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## *Political Science Review*

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### *Preface*

This first online *Political Science Review* represents the work of senior students in the political science program of the Department of Political Science and Public Affairs at Savannah State University. In it, students analyze diverse political issues as a first attempt in political science scholarship. The review, which marks the beginning of what we hope will be a tradition of quality political science research and writing, provides a platform and a repository for completed theses from the POLS 4901 Senior Seminar class. This maiden issue is offered as well to solicit comments and suggestions. We believe our students' scholarship will continue to improve when all faculty commit to assist them in learning the habits of research and writing. Many of our colleagues do just that. We commend those colleagues of the Department of Political Science and Public Affairs who helped these students to inaugurate what will be future volumes the *Political Science Review* that explore national and global political issues.

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## **Bias and Barriers: Shattering the Glass Ceiling**

*Danielle Gibson, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*Since the adoption of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, women from all over the country still earn an average of twenty three percent less than men working in private sector jobs. Although faced with challenges and obstacles, women continue to push through the metaphor known as the “glass ceiling” (Baxter & Wright, 2000). The general-case glass ceiling hypothesis states that not only is it more difficult for women than men to be promoted to upper levels of authority hierarchies within the workplace but also the obstacles women face, relative to men, become greater as they move up the hierarchy (Baxter & Wright, 2000, p. 275). While past research reveals that gender bias and barriers still exist in the workplace and more noticeably at executive levels, the issue remains as to what effects, if any, do bias and barriers have on women who continue to attempt to break through the glass ceiling.*

### **Introduction**

The onset of the financial crisis in 2007 was more advantageous for women than it was for men, and for the first time in history, women were being called the “breadwinners”. It is during times such as these, e.g. the Great Recession, where the roles reversed; men became the primary caregivers, and women financially supported the household.

For example, women seized the opportunity to go back into the workforce when men were being laid off from their positions as a result of the job market failure. Particularly, like World War I and World War II, the Great Recession was also similar to a war, but instead of a war against other countries, it was a war on the economy. Like any war, there was collateral damage. As such, women rapidly entered back into the work place as a survival strategy to support their families, and just as in World War II, women no longer desired to remain in

domesticated roles. As a result, women starting chipping away at the glass ceiling, thus receiving access to more senior level management positions but not access to equal pay in compensation.

During World War I and World War II, women worked in positions that were normally held by men. More specifically, women were hired to take over positions left by men who were away fighting the war ("The Integration of Women Into the Workplace," n.d.). However, at the end of World War II, when the men returned home from the war, a lot of women lost their status as wage earners, as many of them were fired from their jobs and were told that their positions had been temporary "wartime" positions ("The Integration of Women Into the Workplace," n.d.).

Nevertheless, unlike that of World War I, in World War II women were given access to more skilled, higher-paying jobs that were usually held by men. When the men returned back from war in 1945, the labor force did not go back to a "manly dominated workplace." Instead, women continued to forge their way in the workplace, and it soon became common for a woman to want and have her own career. Currently, we find the gap between men and women's labor participation rates continued to decline becoming 75% for men and 60% for women by the year 2000 ("Women in the Workforce: Past and Present," n.d, para. 7).

Aside from World War I and World War II, the Great Recession is where we witness a shift in jobs that were dominantly held by men, now being held by women. It was during this time that women from all over began sending out their resumes and submitting job applications in an effort to provide for their families, contribute to the re-growth of the economy and take advantages of the opportunities that were not available to women in the past. For example, Virginia "Ginni" Rometty, the CEO of IBM (Fortune 500 Company), shattered the glass ceiling when she was named the first female CEO of IBM in 2012, after working for IBM for 31 years.

Interestingly, it took IBM 100 years to shift the traditional senior level positions that were occupied by men to key positions now being occupied by women. Prior to Virginia Rometty, Sheryl Sandberg was named COO of Facebook and also named the first female to sit on the board of directors, thus, another example of breaking through the glass ceiling.

However, as women continue to cautiously transition from domesticated employment roles to key executive positions in the job market, an underlining bias still exists as to the wage compensations earned by these women and more women to follow. According the United States Department of Labor, women still earn an average of 60% to 80% of a male's salary (Manning, n.d.).

### **Statement of the Problem**

Where women were once challenged with discrimination for positions traditionally held by men are no longer; however, women are now faced with the bias and barriers as they relate to equal wage compensation. More specifically, society has witnessed a shift in the job market and now more women are being hired and or appointed to senior level management positions but women are not receiving equal compensation. While some researchers would argue that the wage disparity between men and women has improved over the last decade, current research would reveal that women are still collectively underpaid in comparison to their male counterparts.

When considering the disparity of wages in the workplace for women, anyone who possesses a gold coin with the embossed figure of one Susan B. Anthony, must evidently be reminded of the struggle of the American woman; or more distinctly, be reminded of the struggle of all women across the globe fighting for equal pay for the work that they do that is equal to that

of their male counterparts. Overall, equal pay for equal work is an issue that has plague women for centuries, and it is a universal issue for all.

### **Background and Significance**

The salary gap between men and women emphasizes that male executives receive higher pay than women. Women in the workplace ultimately seek the same goals that are afforded to men, personal compensation. The pay plan has been generated over how the procedures for determining comparability for low–and medium-level positions and public pay may be greater than private pay for similar jobs. Achieving comparability between the private and public sectors requires considering both direct and other benefits, such as a forty hour week, bonuses, life and health insurance and vacations to name a few.

On April 17, 2012, President Obama established Proclamation 8800 as National Equal Pay Day. President Obama declared National Equal Pay Day as an effort to enlighten or bring to the forefront the ambiguous bias and barriers as they relate to wages received by women in the workplace.

The Proclamation discussed how families across the country are struggling to make ends meet, thus making Equal Pay a necessity to families, especially since we have witnessed an increasing number of women being “breadwinners” (The President, 2012). With the continuing rising issues with inequality in women’s wages, the President signed into act the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (The President, 2012).

The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act was named after Lilly Ledbetter (hereinafter “Ledbetter”) who was employed as a supervisor for Goodyear in 1979. Ledbetter filed a claim for discrimination against her employer of 19 years, when she learned that she was being paid a significantly lower wage than her male colleagues, who had less seniority and less experience

than she did. Ledbetter made 15 % to 40% less than her male counterparts (Bennett-Alexander, 2009).

Lilly Ledbetter plucked at the heartstrings of the U.S. Supreme Court which found that even though Ledbetter had experienced gender-based pay discrimination for virtually the entire span of her employment, they were helpless to remedy the situation because the 180 day statute of limitations had passed. As the first legislative act of his presidency, newly-elected

President Barack Obama signed into law the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, allowing the statute of limitations to begin anew each time a paycheck is issued on the basis of employment discrimination... (Bennett-Alexander, 2009).

Consequently in today's society, long after the establishment of Administrative Agencies like the EEOC, women from all over remain underpaid and passed over for promotions.

### **Purpose of Study**

Overall, the researcher's goal is to focus on the shift from women obtaining senior level management positions to access to equal pay. The researcher will further examine the bias and barriers that women face as they continue to break through the subliminal glass ceiling. It is evident that women can break through the symbolic glass ceiling, but can women receive access to equality in compensation? Has there really been any progress at erasing the gender gap and establishing complete gender equality in the workplace? What are the bias and barriers that limit access to equal compensation for women in senior level management positions?

### **Definition of Terms**

*Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)*: The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is responsible for enforcing federal laws that make it illegal to discriminate against a job applicant or an employee because of the person's race, color, religion,

sex (including pregnancy), national origin, age (40 or older), disability or genetic information (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, n.d.).

*Equal Pay Act:* The Equal Pay Act requires that men and women in the same workplace be given equal pay for equal work. The jobs need not be identical, but they must be substantially equal. Job content (not job titles) determines whether jobs are substantially equal. All forms of pay are covered by this law, including salary, overtime pay, bonuses, stock options, profit sharing and bonus plans, life insurance, vacation and holiday pay, cleaning or gasoline allowances, hotel accommodations, reimbursement for travel expenses, and benefits. If there is an inequality in wages between men and women, employers may not reduce the wages of either sex to equalize their pay (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, n.d.).

*Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act:* Amends the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to declare that an unlawful employment practice occurs when: (1) a discriminatory compensation decision or other practice is adopted; (2) an individual becomes subject to the decision or practice; or (3) an individual is affected by application of the decision or practice, including each time wages, benefits, or other compensation are paid. Allows liability to accrue, and allows an aggrieved person to obtain relief, including recovery of back pay, for up to two years preceding the filing of the charge, where the unlawful employment practices that have occurred during the charge filing period are similar or related to practices that occurred outside the time for filing a charge. Applies the preceding provisions to claims of compensation discrimination under the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Bennett-Alexander, 2009).

*Paycheck Fairness Act:* The bill expands damages under the Equal Pay Act and amends its very broad fourth affirmative defense (Gov Track US, n.d.).

### **Literature Review**

This literature review will provide an overview of the ongoing analysis of the wage disparity of women in Corporate America. The traditional face of the workplace has changed. Unlike a century ago, women now have a presence in positions that were in the past occupied by men, but women are not receiving the same pay as their male counterparts. According to Forbes Magazine, women now represent 3% of the senior level management positions for Fortune 500 companies like IBM, Yahoo, and Hewlett-Packard but as previously indicated, the wage compensation for the 3% is below that of their male counterparts in the same or similar position. In fact, some newly hired female executives, e.g. Chief Executive Officers (CEO) and Chief Operating Officers (COO) are earning less than the males who resided in the position prior to their appointment.

### **Obstacles and Access**

It is well documented that women in managerial positions typically face obstacles and different levels of invisible barriers that prevent them from receiving equal wages. As a result, less than three percent of top level positions within companies are occupied by women (Kulich, