a religious figure. Of course, in Christianity, Jesus is seen as a healer of body and spirit. In last few decades, this dichotomy has developed resulting in religiosity that solely functions for spiritual concerns, while science dependent physicians focus on physical interests (Jawaid, 2014). Even though religion and medicine were closely integrated, to exacerbate the dichotomy, spiritual concerns are considered sentimental attachments of little value, thus ironically, health care sciences trend toward anti-religious bias (Lucchetti, 2019); spirituality has come to be considered an obstacle to scientific progress or worse, a burden. (Astrow, 2001).

Not confined to science, historically, philosophy has had secular influence expressed as counter arguments to religious philosophy. Modern philosophy and ethics are characterized by a movement toward secularization: Although philosophical systems strive to provide an alternative to religious appreciation, they never completely escape the influence of religion and its representation; at least insomuch as the “Tillichian” sense of numinous faith in an ideal goodness (Drane, 1994).

Although dated by more than two decades, the WHO (World Health Organization), in 1998, cited *health* as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being; not merely the absence of disease”. To briefly illustrate how healthcare or “caregiving” has changed over time in the following narrative, modern medicine may have depersonalized healthcare to an extreme, warranting a focus on reestablishing and securing a nurturing environment. Advances in technology and medical knowledge have enabled a new social group (in first world countries): this growing group, “*the survivors,*” require renewed attention to spiritual needs (Lucchetti, 2019). Putting the “care” back in healthcare, the WHO acknowledged that, “*Mechanical* treatment of objective findings in patients is no longer satisfactory.” Recreating a more holistic view of health, hope, and compassion; including consideration of faith and spirituality, should be integrated into healing process (Jawaid, 2014).

Although both spirituality and religion warrant attention, it is key to be cognizant of the difference when addressing either or both. Religiousness is less intrinsic, i.e., less elemental than spirituality, and is defined somehow in relation to religion. Spirituality, of course, tends to be more individualized and more personal, and may or may not be rooted in religion (Miller, 2003). Spirituality

refers to “the way individuals seek and express meaning and purpose and the way they experience their connectedness to the moment, self, others, nature, and to the significant or sacred” (O’Callaghan, 2019).

A Brief Perspective History of Spirituality and Healthcare

****Renowned ethicist, Allen Verhey chronicles a historical perspective of religion and healthcare authoring The Christian Art of Dying: Learning from Jesus, 2011:*

Philippe Aries, a medieval historian, described Middle Ages (roughly the 5th - 15th centuries) dying traditions as simple and public, referring to meaningful rituals and attending companionship as “Tame Death.” As death was approached as an evil, it could be tempered, hence tamed, and given meaningful respect through rituals and the community (Verhey, 2011).

As the fall of Constantinople (1453) flourished with Renaissance humanism, which many neophytes to history (self-included), relate to as “the arts”, a revival of Neo-Platonism renaissance humanists embraced Christianity; as illustrated by some of the greatest works of the Renaissance period. The Church patronized many works of Renaissance art. Ars Moriendi (the art of dying), a 15th century book, considered the death of Jesus as **archetypal** for Christians’. The book helped establish a tradition of “how to die well”, concerning virtues of faithful dying (Verhey, 2011).

In 1945, 40% of deaths occurred in a hospital setting, by 1995, 90% did. Dying well or the “*dying role*” has become the “*sick role*,” wherein patients rely on competent medical experts and hope for recovery: Whereas most often reference to medieval practices are rhetorically considered backwards and confined to entertaining festivals, the afore mentioned “*Tame death*” has become “*medicalized death*.” Medicalized dying is depersonalized, often hooked up to machines; death symbolized by a flat line. Patients are often alienated from their bodies, their communities, and from faith, for the sake of survival. Contrary to the scope of humanity’s progress from the Middle Ages, tragically Ars Moriendi has become mechanicalized and medicalized. Should death not be reduced to a mere medical event such as “do not resuscitate” (Verhey, 2011)?

Explaining Pragmatism

If any idea or notion, whether an extrinsic suggestion/phenomenon or intrinsically supported from one’s own imagination, inspires belief, hope, or faith, that idea or notion is causal; deserving consideration for having the power to create such inspirations (Courtney, 2018).

Plato’s scripted dialogue, Meno, may be considered the first recorded pragmatic application. Socrates’ discussion with Meno regarding virtue, in summary, justifies a practical approach: Socrates tells Meno that the positive benefits to one’s character justifies one believing in the value of a seeking for truth or knowledge by saying “*if we believe it right to look for what we don’t know*” rather than “*if we believe there is no point in looking because what we don’t know*”

we can never discover. Rephrased: “Pragmatic arguments are practical in orientation, justifying actions that are thought to facilitate the achievement of our goals, or the satisfaction of our desires” (Jordan, 2014).

Pragmatists maintain that most reflective topics such as epistemology, language, philosophical concepts, meaning, belief, and empirical science are all best viewed in terms of their practical uses and successes. Charles Sanders Peirce, referred to as “the father of pragmatism,” applied pragmatism and statistical principles as aspects of scientific logic.

In his *Illustrations of the Logic of Science* series of articles, Peirce offers his ‘pragmatic maxim’ in an article titled *How to Make Our Ideas Clear: Consider what effects, that might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have. Then, our conception of these effects is the whole of our conception of the object.* (Peirce C. S., *How to Make Our Ideas Clear*, 1878)

Pierce expressed the maxim in a brief and somewhat cryptic form; therefore, it has been interpreted in many ways (Swedberg, 2015). William James, Peirce’s close friend and colleague (Legg, 2021) further offered:

To develop perfect clearness in our thoughts of an object, then, we need only consider what effects of a conceivable practical kind the object may involve – what sensations we are to expect from it and what reactions we must prepare. (James, *Collected Essays and Reviews*, 1920)

This clarity in this explanation may be considered only marginally better. Notably, Pierce and James differed in the utility of pragmatism’s philosophy. While Pierce envisioned scientific applications, James found relevance for pragmatism’s avail addressing the metaphysical, faith, and spirituality (Atkin, 2020). In like manner, a frequently cited quote, from William James’ 1907 published lectures supports this basic idea of pragmatism. He writes: “*If theological ideas prove to have a value for concrete life, they will be true, for pragmatism, in the sense of being good for so much* (James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*, 1907).” Therefore, it is rationally and morally defensible to believe a theological proposition because of the benefits thereby yielded.

For the resolve of this paper, the integration of faith and religion as pragmatic options must be introduced. Exploiting William James’ articulation of the advantages of pragmatic justification of faith, spirituality, or religiousness, which are causal for optimism and happiness; if all these characteristics have a positive effect on healthcare and recovery, then pragmatism is worthy as a lifestyle consideration. James’ provides justification through pragmatism (to which he has metaphorically applied a female gender) for the process of believing and the adoption of faith:

Pragmatism will entertain any hypothesis; she will consider any evidence. It follows that in the religious field she is at a great advantage both over positivistic empiricism, with its anti-theological bias, and over religious rationalism, with its exclusive interest in the remote, the noble, the simple, and the

abstract in the way of conception. (James, Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking, 1907).

Credited as one of the earliest psychologists to consider scientific applications to psychology, pragmatism enables the intersection of healthcare and spirituality. James goes on to argue pragmatism's encouragement of spirituality in more depth while reiterating pragmatism's versatility:

In short, pragmatism widens the field of search for God. Pragmatism is willing to take anything, to follow either logic or the senses and to count the humblest and most personal experiences. She will count mystical experiences if they have practical consequences.

Pragmatism's only test of probable truth is what works best in the way of leading us, what fits every part of life best and combines with the collectivity of experience's demands, nothing being omitted. If theological ideas should do this, if the notion of God, in particular, should prove to do it, how could pragmatism possibly deny God's existence? She could see no meaning in treating as 'not true' a notion that was pragmatically so successful. What other kind of truth could there be, for her, than all this agreement with concrete reality?" (James, Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking, 1907)

James does not make the claim of a universal truth that applies to all individuals. James expressed that truth was distinct and personal to individuals, and the "value" of any truth is dependent on its utility to the individual who holds it (Borden, 2017).

An important quality for pragmatism's effectuality in one's life is what James refers to as "technical distinctions," which, when considered, inspire action, in the context of faith spirituality, or religiosity, the action inspired is that of belief. Fundamentally, deadness or liveness of a given axiom or proposition is not *intrinsic* but *relational* to the individual of which it appeals. The liveness of a hypothesis is measured by its relational appeal motivating the willingness to act. James stresses that maximum willingness is to act decisively and irrevocably. An example of the contrary i.e., a dead axiom, would be religious consideration for an atheist, the concept of religion is dead from the start. Belief is a conscious willingness to act, the act of believing (James, The Will to Believe, 1896).

Faith via Metaphysics Versus Science

As observed with secular trends, faith, spirituality, and especially formal religion have been challenged by philosophers of alternative disciplines since the aforementioned Neo-Platonism revival. Religion is a metaphysical position that is not scientifically based, which is a persuasive argument against. Historically, science has proposed phenomena that was not empirically observable but that could be inferred indirectly through predicted effects.

Theoretical physicists subsist on abstractions and mathematical theory, much like theists subsist on a metaphysical conception of God. For example: It is unclear whether String Theory makes any observable predictions. This theory

links general relativity theory and field quantum theory and has eleven dimensions, none of which have yet been observed. Apart from relying on an interesting mathematical theory the status of *String Theory* is highly debated as to whether it is metaphysics or science (Miller, 2003).

Note however, scientific theories when tested can be falsified. Philosopher of natural and social science, Karl Popper 1902-1994, expressed “falsifiability” or *refutability* to the intention of the testability of scientific/empirical theories. The possibility of said refutation qualifies a theory as being scientific or empirical. Metaphysical theories cannot be tested and are *irrefutable* by definition (Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 1962). For an atheist, there are two approaches to the *repudiation* (not to be confused with *refutability*) of God’s existence: One approach is to claim that there is no deity, the other claim is that there is no evidence that proves the existence of a deity; the former group would have to produce evidence to establish that claim, which has not been done (Randi, 2005).

Justification of Spirituality Albeit Faith, by Pragmatism’s Allure

Invoking Immanuel Kant, James identifies the respect and consideration that Kant had for belief in God, even though it remains an enigma as to whether Kant nurtured an ontological argument for God or whether he was an influential apologist for traditional Christian faith:

*We can act AS IF there were a God; feel AS IF we were free; consider nature AS IF she were full of special designs; lay plans AS IF we were to be immortal; and we find then that these words do make a genuine difference in our moral life... We have the strange phenomenon, as **Kant** assures us, of a mind believing with all its strength in the real presence of a set of things of which no one can form any notion whatsoever.* (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012)

With this James enlists Kant’s philosophical reputation to consider metaphysical and/or existential truths.

Given that we have determined that pragmatism will not attempt to prove the existence of God, theistic pragmatic arguments support that believing that God’s existence is rational and convincingly prudent. Considering James’ requirement for “technical distinctions” to inspire maximum willingness for belief, one finds convincing endorsements articulated. One would expect for maximum willingness to be irrevocable and momentous; a significant level of ardor or fervor must be emboldened:

*If religion is to mean anything definite for us, it seems to me that we ought to take it as meaning this added dimension of emotion... This sort of happiness in the absolute and everlasting is what we find **nowhere but in religion**.* (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012)

Added consideration of James's value of religion for an individual's existentialism was expressed when writing "*A man's religion is the deepest and wisest thing in his life*" (Anderson,2006).

Although contemporaries, Peirce, with his contribution to the philosophy of pragmatism during the 1870's, predates William James' writings by two decades. Citing a passionate acceptance of a hypothetical God and prepared for a life of devotion:

Any normal man who considers... the hypothesis of God's reality... will come to be stirred to the depths of his nature by the beauty of the idea and by its august practicality, even to the point of earnestly loving and adoring his strictly hypothetical God, and to that of desiring above all things to shape the whole conduct of life and all the springs of action into conformity with that hypothesis. (Peirce C. S., 2010)

As previously cited, James states that pragmatism's adoption of faith does not depend on proving God's existence; yet he supports God's existence with metaphysical revelations in which he implies that contrary to challenges for proof of God's existence, quantitatively satisfying "particulars" he refers:

I find it hard to believe that principles can exist which make no difference in facts. But all facts are particular facts, and the whole interest of the question of God's existence seems to me to lie in the consequences for particulars which that existence may be expected to entail... In spite of its being so shocking to the reigning intellectual tastes, I believe that a candid consideration of piecemeal supernaturalism and a complete discussion of all its metaphysical bearings will show it to the hypothesis by which the largest number of legitimate requirements are met. (James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 2012)

It may be irrelevant to the theme of justification of faith for healthcare considerations, but it would be remiss to neglect the "momentous" impression that the phenomena of communion illustrate as "liveness" for the believer in Christianity. James has this to say:

...elements of a theory to which the phenomena of religious life lend plausibility. I am so impressed by the importance of these phenomena that I adopt the hypothesis which they naturally suggest. At these places at least, I say, it would seem as though trans mundane (existing outside the physical or visible world) energies, God, if you will, produced immediate effects within the natural world to which the rest of our experience belongs. (James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 2012)

As stated earlier, pragmatism "is willing to take anything" including the most personal mystical experiences.

James Considers the Psychology and Consequences of Lacking Faith

As a psychologist, in fact the 'Father of American psychology', William James encountered and addressed psychological conditions. Combining psychology and philosophy, one can appreciate James' logic and plausibility recognizing a lack of faith and spirituality as causing pessimism and possibly depression. James proposes that two of the Hellenistic philosophies, Epicureanism and Stoicism are philosophies of despair. While admiring the dignity of resignation that these two schools of thought practice, he is cognizant of the sense deprivation endured. James is concerned with what he refers to as the "sense-happiness" or lack thereof. The Epicurean versus the Stoic, James says: "*In the one the hot blood has grown cool, in the other it has become quite cold*" (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012).

Spiritualism and faith are valued for resistance to depression, through a habitude of pessimism lacking piety, one, if predisposed, is at greater risk for depression. The paradox of happiness which results through religious demands of sacrifice without protest well beyond the inconvenience of secular pessimism: Devotion may require surrender and sacrifice which are positively embraced and revered. Unnecessary sacrifices somehow ensure that happiness may increase. In observance of states of mind lacking spirituality; the surrender is submitted as an imposition of necessity, and the sacrifice is made reluctantly. To the contrary, in the pious life:

Religion thus makes easy and opportune what in any case is necessary. Faith becomes an essential organ of our life, performing a function which no other portion of our nature can so successfully fulfill (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012)... ... Affording Asceticism some appeal.

James observes a differentiation between spiritual persons who tend to be resilient to melancholy regardless of their life circumstance and reflection upon death. Depression stated as an extreme result of pessimism is a pathologic melancholy which evil's existence a "*healthy-minded enthusiast*" succeeds in ignoring. Furthermore, the victim of "*the most atrocious cruelties of outward fortune,*" if of healthy mind is seldom susceptible (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012).

Adopting Faith

Pragmatism gives spirituality flexibility in approaches to healthcare; in practice, ones' circumstances may nurture faith. A small study group sampling comprised of both theist scholars and atheists was interviewed about the likelihood of patients adopting faith when confronted with a healthcare crisis. The group unanimously discredited the possibility, including the persons of faith, on the basis that considering faith under those circumstances would be insincere (Courtney, 2018). All participants were themselves healthy at the time of the interview, and this caveat may be causal for the lack of their consideration of piety in this context (Miller, 2003).

History reveals many notable conversions to the contrary; not confined to the Gospel of Luke where the good thief converts while crucified beside Jesus.

Among notable figures in history, French mathematician Blaise Pascal (Lataste, 1911) and author Oscar Wilde (McCracken, 2003), expressed demonstrative conversions of faith while facing perceived crisis. Twentieth century mathematician John von Neumann, inventor of “*game theory*,” also had a transformational revelation. To his colleagues’ surprise, for they knew him to be a lifelong agnostic, he turned to Catholicism when diagnosed with cancer (Dransfield, 2003). Von Neumann reportedly divulged: “*There probably has to be a God. Many things are easier to explain if there is than if there isn't.*” To his visiting Catholic Priest, he imparted “*So long as there is the possibility of eternal damnation for nonbelievers it is much more logical to be a believer in the end*” (Von Neumann, 2004) i.e., Pascal’s Wager.

Foreboding death, influencing introspection of life’s meaning, purpose, and transience has been professed to be the greatest threat to atheism (Lucchetti); inspiring the aphorism “*There are no atheists in foxholes*” (Clear, 1942). Likewise, research shows that atheism is rarely conspicuous among patients in hospital units being treated for life threatening diseases including but not limited to coronary crisis and cancer (Pargament, 2002). As a companion to the ‘*atheist in foxholes*’ reference, Pastor Michael E. Cavanagh offers through experience, “*There are no atheists in oncology and bone-marrow transplant units*” (Cavanagh, 1994). A related study,

S.R. Cohen et al., questioned the perception of quality of life to both healthy individuals and oncology patients. Their inquiry posed four dimensions to the quality of life: Physical, psychological, social, and existential well-being. While the healthy people reasoned all four dimensions of having equal impact, the oncology patients, likely suffering debilitating physical pain, rather than attesting to the ‘physical’ dimension, favored subjective well-being across existential domains, such as life’s meaning, life’s purpose, and their satisfaction in life, including religious beliefs regarding suffering and death (Cohen, 1996). Cohen’s survey suggests that spiritual considerations are of greater importance than other issues when life is threatened (Lucchetti, 2019). Faith in God provides patients with hope, an idea that is commonly referred to in cancer care but that is not easily quantified (Silvestri, 2003).

Gathering quantifiable data in psychology has been much more auspicious. Not only is the evidence of improved mental health readily available, but the measurable health benefits with improved lifestyle habits associated with fellowship and spiritual engagement are increasingly apparent, i.e., the relationship between spirituality and health is causal (Nelson, 2009). Duke University’s [Center for Spirituality, Theology, and Health](https://spiritualityandhealth.duke.edu/) focuses on nurturing scholarly research regarding the intersection of religion and health. Current and past research publications and monthly newsletters are available at <https://spiritualityandhealth.duke.edu/>. Varied topics are presented, and all invited to monthly online meetings.

Living in the tail end of the Romanticism era, James’ phraseology includes optimism, the supernatural, and imagination: “*The only thing that FAITH unequivocally testifies to... is that we can experience union with SOMETHING larger than ourselves and in that union find our greatest PEACE*” (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012).

Dichotomy & Paradox

Research has demonstrated a “salutary” impact of religious belief and practice on patient well-being (Villani, 2019); therefore, it is crucial that spirituality and faith not be treated as quack medicine (Astrow, 2001). Yet there is a dichotomy between physicians’ values and their patients’. Poignantly, the specialties practiced which tend to treat patients with higher severity diseases are represented by physicians trending further towards secularization. The *Journal of Clinical Oncology* published a survey of 257 medical oncologists attending the annual meeting of the American Society of Clinical Oncology. With a questionnaire prioritizing seven possible aspects of healthcare, the 257 oncologists ranked faith in God as ‘least’ important, whereas the 100 cancer patients and family members surveyed ranked faith in God second ‘most’ important (Jawaid, 2014). Caregivers surveyed coincided with the patients choosing faith as second, more importantly than the ability of treatment to cure the disease. All groups agreed that the most important impact on outcome was the Oncologists’ knowledge and recommendations. Thus, in the study, most of the factor rankings coincided apart from faith in God. Caregivers’ rankings mimicked those of the patients’ sentiments.

In consideration of the dichotomy regarding medical specialties mentioned above, a survey of family physicians and patients showed a reasonable parallel of high religious orientation, as compared to a survey of psychiatrists of which the majority were admittedly secular (Maugans, 1991). It is curious to posit why physicians and specifically the field and scope of specialty influence their participation in faith: The degree and realm of scientific reasoning may not facilitate metaphysical considerations (Silvestri, 2003). Psychologists much like the Oncologists in the study trend towards secularization (American Psychological Association, 1975), whereas a national survey of family physicians found that their religious practices mirrored those of the general-public (Daaleman, 1999).

Conclusion

Patients and caregivers agree on the factors that are important in deciding treatment but differ substantially from doctors. For some, faith ranks very high as an important factor in medical decision making, more so than even the efficacy of treatment. If faith influences how some patients decide treatment, and physicians do not account for it, there is a disconnect; the decision-making process may be distressing and regrettable to all involved.

Numerous studies claim to document a better health outcome in patients with a strong religious faith. Most of these studies face vigorous debate, lacking empirical data and having questionable scientific methodology. The metaphysical nature of faith and healing does not afford the luxury of the mathematical theory that theoretical physics relies upon.

Whether physicians should even address the issue of religion with patients is also debatable, although increased participation in medical schools is a trend along with more offerings of medical ethics (Silvestri, 2003). If physicians find it difficult to find “common ground” with patients, at the very least, its physicians should not discredit the strongly held beliefs that patients may have. Without

appearing patronizing, acknowledgment, and respect by physicians of a patient's personal beliefs will likely lead to higher satisfaction with the decision-making process for all involved (Silvestri, 2003).

James finds pragmatism suitable for every condition confronted in life. His referral to Pascal's Wager during his lecture making a convincing argument for justification of faith, *The Will to Believe*, he does not apologize for the perceived insincerity of betting on God's existence as a pragmatic gamble for God's blessing (James, *The Will to Believe*, 1896). For practical life, *chance* of salvation is enough. With the following quote, pessimism and optimism are again at odds, resignation versus hope. Maybe faith ranks high as the pious relinquish their spirit for salvation:

*No fact in human nature is more characteristic than its willingness to live on a chance. The existence of the **chance** makes the difference... between a life of which the keynote is **resignation** and a life of which the keynote is **hope**.* (James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 2012)

Whereas faith throughout this paper is confidence in a belief not necessarily based on proof, hope is an optimistic dynamic based on desired expectation. Faith addresses the present; hope speaks of the future.

Solutions/Recommendations

Most data for studies cited in this report which recognize the dichotomy between patients' spirituality and physicians' lack thereof, was observed in the 1990's and early years of the 2000's. Since highlighted, although slowly integrated, progress to close the spirituality divide is apparent through efforts of increased medical ethics curriculum in medical schools and the business model for healthcare facilities. Whether efforts are made to fulfill holistic mission, vision, and value statements are sincerely altruistic or forced upon healthcare institutions through patient satisfaction and reimbursement, etc.... is not covered in this report, but could be the source of further studies.

The Manner in which believers experience reality, as well as the way they respond to it, is dependent on a religious narrative. Religious belief can function as the *foundation* of an institution's commitment to the relief of suffering, which is obviously seen in faith-based healthcare facilities. It can be the source of its sensitivity as well as the justification for its respect of the patient's worth and dignity (Drane, 1994). Several secular healthcare organizations have abandoned mission statements with virtues of compassion and charity to expedite financial objectives (Bart, 2002). The mission, vision, and value statements can indicate faith-based virtues but must also present inclusive (*pluralistic*) rhetoric to invite secular patients and the variety of theistic practices (Courtney, 2018).

The spiritual dichotomy in healthcare covered in this report and the facility for correction likely has more relevance in a *pluralistic* society, as is the United States. It is necessary and possible for health care professionals to address the spiritual concerns of patients in a respectful manner without needing to sacrifice any of the obvious gains of scientific medicine (Astrow, 2001).

In addition to the oncology patients referenced in this paper's Silvestri study, it is a logical expectation to find patients with similar faith involvement among patients receiving palliative care; many of whom may be oncology patients. It seems advisable for palliative care services to directly ask patients and their caregivers whether they are interested in spiritual support. *Pastoral care* is appropriate: Although some secular persons may shun the idea of pastoral intervention for discomfort from religious interaction, the phrase simply comes from the shepherd protecting his flock. In all cultures and traditions, pastoral care is a timeless model inclusive of *non-religious* and *religious communities*. By directly asking at admission or another suitable time whether pastoral care is sought, we can avoid unnecessary intrusion and focus time on those who would benefit and appreciate this service (O'Callaghan, 2019).

Referring to the Silvestri data again, addressing the physician versus spirituality dynamic will present a challenge. Healthcare facilities can nurture a culture among caregivers through policies, practice, and education. If Silvestri's data can be expected to duplicate in numerous and varied caregiving environments; and the caregivers had similar sentiments as their patients, then the disconnect is burdened by the physicians. Physicians need to be comfortable discussing spiritual concerns with their patients; carefully, respectfully, and professionally. They must recognize when to refer patients to others for spiritual support. From *Harper Lee's* 1961 Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *To Kill a Mockingbird*: Atticus gives his daughter Scout a pivotal piece of moral advice that influences her development throughout the story: "*You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view . . . until you climb into his skin and walk around in it*" (Lee, 1960). Perhaps for physicians to respect a person's spirituality they must first climb into their skin and walk around in it; physicians may need to nurture their own spiritual lives (Astrow, 2001).

References

- American Psychological Association. (1975). *Psychiatrists' Viewpoint on Religion and Their Services to Religious Institutions and the Ministry*. Task Force Report, Washington, DC.
- Anderson, Douglas R. (2006). *Philosophy Americana: Making Philosophy at Home in American Culture* New York: Fordham University Press.
- Astrow, Alan B. (2001, March 01). *Religion, spirituality, and health care: social, ethical, and practical considerations*. *The American Journal of Medicine*, 110(4), 283-287. doi:doi.org/10.1016/s0002-9343(00)00708-7
- Atkin, Albert. (2020, July 15). *Charles Sanders Peirce: Pragmatism*. The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <https://iep.utm.edu/peircepr/>
- Bart, C. K. (2002, September-October). *Creating Effective Mission Statements: Recapturing the Power and Glory of Mission is Possible with Careful Planning and Implementation*. *Health Progress*, 43.
- Borden, Margot Esther, Michael Gelb (2017). *Psychology in the Light of the East*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 44
- Cavanagh, M. E. (1994). *Ministering to Cancer Patients*. *Journal of Religion and Health* (33), 231-241. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27510818>
- Clear, L. C. (1942, July). *Eyewitness Epic: The Heroic Defense of the Philippines*. *The Reader's Digest*, pp. 2, Column 2.
- Cohen, S. M. (1996). *Existential Well-Being is an Important Determinant of Quality of Life-Evidence from the McGill Quality of Life Questionnaire*. *Cancer*, 77, 576-586. Retrieved from [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1097-0142\(19960201\)77:3<576:AID-CNCR22>3.0.CO;2-0](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1097-0142(19960201)77:3<576:AID-CNCR22>3.0.CO;2-0)
- Courtney, S. (2018). *"What If" There is an Intangible 'Reward' to be realized in a Theist Healthcare Model? [Unpublished Manuscript]*. Research Manuscript, University of Central Florida.
- Daaleman TP, F. B. (1999). Spiritual and religious beliefs and practices of family physicians. *Journal of Family Practice*, 48, 98-109.
- Drane, J. F. (1994). *Clinical Bioethics / Theory and Practice in Medical-Ethical Decision Making*. Sheed & Ward

- James, William. (1896). *The Will to Believe*. New York: New World.
- James, William. (1907). *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. p. 73
- James, William. (1920). *Collected Essays and Reviews*. Collected Essays and Reviews. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
- James, William. (2012). *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Renaissance Classics. P. 40
- Jawaid, Hena. (2014, September 30). Impact of religion/spirituality on health: what are the evidences? *Journal of Psychiatry*, 17(6), 1.
- Jordan, Jeff. (2014, August 16). *Pragmatic Arguments and Belief in God*, Spring 2018. (E. N. Zalta, Editor) Retrieved December 01, 2019, from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy:
<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/pragmatic-belief-god/>
- Lataste, J. (1911). *Blaise Pascal* (Vol. 11). (K. Knight, Ed.) New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved from
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11511a.html>
- Lee, H. (1960). *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.
- Legg, Catherine, and Christopher Hookway (2021, April 6). *Pragmatism*. (E. N. Zalta, Editor) Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy:
<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2021/entries/pragmatism/>
- Lucchetti, G. P. (2019). *Spirituality, Religiousness, and Health from Research to Clinical Practice*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
- Mann, D. S. (2014, December). *Medicine and Religion: A Historical Introduction*. (I. o. London, Editor) doi:10.14296/RIh/2014/1701
- Maugans, Todd A., Wadland, W.C. (1991). Religion and family medicine: A survey of physicians and patients. *Journal of Family Practice*, p. 210-213
- McCracken, A. (2003, April). *The Long Conversion of Oscar Wilde*. Retrieved January 9, 2021, from Catholic Education Resource Center:
<http://www.catholiceducation.org/articles/arts/a10010.html>
- Miller, W. R. (2003, January). Spirituality, religion, and health / an emerging research field. *American Psychologist*, 58, 24-35.

- Nelson, James M. (2009). *Psychology, Religion, and Spirituality*. Springer, p. 313
- O'Callaghan, Clare P. (2019, September 24). Palliative caregivers' spirituality, views about spiritual care, and associations with spiritual well-being: A mixed methods study. *American Journal of Hospice & Palliative Medicine*. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1049909119877351>
- Pargament, K. I. (2002). The bitter and the sweet: An evaluation of the costs and benefits of religiousness. *Psychological Inquiry*, 13(3), 168-181. doi:10.1207/S15327965PL11303_02
- Peirce, Charles. S. (1878). *How to Make Our Ideas Clear*. Popular Science Monthly, 12, p. 295.
- Peirce, Charles S. (2010, September 2). *A Neglected Argument for the Reality of God*. Retrieved November 25, 2019, from Wikisource: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/A_Neglected_Argument_for_the_Reality_of_God
- Popper, Karl. (1962 Spring). *Conjectures and Refutations The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. Berkeley, California: Basic Books Publishers New York / London. Retrieved January 5, 2021
- Puchalski, C. M. (2010). *Making Health Care Whole*. West Conshohocken, PA, USA: Templeton Press.
- Randi, James. (2005, August 5). *Our Stance on Atheism*. Swift (Newsletter). Retrieved from <http://archive.randi.org/site/jr/080505potential.html>
- Rob Dransfield, D. D. (2003). *Key Ideas in Economics*. Cheltenham, U.K.: Nelson Thomas Ltd.
- Siraisi, Nancy I. M. (2019, April 21). *Medieval Hospitals / A Writer's Perspective*. Retrieved December 27, 2020, from [aprilmunday.wordpress.com: https://aprilmunday.wordpress.com/2019/04/21/medieval-hospitals/](https://aprilmunday.wordpress.com/2019/04/21/medieval-hospitals/)
- Silvestri, G. A. (2003, April 1). Importance of faith on medical decisions regarding cancer care. *Journal of Clinical Oncology*, 21(No 7), 1379-1382.

- Swedberg, Richard (2015, May 22). *The Pragmatic Maxim*. (C. University, Editor) Retrieved December 31, 2020, from Perspectives / Theory Section: <http://www.asatheory.org/current-newsletter-online/the-pragmatic-maxim>
- Verhey, Allen. (2011). *The Christian Art of Dying: Learning From Jesus*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.
- Villani, Daniela, A. S. (2019). *The Role of Spirituality and Religiosity in Subjective Well-Being of Individuals with Different Religious Status*. (L. Castelli, Ed.) *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*:1525.
doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2019.01525
- Von Neumann, J. (2004). The Mathematician. In R. Ayoub, & R. Ayoub (Ed.), *Musings of the Masters: An Anthology of Mathematical Reflections* (pp. 169-184). Washington D.C.: The Mathematical Association of America.

Mentalities and the Search for Total History in the Works of Annalists, Foucault, and Microhistory

By Jason U. Rose

Abstract: In this brief essay, the links between the Annales, the works of Michael Foucault, and microhistory are analyzed through the theoretical lens of *histoire des mentalités* (mentalités). Common threads that link these approaches include the willingness of using outside fields of analysis as well as the willingness to work with vagueness in search of those who Foucault calls, “lost people.” Relatedly, each of these groups and individuals are willing to analyze all aspects of the historical record to fully understand the minds, cultures, and histories of past people. The key to recognizing the relationship of these approaches involve knowing and acknowledging their differences whilst trying to understand them in their own words. Furthermore, understanding the nuisances of each group as well as learning how to utilize them “cohesively is a positive step toward a total history of humankind.

“A remarkable amount of the most innovative, the most memorable and most significant historical writing of the twentieth century was produced in France.”¹

- Peter Burke

Historians, by nature, need to create periods, or ways to organize time so that events and people can be analyzed in search of patterns that demonstrate change over time. This process is called periodization and it has been done since historians have been telling true stories. For nearly a century, followers of the *Annales school* have attempted to measure history with unique calculations, considering lengthy spans of time as necessary for achieving *histoire total*, the concept of creating a total history of humankind.² Total history has been described as the *Annales* attempt to “incorporate the methods of all the other social sciences in one great project of synthesis.” Therefore, making history “the queen of the social sciences by virtue of its ability to assimilate everyone else’s methods and topics.”³ According to the *Annales*, a holistic study of history can only be achieved by unfolding a society or a region layer by layer over a long span of time. This would be done by studying historical documents, utilizing statistical analysis, and borrowing techniques from other disciplines.⁴ This paper will briefly explain the origins of the *Annales* as a theoretical school of thought. Then the paper will go into a deeper analysis of their desire to create a total history through the *histoire des mentalités* (*mentalités*) and how it has permeated modern historical analysis via two unrelated channels: the works of Michael Foucault and microhistory.

Origins of the *Annalistes*

The history of the *Annales* started in 1929 with the journal “*Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*.”⁵ Founded by historians Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, the idea germinated at the University of Strasbourg when they shared the hallways with like-minded academics from other disciplines. The journal was

¹ Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929-2014* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015), 1.

² Robert Forster, “Achievements of the Annales School,” *The Journal of Economic History* (1978): 6-7, 59; Michael Harsgor, “Total History: The Annales School,” *Journal of Contemporary History* (1978): 3, 6-7.

³ Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (W. W. Norton & Company 1994), 82.

⁴ Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 13, 18; Anne Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 91; Harsgor, 8; Martha Howell and Walter Prevenier. *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 110-111.

⁵ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983), 371; Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 4, 12; Howell and Prevenier, 110-111.

Origins of the *Annales*

The history of the *Annales* started in 1929 with the journal “*Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*.”⁵ Founded by historians Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, the idea germinated at the University of Strasbourg when they shared the hallways with like-minded academics from other disciplines. The journal was interdisciplinary in nature, publishing articles from history, economics, geography, and ethnology. This foundation helped solidify the interdisciplinary nature of the *Annales* and eventually other social sciences.⁶ Additionally, the journal encouraged scholars to review or submit research papers in fields outside their expertise, as long as it was broadly historical.⁷ This further cemented the legacy of the *Annales* and facilitated the incorporation of multiple disciplines and subfields into their historical analysis.

The second generation of the *Annales* was marked and, in many ways, dominated by Fernand Braudel’s *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Braudel fashioned a broad analysis of the geographical, social, and political factors of the Mediterranean, successfully creating a logical and consistent tapestry of historic inquiry that used other fields, which epitomized the *Annales* methodology.⁸ In *The Mediterranean*, Braudel argued that there were three main divisions of time: geographic time, social time, and individual time. Geographic time refers to the spatial relationship between humans and their environment, social time delineates historical events within cultures, and individual time is unique to individual people.⁹ It should be noted that each of these times run at different speeds. Also known as the *longue durée* (long duration), geographic time is considered the quintessential reference for time within the *Annales*.¹⁰ Braudel’s broad approach to history was revolutionary; studies which started with geographical analysis, then expanded to culture, and then finally examined political and individual realities were almost unheard of in the historical profession of the day.¹¹ The establishment of time as a part of the discipline was another facet that the *Annales* employed to integrate the social sciences into historical inquiry.

While studying the *longue durée*, Braudel stressed the historical importance of slow-changing geographic factors. This is most clearly seen when he discusses the relationship between geography and human endeavors. Focusing on the *longue durée* allowed the *Annales* to integrate statistical analysis within their

⁶ Harsgor, 8.

⁷ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 4.

⁸ Breisach, 376; Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 53; Green and Troup, 89-90; Howell and Prevenier, 110-111.

⁹ Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39; Breisach, 375; Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 39; Harsgor, 2; Green and Troup, 91.

¹⁰ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 17-18; Forster, 63; Howell and Prevenier, 110; Jordanova, 39; Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 4.

¹¹ Forster, 63-64; Howell and Prevenier, 112-113.

historical examinations, in an attempt to fully describe the geographical, political, economic, social, and cultural components of the past.¹² Proponents of the *longue durée* note that studying the past in the broadest possible time frame reveals patterns, trends, or *mentalités* that may not otherwise be recognized. This could be viewed as a way to measure the true depth and scale of change over time, although this approach of fashioning a total history could become problematic or unwieldy if appropriate chronological boundaries are not established. Both the *longue durée* and its interdisciplinary approach as epitomized by Braudel was an attempt to remove strict adherence to political or “great men” approaches to history. It also echoed the next move within the *Annales*, one that focuses on the *histoire des mentalités* to create a total history.

Mentalités

As previously mentioned, *Annalistes* incorporated outside fields to strengthen their historical analysis, most notably early on with the use of anthropology, geography, and sociology. To bolster their ability to create a total history, later *Annalistes* employed psychology to help understand the past. In other words, they advocated incorporating psychological considerations, alongside cultural and social factors, when attempting to fully reconstruct and analyze the past. The *histoire des mentalités (mentalités)* was around since the beginning of the *Annales*, especially with Bloch’s work on the royal touch, but it really gained prominence in the latter years of Braudel’s academic career; the so-called third movement within the *Annales*. First, however, a definition of *mentalités* is vital to understand this concept.

A working definition of *mentalités* is necessary to see how it fits in within the construction of total history and the legacy of the *Annales*. According to *Annales* historian Jacques Le Goff, “the primary attraction of the *histoire des mentalités* lies in its vagueness: it can be used to refer to the left-overs, the indefinable residue of historical analysis.”¹³ Le Goff uses the term “vagueness” discipline was another facet that the *Annales* employed to integrate the social sciences into historical inquiry.

While studying the *longue durée*, Braudel stressed the historical importance of slow-changing geographic factors. This is most clearly seen when he discusses the relationship between geography and human endeavors. Focusing on the *longue durée* allowed the *Annalistes* to integrate statistical analysis within intentionally as it allows historians room to maneuver in an effort to analyze the past with approaches that have not been pursued before the use of *mentalités*. Le Goff continues:

¹² Forster, 70; Green and Troup, 91; Harsgor, 6; Howell and Prevenier, 110.

¹³ Jacques Le Goff, “Mentalités: A History of Ambiguities,” in *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 166.

The *histoire des mentalités* operates at the level of the everyday automatisms of behavior. Its object is that which escapes historical individuals because it reveals the impersonal content of their thought: that which is common to Caesar and his most junior legionary, Saint Louis and the peasant on his lands, Christopher Columbus and any one of his sailors. The *histoire des mentalités* is to the history of ideas as the history of material culture is to economic history.¹⁴

As can be seen from Le Goff, the uncertainties and ambiguities that are present in the concept of *mentalités* are what makes it useful for a historian to study parts of the past that were excluded from more traditional historical accounts.

Although Le Goff's explanation of *mentalités* is insightful, it is not a workable definition for analyzing its use in producing total histories. Roger Chartier gives a more concrete definition: *mentalités* "is that of daily life and habits; it is what escapes the individual subjects of history because it reveals the impersonal content of their thoughts."¹⁵ According to Peter Burke, the history of *mentalities* fills "the conceptual space between the history of ideas and social history, in order to avoid having to choose between an intellectual history with the society left out and a social history with the thought left out."¹⁶ But he also cautions that the key to *mentalities* is to look at the people of the past through their eyes. He further warns historians to be careful not to "overestimate the degree of intellectual consensus" and that the belief must be one which is shared "with a number of contemporaries."¹⁷ Therefore, in this paper, *mentalités* will be defined as something about a culture or a part of a culture that influences the thoughts and behaviors of its people. It allows historians to analyze past moments as a microcosm of the larger society. At least in theory, this allows the historian to produce an analysis of the past that maintains the agency of the past subject. This definition does have its problems. This is similar to the common historical conundrum: are the people of the past more similar or dissimilar to people of the present; does the building of a historical example of *mentalités*, especially one based on microhistory, reduce the complexities of the society as a whole to one person or one town? Essentially, is there a unitary thought pattern that can be used for historical analysis? In what ways do these studies, and the subjects thought patterns represent larger groups?¹⁸

The earliest *Annales* to write about *mentalités* is Marc Bloch. In *The Royal Touch: Monarchy and Miracles in France and England*, Bloch analyzes scrofula, a disease of the lymph nodes, and the belief that monarchs could heal it by touch due to the divine rights of kings. While Bloch details the events and incidents

¹⁴ Ibid., 169.

¹⁵ Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories," in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 22.

¹⁶ Peter Burke, "Strengths and Weaknesses in the History of Mentalities," in *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 165.

¹⁷ Ibid., 170-171.

¹⁸ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 96.

The earliest *Annales* to write about *mentalités* is Marc Bloch. In *The Royal Touch: Monarchy and Miracles in France and England*, Bloch analyzes scrofula, a disease of the lymph nodes, and the belief that monarchs could heal it by touch due to the divine rights of kings. While Bloch details the events and incidents regarding the royal touch, he digs deeper and argues that the common citizens who went to the king most likely did not believe that they would be healed. Nonetheless, they sought the royal touch, and they did so for well over a century. The study touches on rationalization and cognitive dissonance and attempts to see how people dealt with or ignored it during this time.

Another example of a similar phenomenon is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error and Cathars and Catholics in a French Village*, a key work in the study of *mentalités*. In this work, Le Roy Ladurie explores Montaillou, a small mountain village in Southern France that was largely made up of Cathars, a sect deemed heretical by the Roman Catholic Church. The evidence used by Le Roy Ladurie comes primarily from the Fournier Register, which was a set of records from the Inquisition by Jacques Fournier (later Pope Benedict XII) who investigated Catharism in the region. The book, squarely fitting within the *Annales* tradition by describing the geography of the area before exploring the lives and beliefs of a handful of characters in the village: brothers Pierre and Bernard Clergue, poor but talented shepherd Pierre Maury, and countess Béatrice de Planisoles. This work, much like Bloch's, contains a set of main protagonists that suffered from cognitive dissonance as well. Pierre Clergue was a serial adulterer and a Catholic priest, while also a Cathar. His brother was the main magistrate, and consequently, the two were key power brokers in the area and were able to help keep the Inquisition away from Montaillou for several years. Béatrice de Planisoles was also a serial adulterer, including a dalliance with Pierre that resulted in a child. These interactions all took place while they were Cathars, who believed that intercourse was disruptive and procreation increased suffering.¹⁹ This again demonstrates the *mentalités*, while showing rationalization and cognitive dissonance of the town's citizens.

It should be noted that the study of *mentalités* does more than just show patterns of inconsistent beliefs within communities, although that is a great benefit of it as a theoretical approach.²⁰ Another excellent example of the *histoire des mentalités* during the height of its popularity is Jacques Le Goff's *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*. In this book, Le Goff uses both textual and material evidence to demonstrate the controversy surrounding two conceptions of time during the Middle Ages. The dispute is noted and couched in the following language:

¹⁸ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 96.

¹⁹ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (Vintage Books, 1979), 167-169, 194, 238-242.

²⁰ And one that could be used to help understand this phenomenon in the present as well. This approach could be a more effective means of understanding people working against their own best interests such as the elections of Thatcher and Reagan as well as the worldwide populism revival of the last five years.

Question: is a merchant entitled, in a given type of business transaction, to demand a greater payment from one who cannot settle his account immediately than from one who can? The answer argued for is no, because in doing so he would be selling time and would be committing usury by selling what does not belong to him.²¹

So, what happened? According to Le Goff, there was a change in understanding of time during the Middle Ages, and how it can be quantified and commodified, which emerged from differing understandings of time between merchants and the church.²² One valued time as the ability to gain or maintain profit, while the other believed that time is immutable and cannot be sold as it belongs solely to God.

The new understanding of time was not developed by an individual, states Le Goff, or even a group of individuals. It was formulated by people “in the West between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries who were in possession of sufficient cultural and mental equipment to reflect on professional problems and their social, moral and religious consequences.”²³ Using a wide variety of primary sources, including commercial documents and treatises from theologians, Le Goff builds a solid case that there was a shift in the *mentalité* of the people regarding time and not some form of top down mandate. Rather unusual for a historical work, Le Goff does not show a turning point, but he unabashedly states that the “essay has no other purpose than to stimulate a more intensive study of a history which raises numerous problems.”²⁴ He is seeking to show that there are explanations in both *mentalités* regarding time and they can, and should, be explored. Merchants needed a more functional use of time just as the church still operated under a more rigid system based in antiquity. Yet one thing is unequivocally true, the new concept of time was not teleological. This nonteleological approach to other *mentalités* is also echoed in the works of Michel Foucault.

Foucault

French theorist Michel Foucault may be the most influential, thought producing, and provocative intellectual in the latter half of the twentieth century. Additionally, his ties to the *Annales* School is also complicated. The first lines in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* clearly discuss the role of the *Annales* and seemingly give them praise for their recent developments. Foucault says,

For many years now historians have preferred to turn their attention to long periods, as if, beneath the shifts and changes of political events, they were trying to reveal the stable, almost indestructible system of checks and balances, the irreversible processes, the constant readjustments, the underlying tendencies that gather force, and are then suddenly reversed after centuries of continuity, the

²¹ Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work & Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980), 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 40.

²³ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

movements of accumulation and slow saturation, the great silent, motionless bases that traditional history has covered with a thick layer of events.²⁵

Later in the introduction, he mentions several people who were influential to him and his work. This included Georges Canguilhem, his mentor, and someone who had longstanding ties with the *Annales* at the University of Strasbourg during the Second World War. Foucault mentions that Canguilhem should be praised for “the distinction...between the microscopic and macroscopic scales of the history of the sciences” and consequently “a different history is being written.”²⁶ This has ties to the *Annales*, and the ties run deeper than a pedigree with ties to the *Annalistes*.²⁷

Another telling example of Michel Foucault as a historian that shows how his methodology relates to the *Annalistes* deals with how he tries to recover “lost people.” By studying lost people, Foucault and others seek ways to recover the past of people who were not in power, much like the *Annales*. He notes in *The Lives of Infamous Men* that:

All those lives destined to pass beneath any discourse and disappear without ever having been told were able to leave traces – brief, incisive, often enigmatic—only at the point of their instantaneous contact with power. So that is doubtless impossible to ever grasp them again in themselves, as they might have been ‘in a free state’; they can no longer be separated out from the declamations, the tactical biases, the obligatory lies that power games and power relations presuppose.²⁸

Foucault wants to know, just as Le Roy Ladurie regarding Montaigne, why were these people confessing. Foucault seeks to understand how knowledge was created and circulated, which he calls discourse. He is also concerned with how Foucault wants to know, just as Le Roy Ladurie regarding Montaigne, why were these people confessing. Foucault seeks to understand how knowledge was created and circulated, which he calls discourse. He is also concerned with how this was used by those in power, the regulation of this discourse. Additionally, Foucault argues that humans literally police themselves, and that too is a part of the discourse: a person confesses to a priest, psychiatrist, or their partner regarding their “deviant” behavior. That person might also console their own conscious by confessing their improprieties to these parties. In return, these people judge the other person in some manner, whether conscious or not and this makes the confessor internalize social norms. Eventually, the person starts to regulate their own behavior according to the other peoples’ terms. Foucault

²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge; And, The Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 3.

²⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 4-5.

²⁷ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 130.

constantly uses this method throughout his works and details the approach in his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

The Archaeology of Knowledge is Foucault's definitive statement on his methodological approach to history. In it, Foucault details how he does history and how structures are supported via "discourses," which he defines as all the statements that remains to be discovered by future historians. According to Foucault, using discourses does not remove individuals, but rather multiplies their subject positions allowing for a deeper understanding of the subject and their discourses. Furthermore, the discourse should be explored across several individuals to get an understanding of the conditions or environments where the discourse took place. It is in this particular manner that Foucault can illustrate historical change (and sometimes the lack of change) over time. In the introduction of *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault discusses in detail how he approves of much that the *Annales* School has been doing and outlines how he was expanding their ideas.²⁹ He initially does this by showing how *Annales* historians, the historians of ideas, are focusing on continuity, while Foucault is interested in disruptions.³⁰ Any discussion of Foucault, however, is incomplete without talking about power and that is key to understanding his beliefs regarding continuity.

In spite of the importance of *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault's work is probably best known through his discussions on power. While Foucault has better known works on power, his *History of Sexuality* might be the most useful as it shows how he refined his views over time. According to Foucault, power works in the smallest of daily transactions, and therefore it is harder to discern. This power is "produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it came from everywhere."³¹ Power is upheld through what Foucault calls power relations, which maintain society.³² These relations are invisible, and societal attitudes are how cultural norms are maintained. Power relations are sustained through discourses, which, according to Foucault, are clues or aspects of the dominant power relations where they were produced. Therefore, Foucault is not so much interested in the actual words, but how they show the landscape surrounding a subject and how it supports power. "Power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; [rather] it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society."³³ Power relations are entwined with every other form of

²⁸ Michel Foucault, "The Lives of Infamous Men," in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*. Vol. 3. James D. Faubion ed., trans. Robert Hurley et al (New York: The New York Press), 6.

²⁹ Gary Gutting, *Foucault: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 35.

³⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 3.

³¹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality (Vol. I: An Introduction)*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 92-93.

³² *Ibid.*, 97-98.

³³ *Ibid.*, 93.

relations, including production, kinship, and sexuality and they do not need to maintain itself via coercion, prohibition, repression, or chastisement.³⁴ Essentially, what is said (discourse) about sexuality, or any other topic, is a primary site of power in modern societies. According to Foucault, we are literally “policed” by society’s discourse about norms, that what discourses say are licit or illicit behaviors, thoughts, or activities helps shape the behavior of individual persons.³⁵ This is why Foucault is interested in evidence such as Catholic confessionals, which are prime examples of how the policing of behaviors became internalized.

Foucault also elaborates on how historians should use research and analysis. Later in *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Foucault details his major opposition to traditional historical methods concerning the use of archives, and what makes up an archive. For Foucault, everything written, as well as material culture, is a part of the discourse and thus, the historical record.³⁶ Historians have taken it as their “primary task, not the interpretation of the document, nor the attempt to decide whether it is telling the truth or what is its expressive value, but to work on it from within and to develop it.” Foucault continues, “history now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines units, describes relations.”³⁷ Essentially, historians do not find facts, they fashion them out of more basic elements.

Foucault as a writer is complicated, but so is his relationship with the *Annales*. This can be seen in *The Discourse on Language*, where Foucault declares that “history, as it is practiced today, does not turn its back on events; on the contrary, it is continually enlarging the field of events, constantly discovering new layers.” A statement that harkens back to the *Annalistes* and their interest in finding untold historical subjects. He goes on to say that contemporary historians look for things “more superficial as well as more profound — incessantly isolating new ensembles — events, numerous, dense and interchangeable or rare and decisive...”³⁸ In this passage, there are differences from some *Annalistes* like Braudel, but also some continuity with him as well as other *Annalistes* who pushed the boundaries of historical knowledge and fields of study such as the *histoire des mentalités*. Another difference is how Foucault liked to focus on disruptions as opposed to continuities.³⁹ The key to remember regarding Foucault and his theoretical ties to the *Annales* is that they were not monolithic, they were multifaceted, and they encouraged and enjoyed innovation.

³⁵ Ibid., 25.

³⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 6-7, 135.

³⁷ Ibid., 6.

³⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 230.

³⁹ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 131.

Microhistory

Related to both *histoire des mentalités* and the works of Michel Foucault is microhistory. It is sometimes called *Alltagsgeschichte* in German or *histoire quotidienne* in French, both meaning everyday life or history. According to historian David Crew, *Alltagsgeschichte* is the historical attempt to understand working-class cultures, the reconstruction of their values and attitudes, and the identification of their needs, wants, and desires.⁴⁰ By studying the past in this manner, historians can demonstrate “the nuances, ambiguities, and contradictions of popular experience,” the everyday life experiences of lesser studied cities and villages.⁴¹ This research trend originally developed in West Germany as a counternarrative to the prevailing social history and its use of structures. Crew further states that “*Alltagsgeschichte* questions accepted understandings of the ‘big structures’ and ‘large processes’...by deconstructing these arid abstractions in the flesh-and-blood human beings whose conflicting ideas and actions produced history.”⁴² In *Alltagsgeschichte*, the historians seek to show how ordinary people repudiated their assigned roles as passive “‘objects’ of impersonal historical developments and attempted, instead, to become active historical ‘subjects.’”⁴³ Therefore, just as in *mentalités*, the scholars of microhistory seek to maintain the historical dignity and agency of their studies.

One of the most renowned examples of microhistory is Carlo Ginzburg’s *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Ginzburg refers to this and his other works as the study of “peripheral phenomena.”⁴⁴ In *The Cheese and the Worms*, Ginzburg uses inquisitor trial records of a miller, Menocchio, to study this phenomenon. Born Domenico Scandella, Menocchio was far from a common miller of the day as he was literate and owned several books, which was unusual for the time. But these books, as Ginzburg notes, did not seem to influence the thoughts of Menocchio, but served to reinforce his existing beliefs. The most notable example, represented by the title of the book, was when Menocchio was asked about the creation of the world. He states that “in my opinion, all was chaos, that is, earth, air, water, and fire were mixed together; and out of that bulk a mass formed—just as cheese is made out of milk—and worms appeared in it, and these were the angels.”⁴⁵ He then explains that god was created out of the same material as the angels and became the greatest of the angels and was declared lord over them. Just like other historians in this essay, Ginzburg realizes that trials are treasure troves on *mentalities*. By nature,

4

⁴⁰ David Crew, “Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History ‘From below?’” *Central European History* 22 no. 3/4, *German Histories: Challenges in Theory, Practice, Technique* (September-December, 1989), 395.

⁴¹ Crew, 406.

⁴² Ibid., 396.

⁴³ Ibid., 396.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Kandell, “Was the World Made Out of Cheese?” *New York Times*, November 17, 1991.

⁴⁵ Ginzburg, 6.

inquisition trials were designed to extract details from those being questioned, thus leaving a detailed account of the past.

Ginzburg's book, however, is more than just a work about a poor miller in northeastern Italy. The goal is to understand society through the work of inquisitors, their relationship with the accused Menocchio, and the information that they were able to ascertain from people. This allows Ginzburg to obtain information about the times, class structures, and ordinary people of the past. There are several overlaps between Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's understanding of the people of *Montaillou* and Ginzburg's understanding of Menocchio. Both raise questions concerning nascent working-class politics and their resistance against exploitation, their use of popular culture, and the ability to glean this information from diverse sources that may not seem reliable. Ginzburg chooses to look at inquisition records, specifically those of Menocchio's trial. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie used similar techniques in *Montaillou*. Michel Foucault also explored comparable documents to a lesser extent. This approach to history has comparable problems to those who study *mentalités* and Ginzburg acknowledges the limitations of the sources he uses as well as the difficulties in building a cogent and accurate microhistory. In his introduction, he praises works by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and notes that there are limitations when trying to unearth "collective mentalities" especially when what historians know of these people are through the lens of the literate upper classes, and how *they* interpreted *them*.⁴⁶ David Crew notes that these scholars were interested in "everyday survival strategies and symbolic practices" that "comprised an alternative politics of everyday life separate from the official and formal politics..."⁴⁷ Since these sources can be highly individual, how can we be sure if they are magnifying the particular as a universal?⁴⁸ Additionally, microhistory allows historians to examine "the apparently 'irrational' features of working-class behavior. Moreover, it has demonstrated the importance of symbolic and expressive 'needs' as well as material and instrumental 'interests.'"⁴⁹ As outlined earlier, the study of seemingly inconsistent or contradictory beliefs is relatively common amongst those who study *mentalités*.

Also noteworthy is how practitioners of microhistory reconstruct the past. According to Ginzburg, "the historian's task is just the opposite of what most of us were taught to believe...he must destroy our false sense of proximity to people of the past because they came from societies very different from our own. The more we discover about these people's 'mental universe,' the more we should be shocked by the cultural distance that separates us from them."⁵⁰ This is clearly in line with the work of Foucault, as well as people like Braudel and Le Goff. Crew argues that for these historians to explore the past of everyday people, they need unconventional primary sources, "photographs... non-verbal forms of popular

⁵⁴⁶ Ginzburg xxiii-xxiv.

⁴⁷ Crew, 398.

⁴⁸ Crew 405.

⁴⁹ Crew, 399.

⁵⁰ Kandell, "Was the World Made Out of Cheese?" *New York Times*, November 17, 1991.

expression such as the ‘body language’ ... [and] oral history.”⁵¹ This would all be a part of the archeology and discourse that Foucault details in his works. Robert Darnton, author of the microhistory “The Great Cat Massacre,” states that “what is most valuable about” Ginzburg and microhistory in general is the insistence that “common people of the past were not as passive as they are traditionally portrayed... [it] shows them actively engaged in constructing a mental or cultural world of their own that was often at odds with literate society.”⁵² As shown above, there seems to be a clear bridge from the *Annales* movement to Foucault, and to microhistory, with each asking a variation of a fundamental question: “How do you really get into a generation’s mindset and understand them as people?” Additionally, how does these mindsets relate to their larger society as well as our own?

Conclusion

This paper examined the common links between the *Annales*, the works of Michael Foucault, and microhistory through the theoretical lens of *histoire des mentalités* (*mentalités*). Just as the *Annalistes* incorporated interdisciplinary research to strengthen their historical analysis, both Foucault and micro-historians used outside fields, notably literature and philosophy, in their attempts to create a total history. Using the definition of *mentalités* outlined in this paper and Jacques Le Goff’s concept of “vagueness,” this demonstrates how historians can analyze the past in ways that manifests and reflects the similarities and differences between the three groups outlined in this paper.⁵³ Related to this is how these groups sought to recover “lost people,” whose lives, as noted by Foucault, were “destined to pass beneath any discourse and disappear” except were they had “contact with power.”⁵⁴ The methodological approaches of these groups are also related to the way they use sources as evidence for their historical analysis.

Another example of their complementary nature deals with the sources used by the *Annales*, Foucault, and Ginzburg. Since the records of “lost people” in the distant past are irrevocably tied to authorities, the need to study public documents and trial transcripts is imperative and this is the precise kind of evidence used by the *Annalistes* as well as Ginzburg and Foucault. As previously mentioned, trials are a cornucopia of *mentalities* as inquisition trials were designed to get the entire minutiae of the story, thus leaving a detailed, albeit biased, account of the past. This is the reason why Le Roy Ladurie, Foucault, and Ginzburg were interested in analyzing Catholic confessionals and trials. Those records served as their primary evidence to resolve their various historical questions: the relationship between early working-class politics and their resistance, its connection to power and self-policing, and understanding popular culture. Foucault takes it a step further with his theories of archaeology and genealogy and how they relate to power

⁵¹ Crew, 396.

⁵² Kandell, “Was the World Made Out of Cheese?” *New York Times*, November 17, 1991.

⁵³ Jacques Le Goff, “Mentalités: A History of Ambiguities,” 166.

⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, “The Lives of Infamous Men,” 6.

⁵⁵ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 6-7, 135.

through the biases of those who wrote about these groups.⁵⁶ Ginzburg even notes that the “fact that a source is not ‘objective’ does not mean that it is useless” and tapping into them as evidence “permits us to construct a fragment of what is usually called ‘the culture of the lower classes’ or even ‘popular culture.’”⁵⁷ Both Ginzburg and the microhistories above seem to fall under the purview of the archeology and discourse that Foucault details in his works.

A less compelling argument, but one that is noteworthy and cogent, is how both Ginzburg and Foucault praise their *Annales* predecessors, even when going against some of their approaches. As noted earlier, Foucault studied with Georges Canguilhem who was at the University of Strasbourg alongside traditional *Annales* historians. Canguilhem even wrote about the history of science which has clear ties to the *Annales* as *Annalistes* continually expanded the field of history.⁵⁸ Ginzburg also praises the works of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Robert Mandrou even as he admits the limitations of exploring “collective mentalities,” especially when constructing them via sources that originated from the literate upper classes.⁵⁹ Ginzburg’s analysis here is very instructive, as Foucault also demonstrates his differences by focusing on the disruptions in history as opposed to the continuity that seems to preoccupy some of the *Annalistes*.⁶⁰ Furthermore, most *Annales* historians believe that the history of *mentalities* is a single aspect in the creation of total history and that it can be seen in various forms.⁶¹ As has been shown, the *Annales* Movement praised innovation and is continuing to expand its scope of inquiry. Therefore, even with some differences between the *Annales*, Foucault, and those who write microhistories, the relationship is present, and understanding them in their own words and from this perspective can help the historical field grow. In addition, understanding the nuisances and similarities of each group as well as developing and harnessing them cohesively is a positive step toward a total history of humankind.

⁵⁶ Crew, 396.

⁵⁷ Ginzburg, xvii, xiv.

⁵⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 1, 4-5.

⁵⁹ Ginzburg xxii-xxiv.

⁶⁰ Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, 131.

⁶¹ Patrick Hutton, “The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History,” *History and Theory* 20, no. 3 (1981): 239.

Bibliography

- Appleby, Joyce, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob. *Telling the Truth about History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.
- Breisach, Ernst. *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983.
- Burke, Peter. "Strengths and Weaknesses in the History of *Mentalities*" in *Varieties of Cultural History*. Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Burke, Peter. *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929-2014*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Chartier, Roger. "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories." In *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, edited by Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Crew, David. "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From below"?" *Central European History* 22 no. 3/4, *German Histories: Challenges in Theory, Practice, Technique* (September-December, 1989), 394-407.
- Forster, Robert. "Achievements of the Annales School." *The Journal of Economic History* (1978): 58-76.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge; And, The Discourse on Language*. Translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon, 1972.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality (Vol. I: An Introduction)*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Lives of Infamous Men" in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984* vol. 3. Edited by James D. Faubion, Translated by Robert Hurley et al. New York: New York Press.
- Green, Anne and Kathleen Troup. *The Houses of History*. New York: New York University Press. 1999.
- Gutting, Gary. *Foucault: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Harsgor, Michael. "Total History: The Annales School." *Journal of Contemporary History* (1978): 1-13.
- Howell, Martha and Walter Prevenier. *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001.

- Hutton, Patrick. "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History." *History and Theory* 20, no. 3 (1981): 237–259.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla. *History in Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000.
- Kandell, Jonathan "Was the World Made Out of Cheese?" *New York Times*. November 17, 1991.
- Le Goff, Jacques. "Mentalités: A History of Ambiguities." In *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, edited by Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, 166- 180. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Le Goff, Jacques and Pierre Nora. *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1974.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Time, Work & Culture in the Middle Ages*. Translated by ArthurGoldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*. Translated by Barbara Bray. Vintage Books, 1979.

Systematic Review of Transition Assessments for Young Children with Autism Spectrum Disorder from Early Intervention to Special Education

By Akrum Hasan Eidelsafy

Abstract: Children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD), their families, and teachers face many challenges during the transition from early intervention into public education. One tool that may facilitate and streamline this transition is the use of a comprehensive transition assessment. The purpose of the current study was to conduct a systematic literature review on peer-reviewed kindergarten transition assessments for children with ASD. The systematic literature review yielded six studies that met inclusion criterion. Within those six studies, 20 assessments were analyzed by reviewing the (1) type of assessment, (2) assessment timeline, and (3) use of assessment results. The results of this study showed the majority (80%) of studies used indirect assessment measures. Of the assessments used, 20% utilized the results in an instructional manner, while the remaining were used descriptively. Implications of these findings and directions for future research are discussed.

In 2019, there were 773,595 children aged 3 through 5 in the United States being served under Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). This number represented 6.6% of the resident population aged 3 through 5. Of the disability categories included, 10.8% or 83,548 were diagnosed with ASD (autism spectrum disorder) and 6.7% or 51,830 children were receiving early intervention services (U.S. Department of Education, 2019).

The overwhelming prevalence of ASD has resulted in organized efforts to understand how to assess and provide effective early interventions for children with ASD (Lord et al., 2005). Although Special Education is far from reaching a consensus on how to define the parameters of intensive early intervention, there is general agreement that programs that include the use of Applied Behavior Analysis (ABA) methodology, have significant parent and family involvement, and have competent clinicians overseeing programs result in substantive short- and long-term effects on children's cognition, social-emotional development, school progress, and antisocial behavior (Barnett, 2011; Dawson et al., 2009).

Historically, intensive early intervention has been provided daily in a one-on-one instructional format within the child's home (Akmanoglu-Uludag & Batu, 2005; Leaf & McEachin, 1999; Lovaas, 1987). Michigan's Autism Insurance Reform legislation went into effect on October 15, 2012. For-profit, commercial, HMO, and non-profit health insurance companies regulated by the state of Michigan are mandated to provide an autism benefit to its insured members covering services related to the diagnosis and treatment of ASD (The Nonprofit Health Care Corporation Reform Act, 1980). This legislation has increased the number young children receiving early intervention in a clinical setting. Regardless of the location, early intensive intervention is individualized, includes continual progress monitoring, and rapid program modification as the child acquires skills. The parameters of early intervention (i.e., methodology, intensity, individualization, and level of support) differ from what children will receive in a general or special education classroom.

In a classroom, there are higher teacher-to-student ratios and activities, and routines are not individualized to each student. Students are expected to engage in routines and activities (e.g., lunch, recess, gym class, field trips) that may have not been part of instructional programming during early intervention. As a result of these drastic changes from early intervention, students with ASD often demonstrate difficulties following directions in classrooms (Rimm-Kaufman & Pianta, 2000). The environmental arrangement and change in expectations between early intervention and school creates a gap that often exists between evidence-based practices and school practices (Wesley & Buysse, 2003). This is a multi-faceted problem that exists in early intervention, the transition process, and in special and general education. It is possible that early intervention providers (e.g., Board Certified Behavior Analysts, BCBA) are not assessing and teaching skills and behaviors necessary for students to learn in a classroom format. These behaviors include independent toileting, following teacher instructions in a group format, and following classroom expectations (Kemp & Carter, 2000; Janus et al., 2007). If a student is unable to engage in these behaviors independently (or with minimal support) it will greatly interfere with their success in the classroom and ability to access the general education curriculum and peers (Starr et al., 2016).

All these factors make the transition from early intervention to school a stressful process for early interventionists, teachers, and parents.

It is possible that a transition assessment could provide structure during the transition from early intervention into the school setting and reduce stress on stakeholders. The Division on Career Development and Transition of the Council for Exceptional Children defines transition assessment as an ongoing process of collecting data on the individual's needs, preferences, and interests as they relate to the demands of current and future working, educational, living, and personal and social environments. Assessment data serve as the common thread in the transition process and form the basis for defining goals and services to be included in the Individualized Education Program (Sitlington et al., 1997, pp. 70-71).

In other words, transition assessments play a pivotal role in determining target behaviors that need to be taught, target behaviors that need to be decreased and interventions that will best support the child in the new environment. A transition assessment could be used prior, during, and after the child transitions into kindergarten. Specifically, early intervention providers (e.g., Board Certified Behavior Analysts, early childhood special education teachers) could use the transition assessment to select and teach specific behaviors (e.g., attending and learning in a group setting, eating at a lunch table with peers). During the transition, the assessment could help parents understand and navigate the changes they will encounter from early intervention to school and allow teachers to identify Individual Education Plan (IEP) annual goals and short-term objectives and supports and interventions. An objective assessment that directly measures specific skills would allow early intervention providers and kindergarten staff to proactively identify the resources necessary for the student to be successful in a classroom.

The primary purpose of the current study was to conduct a systematic literature review on peer-reviewed kindergarten transition assessments for young children with autism who are transitioning from early intervention into special or general education. The second purpose of the study was to assess published, peer-reviewed transition assessments and utilize a systematic search and coding protocol. Transition assessments were evaluated to determine if the data obtained in the assessment were used in a dynamic manner (i.e., to aid in the development and modification of student's instructional targets or select intervention).

Methods

Search Strategy

A four-step model for locating studies was used in the present investigation. First, researchers identified the search criteria (i.e., keyword descriptors) and databases that would be used to conduct the literature review. Searches were undertaken using a combination of the following descriptors: developmental disabilities AND autism AND school transition. Publications were filtered up to the year 2019 in order to index both recent and former transition practices and were limited to peer-reviewed articles that were published in English.

Second, descriptors were searched in each of the following three databases: PsycINFO, ProQuest Research Library, and Eric ProQuest. Each researcher was assigned a database to review. Each researcher entered the keyword descriptors into the database and a list of articles were populated. Third, a screening was conducted to determine which articles met inclusion criteria. The title and abstract of each article were read to determine if the article met inclusion criteria. An article was excluded if it did not use an assessment or did not include students with disabilities. Fourth, the reference list of the articles that met criteria were manually reviewed to identify additional articles that might meet criteria. Possible articles were then located and included into the search if the article met inclusion criteria. An initial search of PsycINFO, Eric ProQuest and ProQuest Research Library yielded 340, 153, and 56 results respectively for a total of 549 articles. After narrowing the search to peer reviewed articles, 412 articles were included for review.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criterion

For an article to be included in the study five inclusion criteria were used: (1) the article was a peer reviewed published journal article, (2) an assessment was administered, (3) the transition was from early intervention to kindergarten, (4) participants included in the study were between the ages 3-5, and (5) the article was written in English. An assessment was defined as any tool used to measure a child's skill level across a variety of benchmark and/or skill deficit areas for student with disabilities.

Studies were excluded from the review if (1) the study focused on vocational transitions (high school, college or employment transitions), (2) the study utilized parent and teacher perception rather than a measure of student behavior, or (3) neurotypical students were the only participants in the study. Although there is valid information to be extracted from teacher and parent views, the purpose of this study was to determine assessments that are used to assess children's skills prior, during and after the transition to kindergarten. Studies were excluded if the focus involved employment, culture, adulthood or the article was written in a language other than English as all of these topics falls out of the scope of the study.

Interobserver Agreement

Interobserver agreement (IOA) was conducted across three timepoints during the search strategy. After inclusion criteria were applied, a list of articles was generated for each database and reviewed by each individual researcher. For the first round of interobserver agreement, each researcher reviewed 30% of articles of a database not initially assigned to them to determine inclusion criteria. An agreement was defined as two observers concluding that an article should or should not be included. A disagreement was defined when one interobserver concluded an article should be included, while another observer concluded it should be excluded. Interobserver agreement was calculated by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements and

multiplying by 100%. Interobserver agreement for the first round of IOA was 98%. Disagreements were reviewed by all three authors in order to determine which articles met inclusion criteria. Following the first round of interobserver agreement, five articles met inclusion criteria.

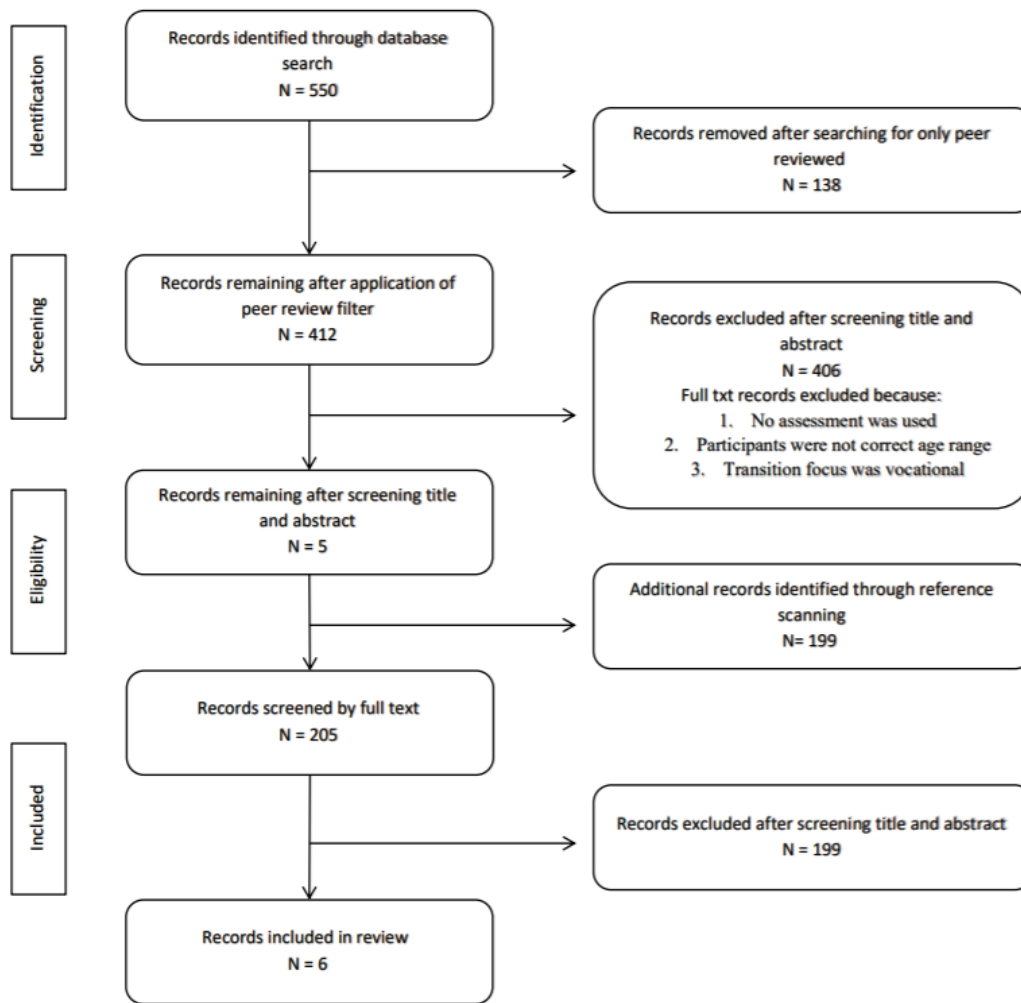
Next, the references of each of the five articles were manually searched to determine if any additional articles met inclusion criteria. One additional article was identified for a total of six articles. Interobserver agreement was conducted for 30% of the references from the secondary search, resulting in one disagreement (IOA was 94%) which was reviewed by the three authors and a determination was made.

Lastly, IOA was conducted a third time during the coding of articles. This process was completed across two stages. During the first stage, each article was individually reviewed by each of the researchers to identify and code assessments across the following six categories: citation, standardization, direct or indirect, indirect type, assessment timeline and assessment utilization. During the second stage, the research team reviewed all six articles together to determine interrater reliability. Overall IOA was 94% and all disagreements were discussed, and a conclusion determined by carefully reviewing operational definition of each code.

Results

The initial search using the keywords listed was completed in three databases: PsyInfo, Eric ProQuest, and ProQuest Research and yielded 340, 153, and 56, articles respectively. The search was refined to include only peer reviewed articles which narrowed the number of articles to 250, 116, and 46 respectively. Of those 412 articles, six articles met inclusion criteria. The search strategy is outlined in figure 1.

Figure 1. PRISMA diagram showing search strategy



The six articles were read and the number and name of all the assessments used in each article was determined. Within the six articles, 31 assessments were administered. There were 12 duplications, yielding 19 assessments for analysis. Of the 19 assessments identified, 95% (n = 18) reported a citation which allowed assessment characteristics to be extracted. Each assessment was categorized and coded against five different domains: type of assessment, whether it was direct or indirect, the type of indirect assessment used, when the assessment was administered and what the program did with the results. These domains were selected based on the overlapping features of each of the assessments analyzed. To better understand how early intensive programs were using assessments, it was necessary to explore when, how, and why assessments were being utilized. Table 1 summarizes the data extracted from each article.

Table 1 Synthesis of included studies

Article	Assessment	Citation	Standardization ^a	Measurement ^b	Category	Schedule ^c	Utilization ^d
The Transition to Kindergarten: Predicting Socio-Behavioral Outcomes for Children with and Without Disabilities (2017)	Family Experiences and Involvement in Transitions (FEIT)	McIntyre et al. 2007	0	1	Questionnaire	1 and 2	2
	Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales	Sparrow et al. 2005	2	1	Interview	1	2
	The Social Skills Improvement System- Parent Form (SSIS-P)	Gresham and Elliott 2008	2	1	0	1	2
	The Teacher Perceptions on Transitions (TPOT)	Quintero & McIntyre 2011	0	1	Questionnaire	1 and 2	2
	The Social Skills Improvement System-Teacher Form (SSIS-T)	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	Rating Scale	1 and 2	2
	The Problem Behavior scale of the (SSIS-T)	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	0	1 and 2	2
Application of Ecobehavioral Analysis to the Study of Transitions Across Early Education Settings (1990)	The Student-Teacher Relationship Scale (STRS)	Pianta et al. 2001	0	1	Rating Scale	2	2
	Ecobehavioral System for Complex Assessments of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE)	Carta et al. 1985	1	2	N/A	1 and 2	1
	Assessment Code/Checklist for Evaluating Survival Skills (ACCESS)	Atwater et al. 1989	1	2	N/A	1 and 2	1
Kindergarten Transition Preparation: A Comparison of Teacher and Parent Practices for Children with Autism and Other Developmental Disabilities (2011)	The Teacher Perceptions on Transitions (TPOT)	Quintero & McIntyre 2011	0	1	Questionnaire	1	2
	Family Experiences and Involvement in Transitions (FEIT)	McIntyre et al. 2007	0	1	Questionnaire	1 and 2	2
	Ecobehavioral System for Complex Assessments of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE)	Carta et al. 1985	1	2	N/A	1 and 2	1
	Assessment Code/Checklist for Evaluating Survival Skills (ACCESS)	Atwater et al. 1989	1	2	N/A	1 and 2	1
Template Matching as a Strategy for Assessment of and Intervention for Preschool Students with Disabilities (1995)	The School Survival Skills Rating Scale (SSRS) (Preschool Teacher Version)	Sainato & Lyon, 1989	1	1	Checklist	1 and 2	2
	The School Survival Skills Rating Scale (SSRS) (Kindergarten Teacher Version)	Sainato & Lyon, 1989	1	1	Checklist	2	2
	Independent Seatwork Activity Intervention Checklist	0	1	2	N/A	1	1
	Procedural Checklist Classroom Survival Skills for Independent Work	Miller, 1990	0	2	N/A	1	1

Table 1 (continued)

Article	Assessment	Citation	Standardization ^a	Measurement ^b	Category	Schedule ^c	Utilization ^d
The Transition to School: Adaptation in Young Children With and Without Intellectual Disability (2006)	The Stanford-Binet	Thorndike et al. 1986	2	2	N/A	1	2
	Vineland	Sparrow et al. 1984	2	1	Interview	1	2
	Adaptive Behavior Scales	Vaughn et al. 1984	0	2	N/A	1	2
	Delay of Gratification Task	Gresham & Elliott 1990	2	1	Rating Scale	0	2
	Social Skills Rating System Parent (SSRS-P)	Gresham & Elliott 1990	2	1	Rating Scale	0	2
	Social Skills Rating System Teacher (SSRS-T)	Achenbach 1991	0	1	Questionnaire	0	2
	Teacher's Report Form (TRF)	Pianta et al. 2001	0	1	Rating Scale	0	2
The Transition to Kindergarten for Children with and without disabilities: An Investigation of Parent and Teacher Concerns and Involvement (2015)	The Student-Teacher Relationship Scale (STRS)	McIntyre et al. 2007	0	1	Questionnaire	1 and 2	2
	Family Experiences and Involvement in Transitions (FEIT)	Sparrow et al. 2005	2	1	Interview	1	2
	Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	0	1	2
	The Social Skills Improvement System- Parent Form (SSIS-P)	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	Questionnaire	1	2
	The Problem Behavior scale of the Parent (SSIS-P)	Quintero & McIntyre 2011	0	1	Questionnaire	1 and 2	2
	The Teacher Perceptions on Transitions (TPOT)	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	Rating Scale	1	2
	The Social Skills Improvement System-Teacher Form (SSIS-T)	Gresham & Elliott 2008	2	1	0	1	2
The Problem Behavior scale of the (SSIS-T)							

Note. 0 = not reported.

^a1= not standardized (criterion referenced, curriculum-based measure, informal assessment, grade level, developmental, inventories, work samples, task analysis, portfolio assessment, reports IOA on the development of the assessment); 2= Standardized (norm referenced). ^b1 = Indirect (Interviews, ratings, verbal report); 2 = Direct (Direct testing, and direct observations). ^c1 = Pre-transition; 2= Post-transition. ^d1 = Modified instruction based on the data; 2 = descriptive data

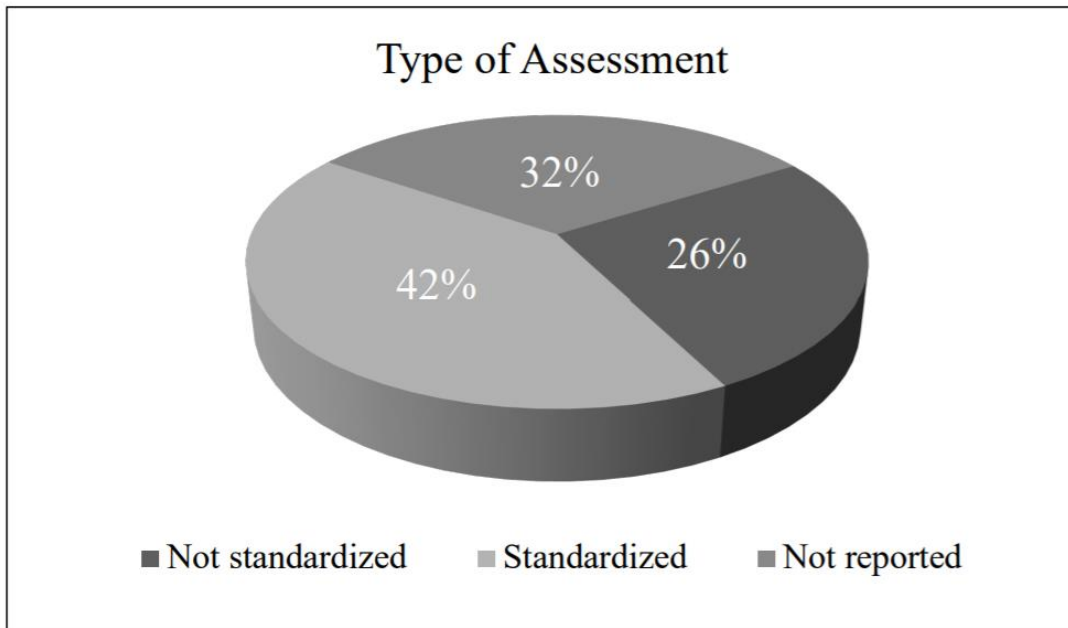
Type of Assessment

Standardization

An assessment was classified as standardized if it was norm- referenced. Norm-referenced measures compares a person’s knowledge or skills to the knowledge or skills of the norm group. The composition of the norm group is often a nationally representative sample of several thousand students tested under the same context (e.g., age, grade). An assessment was classified as not standardized if the assessment was criterion- referenced, involved a curriculum-based measure, or used an informal method which was defined as assessing a student’s grade level, developmental diagnosis, work samples, task analysis, portfolio assessment, and/or reported IOA on the development of the assessment.

Figure 2 depicts the results of these findings. Forty-two percent (n = 8) were standardized, 26% percent (n = 5) of the assessments were not standardized, and 32% (n = 6) were not reported or could not be determined.

Figure 2



Direct vs Indirect

Measurement

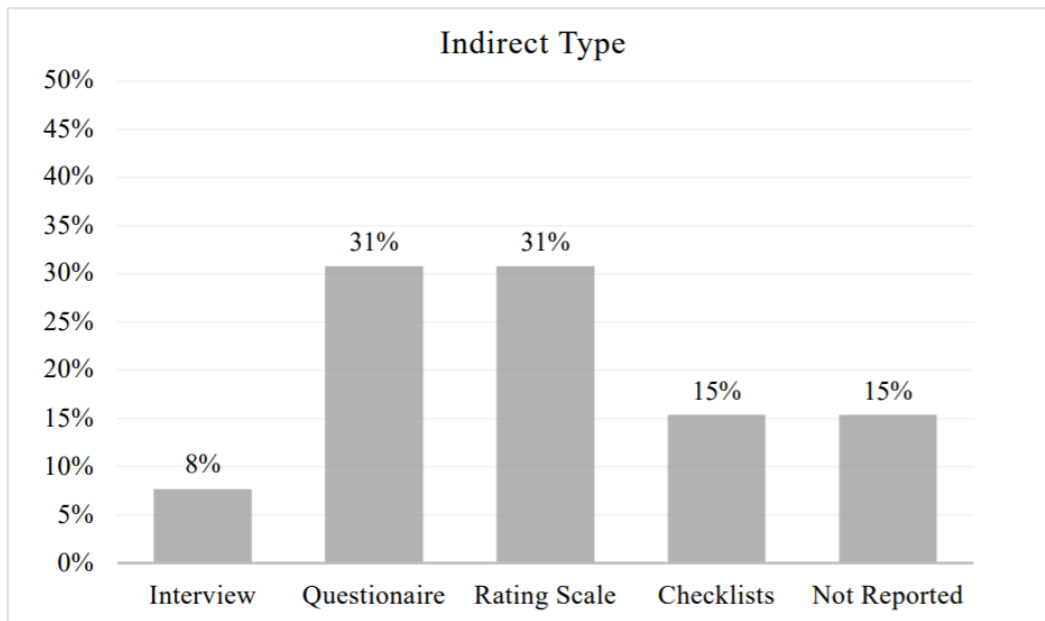
Each assessment was categorized as a direct or indirect measure. An assessment was scored as a direct measure if a data collector recorded a student's behavior by being physically present and directly observing the behavior (Cooper, Heron, & Heward, 2007). An assessment was defined as an indirect measure if it involved interviews, rating scores, checklists, and/or verbal reports.. Sixty-eight percent (n = 13) were indirect measures and 32% (n= 6) were direct measures.

Indirect Type

Category

Indirect measures were further analyzed to determine the type of indirect measure used. Figure 3 depicts these findings. Thirty-one percent (n = 4) utilized rating scales, 31% (n = 4) utilized questionnaires, 15% (n=2) used checklists, 15% (n = 2) did not report or could not be determined (e.g., assessment could not be located), and 8% (n = 1) conducted interviews.

Figure 3



Assessment Timeline

Schedule

The time point at which each assessment was administered was determined. Each assessment was scored as occurring: (1) pre-transition; (2) post-transition, (3) pre-and-post or (4) not reported. An assessment was scored as pre-transition if the assessment was administered, and data were collected prior to the transition to kindergarten. An assessment was scored as post-transition if the assessment was administered and data was collected following the transition to kindergarten or assessed the level of success in the classroom. An assessment was scored as pre- and-post-transition if the assessment was administered, and data were collected prior to and after the transition to kindergarten. Thirty-seven percent ($n = 7$) of assessments were administered pre-transition; 37% ($n = 7$) were administered pre-and-post transition, 10% ($n = 2$) were administered post transition, and 16% ($n = 3$) were not reported.

Use of Assessment Results

Utilization.

The manner in which assessment data were used during the transition was determined. Each assessment was scored as (1) instructional or (2) descriptive. An assessment was scored as instructional if the assessments results were used to modify instruction either prior to the transition or once the child was in the new classroom setting. For example, research by LeAger and Shapiro (1995) modified

instruction using Ecobehavioral System for Complex Assessments of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE) and Assessment Code/Checklist for Evaluating Survival Skills (ACCESS). They quantified differences between environments and were able to successfully adjust intervention decisions and modified instruction. Conversely, an assessment was scored as being used in a descriptive manner if assessment data were used in a comparative manner or to describe a student's transition. For example, Welchons and McIntyre (2015) used the Family Experiences and Involvement in Transition (FEIT) and the Student- Teacher Relationship Scale (STRS), among other assessments, to determine predictors of socio- behavioral kindergarten outcomes. Their analyses demonstrated correlations between parent/teacher-reported child problem behavior in preschool and child social and behavioral outcomes in kindergarten, however, did not use these finding to modify instruction either pre or pose the transition. Additionally, McIntyre, Blaker, and Baker (2006) utilized measures such as the Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales and the Social Skills Rating System Teacher form (SSRS-T) to assess adaptation to school. Their analyses identified higher intelligence quotient (IQ) and adaptive behavior predicted a more positive adaptation to school. However, their findings were not used to inform or modify instruction either prior to or following the transition. In other words, while some articles made substantial claims in predicting student outcomes, veryfew used it to identify deficits and then subsequently target and teach those deficits. More specifically, seventy-nine percent (n =15) of assessments used data in a descriptive manner, whereas 21% percent (n = 4) modified instruction and utilized the results in an instructional manner.

Discussion

The purpose of the current review was to determine the number of peer-reviewed transition assessments for young children with ASD who are transitioning from early intervention into special or general education. Of the 411 articles reviewed, six articles met inclusion criteria, which yielded 20 assessments for analysis. Each assessment was analyzed to determine the type of assessment, when the assessment was given, and how assessment data was utilized. Many of the assessments were indirect measures, given prior to the transition to school and were used in a descriptive manner.

These results are noteworthy in that they suggest that assessments used during the transition from early intervention to special or general education are not being used in a dynamic manner to prepare students for the transition to school or after the transition occurs, which contrasts with data-based decisions making and best practice (Akers et al., 2015a, 2015b; Division for Early Childhood, 2014). These findings might suggest that early interventionalists and educators need a transition assessment to aid in decision making during this transition and might explain why people involved in this process often describe it as challenging and stressful.

Ideally, early interventionalists and educators could use a transition assessment to make decisions prior, during and after the student has transitioned

from early intervention into the school setting. In order to use assessment data in a dynamic manner to aid in selecting learning targets (e.g., early intervention targets and IEP goals and objectives), a combination of direct and indirect measures could be used. It is common practice in both settings to use direct measures which would allow student progress to be monitored objectively.

In the current study, six direct assessments were identified: (1) Ecobehavioral System for Complex Assessments of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE; Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995; Carta et al., 1990), (2) Assessment Code/Checklist for Evaluating Survival Skills (ACCESS; Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995; Carta et al., 1990), (3) Independent Seatwork Activity Intervention Checklist (Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995), (4) Procedural Checklist Classroom Survival Skills for Independent Work (Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995), (5) The Stanford-Binet (Thorndike et al., 1986), and (6) The delay of gratification task (Vaughn et al., 1984). The Stanford-Binet is a traditional intelligence test designed to assess an individual's intelligence quotient (IQ) which would be inappropriate to use to select instructional targets or inform the level of support needed. The Stanford-Binet Intelligence is a test of general intellectual ability, which is widely used both for clinical and research purposes (Coolican et al., 2008). Although it's intended to represent a hierarchical structure of intelligence, the test is not generalizable to all populations including students diagnosed on the spectrum. Holdnack and Weiss (2006) discovered an overrepresentation of African American in special education due to the tests inability to incorporate culturally fair and representative test revisions. Additionally, Coolican, Bryson, and Zwaigenbaum (2006) found that using the Stanford-Binet on students with ASD resulted in an inaccurate representation of student aptitude. The article recommended using an abbreviated battery version with the understanding that the abbreviated version could overestimate overall student ability as well.

The delay of gratification task (Vaughn et al., 1984) measures a student's latency to touch to a preferred item when told a more preferred item is available after a delay. This is a measure of impulse control and a student's ability to tolerate delayed gratification. It is possible the results of this assessment could inform instructional programming pre or post transition, but it would be difficult to determine exactly what the assessment would be measuring in young children with ASD. For example, if a short latency was observed, it would be difficult to determine if the student's responding was a function of deficits in language, motivation, or impulse control and additional assessment would be warranted. The Independent Seatwork Activity Intervention Checklist (Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995) measures both student and teacher behavior by measuring the duration of activities, the number of students participating in the activity, the number of instructions given prior to independent work, and the number of group and individual prompts given during independent work. Although this includes a direct measure of student behavior, data collection procedures would need to be slightly modified to include direct measures for individual students. This information could be used to determine how long a student can engage in independent work without prompts. Although all three assessments involve direct

measures of student behavior, they fail to comprehensively measure a broad range of skills that a student needs to be successful in a classroom setting.

The three assessments that were direct and used for instructional planning were the Procedural Checklist Classroom Survival Skills for Independent Work (Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995), Ecobehavioral System for the Complex Assessment of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE; Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995; Carta et al., 1990) and Assessment Code/Checklist for the Evaluation of Survival Skills (ACCESS; Le Ager & Shapiro, 1995; Carta et al., 1990). Two of these assessments incorporate practices of Ecobehavioral Analysis which is an approach to measuring environments that describes the ecology (i.e., topographical features as well as the persons within it) and examines the interactions that occur between the ecology and student behaviors (Carta et al., 1990). The rationale for this type of analysis is that student outcomes are primarily determined by the interactions the student has with the environment and the people in it. Compared with assessments that only measure students' performance and ability, the Ecobehavioral approach focuses on how the environment fosters or hinders behaviors and learning to take place (Carta et al., 1990).

The Ecobehavioral System for the Complex Assessment of Preschool Environments (ESCAPE) measures several aspects of the classroom ecology, teacher behavior, and student behavior. Data derived from this assessment are typically described in molar or molecular analyses. A molar analysis is the determination of the average percentage of intervals recorded across observation sessions for one particular variable for one child or group of children. While a molecular analysis is the determination of the conditional probability of a specific variable given the occurrence of one or more other variables (Carta et al., 1990). For example, if preschoolers are more actively engaged in fine motor activities than transitions, then practitioners can use that data to find creative ways to increase reinforcement during transitions thus increasing student engagement. By examining what typical days are like for children in various types of school settings, practitioners can better understand why and how students with disabilities especially those diagnosed with ASD, which can inform instruction in both early intervention and the classroom.

The Assessment Code/Checklist for the Evaluation of Survival Skills (ACCESS) was developed to allow an enhanced focus on specific behaviors that are deemed important for success in kindergarten. This assessment focused on group instruction, independent seatwork, and within class transitions. These three domains have been previously identified as critical for successful functioning in kindergarten classrooms by teachers (Carta et al., 1990; Quintero & McIntyre, 2011). Students were directly measured in one of three domain areas during 5-minute observation blocks to assess student's skill level. When students were found to struggle in independent seatwork, instruction was subsequently modified. Students were taught to self-assess independent seatwork and teachers were taught to reduce prompts to low rates (which is typical of regular kindergarten settings).

The methodological approaches used in both ESCAPE and ACCESS are examples of direct observational systems that can be used to analyze the broad structural differences between early intervention and kindergarten and can be used

to modify instruction pre and post the transition to kindergarten. Based on the available research to date, it appears ESCAPE and ACCESS are not commonly used in peer-reviewed research during the transition from early intervention to school. It may be the case that these are frequently used by early interventionists and educators and not in peer-reviewed research. A possible limitation of ESCAPE and ACCESS is that they require intensive time, collaboration and resources (McIntyre, Eckert, Fiese, et al. 2010; Quintero & McIntyre, 2011; Welchons & McIntyre, 2015; Fontil et al., 2019).

Nevertheless, ESCAPE and ACCESS are direct assessments that provide a theoretical framework for a potentially comprehensive transition assessment. A comprehensive transition to kindergarten assessment could include the following five criteria: (1) objective, (2) direct measures of student behavior, (3) cost-and-time efficient, (4) easily inform instructional planning, and (5) leads to objective instructional decisions making. Given the limited results found in the current study, there are many opportunities for future research. Educators and school personnel are most likely using some form of assessment tool or measure to make educational decisions when children transition from early intervention into the school setting. Future research could survey early interventionists and schools across the county to determine which assessment tools are being used and how the data collected from these tools are used. Once assessment measures are identified, researchers could investigate the validity and reliability of these assessments and determine their usefulness in objective decision making. This type of information would be invaluable in the development of a comprehensive transition assessment.

One major limitation of the current study is that only peer-reviewed articles were included. There are likely several transition assessments that interventionists and schools use to guide instructional programming for young children for ASD. For example, The Verbal Behavior Milestones Assessment and Placement Program (VB-MAPP; Sundberg, 2008) is an assessment that contains 170 measurable learning and language milestones that are sequenced across three developmental levels. Level 1 includes skills that typically developing children demonstrate by 18 mos., level 2 are skills typically observed by 30 mos., and level 3 are skills typically observed by 48 mos. The VB-MAPP comprises three sub-assessment including Milestones, Barriers and a Transition Assessment. The Milestone assessment include direct measures of a student's language. play, social, imitation, matching-to-sample, and group skills. The Barriers Assessment is a rating scale of 24 common learning and language acquisition barriers faced by children with ASD or other developmental disabilities. The transition assessment is a rating scale of 18 areas that can help identify whether a child is making meaningful progress and has acquired the skills necessary for learning in a less restrictive educational environment (e.g., kindergarten). The VB-MAPP is commonly used in early intervention centers that implement ABA to monitor student progress and often times are required by insurance companies to demonstrate child progress. Although commonly used, Montallana et al. (2019) demonstrated substantial variability in the reliability of the milestones assessment when used by different clinicians on the same student. The low reliability was

likely due to the lack of operational definition of behaviors being measured in the assessment. Currently, it is not clear how reliable the transition assessments are in making instructional decisions and how those data are used by interventionists or schools, if used at all. The VB-MAPP transition assessment is one example of an assessment that exists, and it is likely that schools use similar assessments or develop transition assessments within their own districts to aid in the transition process. Although these assessments undoubtedly help stakeholders make decisions, without being researched or validated it is difficult to determine how these types of assessments effect instructional programming which ultimately effects a student's success in the classroom.

Future researchers are encouraged to determine what transition assessments are being used across the country and how these data are used in the transition process. This information could be used to develop an objective, direct transition assessment to aid in instructional planning pre-and post-a student's transition to kindergarten.

References

- Achenbach T. M. (1991) *Manual for the Teacher's Report Form and Teacher Version of the Child Behavior Profile*. Department of Psychiatry, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT.
- Akers, L., Del Grosso, P., Atkins-Burnett, S., Monahan, S., Boller, K., Carta, J. J., & Wasik, B. A. (2015, June). *Research Brief— Tailored teaching: The need for stronger evidence about early childhood teachers' use of ongoing assessment to individualize instruction*. (Issue Brief No. 59). Mathematica.org.<https://www.mathematica.org/our-publications-and-findings/publications/brief-tailored-teaching-the-need-for-stronger-evidence-about-early-childhood-teachers-use-of-ongoing>
- Akmanoglu-Uludag, N., & Batu, S. (2005). Teaching naming relatives to individuals with autism using simultaneous prompting. *Education and Training in Developmental Disabilities*, 40(4), 401-410. Retrieved August 31, 2021, from<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23879957>
- Atwater, J. B., Carta, J. J., & Schwartz, I. S. (1989). *Assessment code /checklist for the evaluation of survival skills: ACCESS*. Kansas City, KS: Juniper Gardens Children's Project, Bureau of Child Research, University of Kansas.
- Barnett, W. S. (2011). Effectiveness of early educational intervention. *Science (American Association for the Advancement of Science)*, 333(6045), 975-978. <http://doi.org/10.1126/science.1204534>
- Carta, J., Atwater, J. J., Schwartz, I. S., & Miller, P. A. (1990). Applications of ecobehavioral analysis to the study of transitions across early education settings. *Education and Treatment of Children*, 13(4), 298–315. <http://doi.org/1991-19877-001>
- Coolican, J., Bryson, S. E., & Zwaigenbaum, L. (2008). Brief report: Data on the stanford-binet intelligence scales (5th ed.) in children with autism spectrum disorder. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 38(1), 190-7. <http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.library.wmich.edu/10.1007/s10803-007-0368-2>
- Conn-Powers, M. C., Ross-Allen, J., & Holburn, S. (1990). Transition of young children into the elementary education mainstream. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education*, 9, 91– 105. <https://doi.org/10.1177/027112149000900409>

- Cooper, J., Heron, T., & Heward, W. (2007). *Applied behavior analysis / John O. Cooper, Timothy E. Heron, William L. Heward.* (2nd ed.). Pearson/Merrill-Prentice Hall.
- Crane, J. (2010). *Preschool children with special educational needs: Achievement, retention, and classification through second grade.* [Doctoral dissertation, George Mason University]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing
- Dawson, G., Rogers, S., Munson, J., Smith, M., Winter, J., Greenson, J., Doonaldson, A., Varley, J. (2009). Randomized, controlled trial of an intervention for toddlers with autism: Earlystart Denver model. *Pediatrics (Evanston)*, 125(1), E17-E23. <http://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2009-0958>
- Division for Early Childhood. (2014). *DEC recommended practices in early intervention/early childhood special education.* http://www.dec-sped.org/recommended_practices
- Early, D. M., Pianta, R. C., Taylor, L. C., & Cox, M. J. (2001). Transition practices: Findings from a national survey of kindergarten teachers. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 28(3), 199-206. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1026503520593>
- Fontil, L., Gittens, J., Beaudoin, E., & Sladeczek, I. E. (2019). Barriers to and facilitators of successful early school transitions for children with autism spectrum disorders and other developmental disabilities: A systematic review. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 50(6), 1866-1881. <http://doi.org/10.1007/s10803-019-03938-w>
- Greenwood, C. R., Beecher, C., Atwater, J., Petersen, S., Schiefelbusch, J., & Irvin, D. (2018). An ecobehavioral analysis of child academic engagement: Implications for preschool children not responding to instructional intervention. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education*, 37(4), 219-233. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0271121417741968>
- Gresham, F. M., & Elliott, S. N. (2008). *Social skills improvement system (SSIS) rating scales manual.* Minneapolis, MN: NCS Pearson Inc.
- Holdnack, J. A., & Weiss, L. G. (2006). IDEA 2004: Anticipated implications for clinical practice—integrating assessment and intervention. *Psychology in the Schools*, 43, 871–882.
- Janus, M., Lefort J., Cameron R., & Kopechanski L., (2007). Starting kindergarten: Transition issues for children with special needs. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 30(3), 628-648. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20466656>

- Kemp, C., & Carter, M. (2000). Demonstration of classroom survival skills in kindergarten: A five-year transition study of children with intellectual disabilities. *Educational Psychology (Dorchester-on-Thames)*, 20(4), 393-411. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713663756>
- Leaf, R., & McEachin, J. (1999). *A work in progress*. New York: DRL Books.
- Le Ager, C., & Shapiro, E. S. (1995). Template matching as a strategy for assessment of and intervention for preschool students with disabilities. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education*, 15(2), 187-218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/027112149501500204>
- Little, M. H. (2017). School-based kindergarten transition practices and child outcomes: revisiting the issue. *The Elementary School Journal*, 118(2), 335-356. <https://doi.org/10.1086/694221>
- Lord, C., Wagner, A., Rogers, S., Szatmari, P., Aman, M., Charman, T., Dawson, G., Duran, V. M., Grossman, L., Guthrie, D., Harris, S., Kasari, C., Marcus, L., Murphy, S., Odom, S., Pickles, A., Scahill, L., Shaw, E., Siegel, B., . . . Yoder, P. (2005). Challenges in evaluating psychosocial interventions for autistic spectrum disorders. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 35(6), 695-708. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10803-005-0017-6>
- Lovaas, O. I. (1987). Behavioral treatment and normal education and intellectual functioning in young autistic children. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55, 3-9.
- Makrygianni, M. K., & Reed, P. (2010). A meta-analytic review of the effectiveness of behavioural early intervention programs for children with Autistic Spectrum Disorders. *Research in Autism Spectrum Disorders*, 4(4), 577-593. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rasd.2010.01.014>
- Marsh, A., Spagnol, V., Grove, R., & Eapen, V. (2017). Transition to school for children with autism spectrum disorder: A systematic review. *World Journal of Psychiatry*, 7(3), 184-196. <https://doi.org/10.5498/wjp.v7.i3.184>
- McIntyre, L. L., Blacher, J., & Baker, B. L. (2006). The transition to school: Adaptation in young children with and without intellectual disability. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research*, 50(5), 349-361. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2788.2006.00783.x>

- McIntyre, L.L, Eckert, T. L, Fiese, B. H., DiGennaro. F.D., & Wildenger, L. K. (2010). Family Concerns surrounding kindergarten transition: A comparison of students in special and general education. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 38(4), 259-263. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-010-0416-y>
- Mental Health Services for Students Act, H.R. 1109, 116th Cong. (2020). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/116th-congress/house-bill/1109/text>
- Miller, P. A. (1990). *A comparison of environmental characteristics and survival skills among preschoolers with developmental delays and regular kindergartners*. [Unpublished master's thesis]. University of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Montallana, K. L., Gard, B. M., Lotfizadeh, A. D., & Poling, A. (2019). Inter-rater agreement for the milestones and barriers assessments of the verbal behavior milestones assessment and placement program (VB-MAPP). *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 49, 2015–2023. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10803-019-03879-4>
- Pianta R. C. (2001) *Student–Teacher Relationship Scale (STRS): Professional Manual*. Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Pianta, R., Kraft-Sayre, M., Rimm-Kaufman, S., Gercke, N., & Higgins, T. (2001). Collaboration in building partnerships between families and schools: The national center for early development and learning's kindergarten transition intervention. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 16, 117–132. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0885-2006\(01\)00089-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0885-2006(01)00089-8)
- Quintero, N., & McIntyre, L. L. (2011). Kindergarten transition preparation: A comparison of teacher and parent practices for children with autism and other developmental disabilities. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 38(6), 411–420. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-010-0427-8>
- Reichow, B., Hume, K., Barton, E.E., & Boyd, B.A. (2018). Early intensive behavioral intervention (EIBI) for young children with autism spectrum disorders (ASD). *Cochrane Library*, 2018(10), CD009260. <http://doi.org/10.1002/14651858.CD009260.pub2>
- Rimm-Kaufman, S. E., & Pianta, R. C. (2000). An ecological perspective on the transition to kindergarten: A theoretical framework to guide empirical research. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 21(5), 491–511. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973\(00\)00051-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973(00)00051-4)

Sainato, D. M., & Lyon, S. R. (1989). Promoting successful mainstreaming transitions for handicapped preschool children. *Journal of Early Intervention*, 13, 305-314.

<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F105381518901300403>

Sainato, D. M., Morrison, R. S., Jung, Sunhwa, Axe, Judah, & Nixon, Patricia A. (2015). A comprehensive inclusion program for kindergarten children with autism spectrum disorder. *Journal of Early Intervention*, 37(3), 208-225.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/105381518901300403>

Sitlington, P. L., Neubert, D. A., & Leconte, P. J. (1997). Transition assessment: The position of the division on career development and transition. *Career Development for Exceptional Individuals*, 20(1), 69-79.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/088572889702000106>

Sparrow S. S., Balla D. A. & Cicchetti D. V. (1984) *Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales*. American Guidance Service.

Sparrow, S.S., Cicchetti, D.V., & Balla, D.A. (2005). *Vineland Adaptive Behavior Scales*. American Guidance Service.

Starr, E. M., Martini, T. S., & Kuo, B. C. H. (2016). Transition to kindergarten for children with autism spectrum disorder: A focus group study with ethnically diverse parents, teachers, and early intervention service providers. *Focus on Autism and Other Developmental Disabilities*, 31(2), 115-128. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088357614532497>

Sundberg, M. L. (2008). *VB-MAPP Verbal Behavior Milestones Assessment and Placement Program 2nd edition*. AVB Press.

The Nonprofit Health Care Corporation Reform Act, Mich. Comp. Laws § 550.1416e(2012).

[http://www.legislature.mi.gov/\(S\(diayatidoeyclmsexrab0te2i\)\)/mileg.aspx?page=getObject&objectName=mcl-550-1416e](http://www.legislature.mi.gov/(S(diayatidoeyclmsexrab0te2i))/mileg.aspx?page=getObject&objectName=mcl-550-1416e)

Thorndike R. L., Hagen E. P., & Sattler J. M. (1986) *Stanford- Binet Intelligence Scale: Technical Manual 4th edition*. Riverside Publishing, Itasca, IL.

U.S. Department of Education. (2019). *41th annual report to congress on the implementation of the individuals with disabilities education act*. Retrieved on October 14, 2020 from <https://sites.ed.gov/idea/files/41st-arc-for-idea.pdf>

- Vaughn B. E., Kopp C. B., & Krakow J. B. (1984) The emergence and consolidation of self- control from eighteen to thirty months of age: Normative trends and individual differences. *Child Development* 55, 990-1004. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1984.tb03837.x>
- Welchons, L. W., & McIntyre, L. L. (2015). The transition to kindergarten for children with and without disabilities: An investigation of parent and teacher concerns and involvement. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education*, 35(1), 52–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0271121414523141>
- Wesley, P. W., & Buysse, V. (2003). Making meaning of school readiness in schools and communities. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 18(3), 351-375. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0885-2006\(03\)00044-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0885-2006(03)00044-9)

Polluted Waters

By Elizabeth V. Netcher

Abstract: This piece relates to my graduate work at WMU because it represents the darkness that I feel is sometimes encroaching on my "waters." The water looks very tumultuous and hasn't quite calmed down, similar to my current journey at WMU.



Full Moon

By Elizabeth V. Netcher

Abstract: This piece relates to my graduate work at WMU because it represents the waxing and waning of my relationship to work. Some days are brighter than others, just like the moon itself.

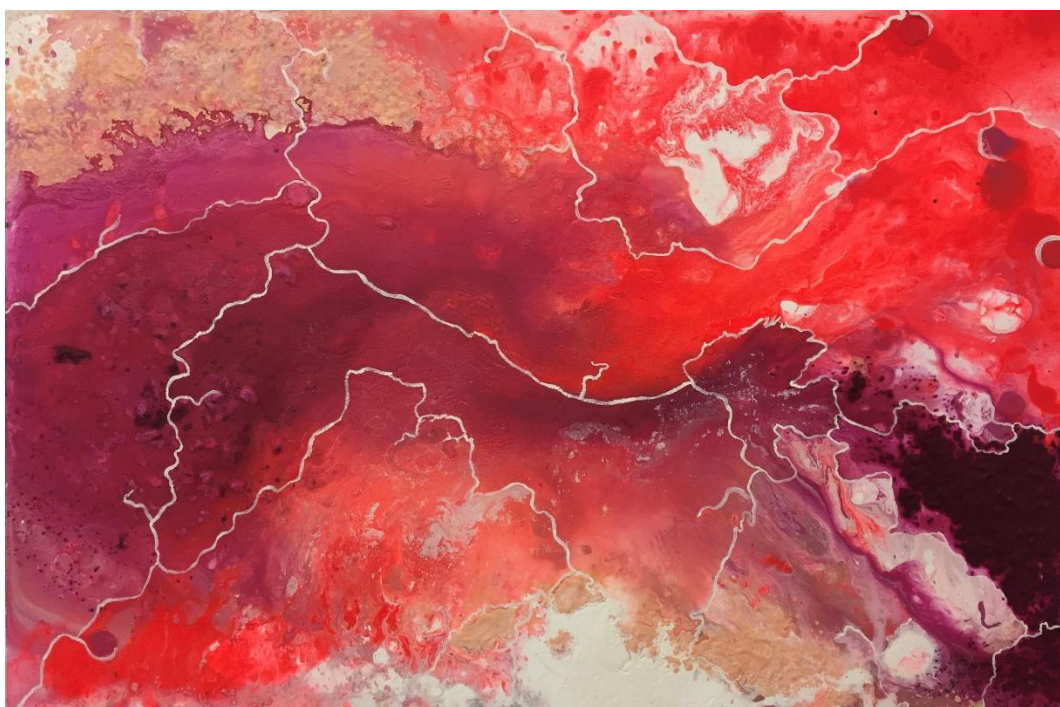
Acrylic on canvas panel, wood frame



Peace in Pink

By Elizabeth V. Netcher

Abstract: This piece relates to my graduate work at WMU because it symbolizes the struggle for control that I feel, not only in my life, but specifically in academia. The background, created through flow painting, represents my loss of control. The lines represent me intentionally taking back my control.



As I go Along...

By Ivylove M. Cudjoe

6

⁶ I would like to thank all who encouraged me to keep writing no matter what, especially Prof. Justo B. Boleká and my personal muse. Thank you all!

If words were colours...

If words were colours,
My soul would I paint
Upon the massive seas.
My tears would be the solution
And my words, the creation.
The creation of rainbows daily
No more waiting for a rainy day
Because all around, rainbows lay.

If words were colours,
My friends, peacocks and parrots would be;
For I would speak the reddish love
And declare the yellowish joy.
Not forgetting the peaceful blue
And the victorious green!
Together we would sing whitish purity
And feel around us its refreshing beauty.

If words were colours,
In your heart I would plant rose flowers,
To have with you always my cherished colours
And feel the effect of its powers.

A good night's wish

Sometimes at night,
I lie back and dream
Of the wondrous mystery of the night.
I wish I lay on green grass
Facing upwards to the naked skies
Revealing its every design
With excitement in my every being,
I long to feel the cool calm breeze
Wrapping itself around me as blanket
And tickling my adventurous sense.
I long to be one with that night
To share in its mystery,
To feel its full might,
To embrace its glorious light.
I dream of this night
Hoping to one day have its full sight.

When I was a child

When I was a child
The moon was white
It was beautiful in my sight
Everything was bright
So full of light.

When I was a child
I knew nothing of fear
My mind was clear
Dark thoughts were rare
And I had so much time to spare.

When I was a child
Daddy used to take me to school
Woke up early and bathe me like in a pool
There was nothing like shame
It was just not part of my frame.

When I was a child
The world was free
Nothing to set your heart on a spree
Everyone did love
As pure as a dove.

When I was a child
Innocence was a gift
Laughter was a bliss
Joy was never a miss

Smiles and colour, you were blessed.

When I was a child

Fresh was the air

The world was fair

The flowers were in full bloom

There was not a sight of gloom.

When I was a child

Scars of death, pain, grief and sorrow

Were stories I heard on the morrow

Man was gay

No showers left for May.

When I was a child

I never once stopped

To wonder about the end

Reality is now a new friend

All those wonders have come to an end.

Admirador

Pienso

Pienso en muchas cosas
Cómo lo es normal de un
ser viviente Y pienso
también de ti
Cómo es parecida de una amante
Pero tu amante no soy
Tampoco lo quiero ser
Pues ¿Por qué el pensar de
ti?

¡Es solo por pura
curiosidad!

Quiero saber cómo
eres

Cómo ves, vives, ríes y cómo
quieres;
El despertar del sol en tu casa
El desayunar, si lo haces
El trabajar como se debe
Y aún el amar, si en ello
crees.

Pienso

Pienso mucho en muchas cosas
Pienso en muchas cosas sobre ti
Pero tu amante, no la soy
Tampoco creo que la sea.

Admirer

I think

I think of many things
Which is normal of a human being.
And I think of you
As would do any lover
But I am neither your lover
Nor do I want to be
So why do I think of you?
It's sheer curiosity!

I want to know how you are

How you perceive, live, laugh and
how you like;

The awakening of the sun in your
house

Eating breakfast, if you do

Working as it should be

And even love, if you believe in it.

I think

I think a lot about many things
I think of many things about you
But I am not your lover,
Neither do I believe I will be.

Te quiero tocar... (I want to touch you)

I wish I was where you are
To breathe your air
And share your bed.
I wish I could lie by you
To feel the warmth of your skin
And the beating of your heart.
I wish I could see only you
As I wake to a new day
And as I bid farewell to the old...
I wish all these and more...
Issue is, *do you?*

The rainbow in her face

The clouds of thoughts gathered
And darkened with doubt and fear.
My mind was gloomy, my emotions scattered.
My body ready for a flow of unending tears.
The weather was forecast as I glazed
And observed a ghostly reflection of me;
It feels like a storm today. Just for me.

My mind, spirit and body, soon it all embraced.
The downcast emotions and darkness creeping,
It was starting, the rivers were now flowing.

Culture had taught me to always
Stay strong and be a man!
As I walked these overwhelming ways,
I felt low, but still; I was a man!
They had misunderstood!
For long such misconstrued living,
Had many a good man, the end driven!

The tears fell as I wept.
The rains poured as I slept.
For me, such a gloomy day.
For all, another stormy night.
The knocking drops awakened my eyes,
And absolutely nothing but sadness in sight.
Dreams and reality were both same,
The mind cloudy, the heart heavy,
Surely, sleep was a much better game.
So I rolled into character and thus began the play.

“Randy...
Oh my God!” she rushed to my side.
“Yes b, open your eyes.
Give me your hand and listen hard.
Believe me, I can’t imagine how you feel...” she held me tight.
“I love you...”

Very much!”

And there, the rainbow colours lay.

Night was passed,

For it was already day.

The weather now casted;

“Baby, it’s going to be okay!

The worst has passed away.”

The King of hearts

From afar I stood to steal glances of you

And little did I know that is how you stole from me.

I stayed perfectly hidden behind your strong pillar.

As you walked majestically through the garden,

You planted seeds of my longing for you,

Every time you smiled with pure intrigue.

It was the strongest spell ever cast!

So much so it daily kept me coming.

You became the sun I looked to to start my day.

Your beauty became the star light that brightened my sweet dreams.

I kept the hope to come face to face alive,

Although I always stayed perfectly hidden.

You were King and I was forbidden!

It was and will always be a sour wine;
The mixture of you and me.

You have stolen my heart without even knowing.

I would love to have you named King of my heart.

But as I returned the other day

Back home with others perfectly hidden;

I realized you are the King of hearts...

You stole it all and you don't even know!

Knock, knock, knock!

Knock, knock, knock!

Oh! It was him again.

Every day he will knock

waiting for me to open

and he will enter in.

It was annoying because he was always there.

And every turn I made, all I heard was

knock, knock, knock!

Knock, knock, knock!

It woke me up in the morning

and put me to bed early at night.

I was not ready to see him neither speak to him.

He seemed so desperately in love with me
but I was deeply in love with someone else,
And yet still he would
knock, knock, knock!

Knock, knock, knock!

He had been at it for days, weeks, months,
he wouldn't give up on me
but I had given up on love.

I had my heart broken into pieces
and I am sure he was more hopeful.
I wasn't ready so I left him to
knock, knock, knock!

Knock, knock, knock!

It was another day
and I needed someone to talk to.
It had been months of loneliness
and the furniture had become friends.
Now I was desperate for him to enter
but shy and ashamed cause I had left him to
knock, knock, knock!

Knock, knock, knock!

I was glad to hear it once more.
I thought he would have moved on,
but he was at my doorstep again.
I pulled myself from my gloomy state,
took a look around my messy, lonesome house

and opened the door when I heard him
knock, knock, knock!

And ever since he entered in,
my life has completely changed.
With his handsome self, he swept me off my feet.
Wish I had let him enter in earlier
instead of judging him like others,
but I am glad I did it sooner than later.
Now I can hardly wait for the sound of his
knock, knock, knock!

Sin Pedir Permiso

En mi vida
Viviendo como lo sé mejor
Haciendo todo aunque es peor
Sin saber que hacer más
De repente
Llegó el amor.
Cierro mis ojos para no ver
Cubro mis oídos para no oír
Yo, con toda fuerza para
esconderme.
Tú, con toda fuerza para encontrarme
Y lo lograste.
Ahora, mi corazón, lo
robaste.
Viniste andando
hacia mí.
Me capturó con su sonrisa.
La luz de tus ojos brilló
Y desapareció las tinieblas alrededor.
Así tocó el amor mi vida
Sin pedirme permiso alguno.
Desde allí en adelante
En tus manos, he estado.
De tu bondad, he disfrutado.
Por tu gracia, he vencido.
Con tu apoyo, he mejorado.
Y el amor nunca me ha
dejado.

Without asking permission

In my life
Living how I know best
Doing everything although it's bad
Without knowing what more to do
All of a sudden
Love arrived.
I close my eyes to not see
I cover my ears to not hear
I, with every strength to hide
You, with all force to find me
And you achieved it.
Now, you have stolen my heart.
You came walking to me.
You captured me with your smile.
The light in your eyes sparked
And the darkness around
disappeared.
That's how love came into my life
Without asking any permission.
From then onwards
In your hands, I have stayed.
Of your goodness, I have delighted.
By your grace, I have conquered.
With your help, I have improved.
And love has never let me go.

Us

When I feel the wind
wrap itself me around
I swear I can find
Those hands gently me hold
The clouds move along
And here I've sat for long
Finding new shapes to form
God! I know I saw your form
The birds chirp in the air
Daily as I wake and stir
Sweet music fills my ears
"I love you" is all I hear
It struck me quite fast
Those words were bound to last
Just then I knew the fact
Our love will never be past

Tingles

The smell of your perfume excites my inner being
And your gaze touches my soul.
The warmth of your touch tickles my skin
And I sigh every time they become firmer.
I groan desires I didn't know when you hold me
And I lose my self as you hug me.
I feel your heart beat.
I feel my pulse race.
I think you read between the lines.
I think I read your mind.
I throb. I ache. I yearn. I long.
Even better, I know you do same too!

Tus manos y yo

La lengua de tus manos
Despierta mis entrañas,
Aún entre tus brazos,
Me dices cómo me extrañas.
La dulzura de tu corazón
Carga cada palabra con la que me
alimentas.
!Ay amor de mi vida!
Nunca he conocido éste,
Él que comunica por medio
de dedos
Y lo interpreta mi piel a mis
sentidos.
Llévame más profundo,
En este viaje tan lindo.
Nunca me escondas el secreto de tus
uñas,
Las herramientas necesarias para mi
pintor,
Amor que dibuja mis emociones
Y conduce mis intenciones.
¡Qué locura de tanto alivio!
¡Qué complicada sencillez!
¡Qué pasión es ésta, que
tienes haciamí!
Háblame siempre con la voz poética
de tus manos.
Háblame así, siempre,

Your hands and I

The tongue of your hands
Awakens my emotions,
Still in your arms,
You say you miss me.
The sweetness of your heart
Carries each word with which you
feed me.
Ay love of my life!
I have never known this,
He who speaks with his fingers
And my skin makes my senses
comprehend it.
Take me deeper,
On this beautiful journey.
Never hide the secret of your hands
from me,
The necessary tools for my painter,
Love that draws my emotions
And drives my intentions.
What crazy relief!
What complicated simplicity!
What passion is this that you have
for me!
Speak to me always with the poetic
voice of your hands.
Speak to me like this, always,

Decora mi cuerpo con tus dedos,
Altera mi mente con tus manos,
Háblame así, por favor.

Decorate my body with your fingers,
Change my mind with your hands,
Speak to me like this, please.

Harnessing love

I choose a valentine
And I choose you.
I only long for you to be mine,
To let me drink more of your good wine;
Oh that wine, oh my, that sweet wine!
Brewed from your juicy grapevine,
Buried in the darkest space of your well divine.
Springs of love shoot out that fertile ground,
And quench my thirsty throb within.
I can't stay still when you invite me to dine
In the deep of your land.
For there, your treasures stand...
So, I will choose you for my valentine
Because you, baby, are *fine*!
That's a fact, I dare not deny!
And that's how you make the fireflies fly
In the thick woods of my forbidden forest.
You make it come alive;
Even the bees, all out of the hive!
And soon, a warm melody groans from the core.
Like an echo, it gets louder.
And just when I thought my walls fortified,
You proved you already had me identified!
I lay bare to your loving mine...
Valentine, only you I do pine.

Éxtasis

A veces mi espíritu brota
Brota con palabras que decir
Decir cosas que quiero expresar
Desde mi profundidad
Pero me es menos los momentos
En que tomo un papel y boli
Para escribirlas
O mejor dicho,
derramarlas.

Es decir mi alma corre a una
velocidad

Que me es muy rápida
para seguir Algo bonito
pasa en mi ser

Que no puedo explicar

¡Es un maravillo dentro de una
maravilla!

Hasta que mis palmas, dedos y
brazos

Aún no lo pueden describir al
momento igual como ocurre.

Por eso decidí
Decidí ser la única audiencia
En la orquesta corporal
Cuando esta musicalidad
divina

Se toca tan melodiosa en mis
entrañas

Y oigo a la vez que siento

La dulzura del éxtasis.

Ecstasy

Sometimes my spirit wells up
It wells up with words to say
To say things I want to express
From my insides
But less are the instants for me
Where I grab a paper and pen
To write them down
O better said, pour them out.

That's to say that my soul
runs at a velocity

That is too fast for me to follow
Something beautiful happens in my
being

That I can't explain

It's a wonder in a wonder!

Until my palms, fingers and arm
Even can't describe it in the exact
moment it occurs.

For this reason I decided
To be the only audience

In the orchestra of my body
When this divine musicality
Plays so sweetly in my insides

And I hear at the same time that I
feel

The sweetness of the ecstasy.

How to be Held
By Andrew Collard

1.

The room's so thickly shadowed, as in memory,
that any point of focus dissipates beneath my gaze:

the soft click of the rocking chair, irregular
against the humming of the box-fan, and the murmur

of occasional cars along the avenue, secures me
in my faith the ceiling holds above us, somewhere,

that the woven blankets I've nailed across the window
to keep the shadows in, and help my son to sleep,

still hang. On my bad days, I would call the constellations
my mind conceives to root itself in place

no more than an illusion, the lines I trace between
his weight against my chest, the walls concealed

in the dark beyond us, and the sidewalks, so accustomed
to our steps, below, no more than an imagined safety.

The route from home to homeless is too trivial a distance
to be measured, the way an injury can be revealed

in total stillness—fractures due to loss of bone mass, say—
or how, at thirty, I can't recall a single night

my mother held me, though I know they numbered
in the hundreds. What could those arms, which then

seemed limitless in strength, have gifted me
but reassurance, through the tenderness of my containment,

that my breaths were little harmonies beneath her breath,
and that the roof would keep the wind out, if only

for a single evening, so I, in my ease, could free-fall
to a heavy rest, as my son does now, as I gently

double over, lips pressed to his still-wet hair,
to lower him toward the dark warmth of his crib.

2.

The silent movie of my dream recedes.
A noise like a disposal crushing glass

wakes me with a start. Muddled cries
spill from the monitor beside the bed.

When I rise to draw the blind,
there's nothing, beyond the empty bus stop

and the dubbed yards of grass, sick as newsprint
beneath the streetlight's buzz.

Some incidents of sense are inexplicable:

Four hours ago, a dozen strangers
shuffle off the bus, and migrate

from the curb to the apartment complex
across the road, stopping traffic

like a parade, or a herd of deer,
like the spectacle of fire among the trees—

3.

In 1999, a pastor told me of a hole inside my heart,
a dark space only faith in god could fill.

Imagine my unhappiness to find, years later,
he was partly right. The hole was never in my heart,

but in the afterlife which, years into imagining,
I still found difficult to picture. The hole

was in the locales on the nightly news, and how
they never looked much like my neighborhood,

the misplaced history of what's happened in-between
so many wars. For the infinity of childhood,

the world expands up and out forever, beyond the whispered
consolation of our parents, the cracking drywall,

the backyard's maple trees and swingset, beyond the neighbors

and their leaky pool, the takeout joints and counters,
beyond the highway, too, and into hypotheticals,
the places built more from assumption than from earth,

until, one day, the world begins contracting.
Even the city's cleanest corners bloat with the grief

of their own impermanence, crying out at nightfall
through the blank stare of the billboards and neon lights.

We stumble down the sidewalk like bargain gumshoes,
scrutinizing the alleys for something that's been lost

though we've forgotten what, only certain of its being
in our lack. I forget myself to sleep and wake past comfort,

adrift, the sickness too entrenched for treatment. The hole
is in the surf, unsettled, where a raft of refugees submerged

mere miles off unfriendly coast. The hole is in the weakening smile
of the boy, dying of leukemia, I sat behind in third grade,

and in the hollow peace of how, yesterday, I didn't recognize him
in my yearbook, features clouded when I look too close.

4.

What can I call this impulse to unwrap motif?
In the waiting room, bubblegum cigars sit bunched

inside their little blue box, each a fuzzy reproduction
of the other, beside a vase of wilting roses.

The petals drop at their own uneven pace, each unique
in its design like the strange array of faces gathered

here, plucked from disparate moments in my history,
reclining together over islands of chairs.

Distant relatives, acquaintances, and friends
converge, some laughing over half-emptied

cups of coffee, some rocking absent-mindedly
or pacing, anxious for a glimpse, however fleeting,

of the familiar stranger sprawled against my chest,
of the way his eyes, untrained to process

all but light and motion, are a match for mine,
of how even this cluttered room invokes *collage*,

each distinctive shape emerging to the sterile canvas
until, somehow, a whole becomes discernible,

a structure unfolding from the darkness
that will hold him

Age of the Universe
By Sydney Sheltz-Kempf

If matter cannot be
created or destroyed
then I am the same age
as the universe.

My bones are faceted with the same
calcium as the marble veins
in the ground I stand upon.
My sodium levels pulse with the same
ferocity as seawater churning
deep with the unknown.
My blood burns with the same
iron swirling in the molten
core of the Earth.

If I looked through a telescope
I would see everything
and nothing
Would I even be able to recognize
my own reflection
in the constellations?

It feels like my soul is imploding
with the remnants of reincarnated stars:
is this recognition,
or just a splintered memory?

If every cell in my body is reborn
every seven years
in the echoes of a celestial jigsaw puzzle,
if the universe is 13.8 billion years old
then so am I,
and I wonder when I'll run out of pieces.

Temet nosce:
a truly dead concept
in an even deader language
if you don't even know
how old you are.

3.14.21 - Spring

By Clayton Meldrum

Abstract: This poem, written in one sitting on a Sunday morning, is a reflection not only on the transition between the physical seasons, but on the condition of the authors heart, moving from a personal season of hurt and cold bitterness (winter), on the way towards one of happiness and warmth (summer). But there is the season in between - spring.

Winter is receding... slowly.

I no longer rely on fires to fight the freezing,
thawing numbness to pain to exhaustion,
as my body comes back into itself.

I no longer rely on layers to keep my skin
protected from the biting chill,
oblivious to the cold.

That occasional gust, slipped between the seams, to remind my being
“It’s still winter. Your coat can’t cover you, not completely.”

Winter is receding... surely.

I can begin to imagine a warm sunny day, but not yet.
It is still cold. It is still wet. I am still cold. Not yet.

A new season is stirring, maturing, until it is ready to come, as every season does.
I start to see the sun, but not yet to feel her warmth.
It is right there though. Any day now.

Any day now, it will pour through the window with a promise.
And blow through the opening door with a different kind of gust, a different air, a
different care.

Not how to survive another winter day
Yet not to thrive in other summer day
But yet derive some other way, something in between - **spring**

To wear one less layer not because it is warm enough yet,
but because it is less cold than yesterday.

The sun is starting to work again, summer is going to come
and I’m tired of fire. My skin needs sun.

Seasons, seasons, seasons...

**no more on seasons
who will come and go the same
they do not need poems**

The Star-Gazer

By Jennifer Kean

Abstract: “The Star-Gazer” is modeled loosely on the Old English poem “The Wife’s Lament.” This medieval elegiac composition expresses beautifully the tensions that attend unrequited or abandoned love. It is awkward: there are clearly contrasting sentiments for the absent lover. It is frustrated and distressed: the reasons for the lover’s truancy are unclear to the reader, and presumably to The Wife. It is confused: The Wife does not understand why her partner has put physical and emotional distance between them, and the nature-imagery reflects how open-ended heartbreak can suspend, or even immobilize, personal growth. In my composition, I experiment with the possibility that “The Wife’s Lament” describes not a physical absence but an inexplicable change in the relationship that feels like a sudden and acute disconnect. “The Star-Gazer” is a story of a creative-romantic partnership that undergoes a similar transformation. The narrator and lover here are outcast – or dis/placed – individuals, and this creates an affinity between the two. This affinity is embedded in the idea that they are dreaming and creating simultaneously and constructively. They create a space to claim beyond the reach of others: something new, unexplored, yet safe in that it was made by and for them only. The space is imagined to be located outside of this world, but this also is an illusion; as the poem progresses, the space is re-figured as a fragile egg or bubble inside of, and vulnerable to, the physical world.

We imagined ourselves in a place of no-place

Creating space in the liminal spaces: der Weltraum, our dream-world, or world-dream –
that

outerspace

Conjuring melody from colors and shapes.

The elements praised us; we recreate the sound.

Took refuge in those soundscapes where

We retreat, spellbound.

Yet these artificial skies we paint destabilize with time

And time is cruel to nature as he is to my mind.

The hidden things that dwelled within the shadows of his being

Emerged as warring insects come to sunder ancient trees.

Now what are you, you frightful thing?

I must protect our august dream!

I combed the contours of our soundscape for one solitary seed

But when reality took form, I lost it in the cosmic sea.

The dome cracked

The stars fell through –

And where are you, you shifting thing?

I'm exiled to the ruins of this insubstantial dream.

The music fades

The earth intrudes –

And where are you, my baneful thing?

The sphere is gone, so too is song.

I will not sing again.



GSA

Graduate Student Association

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY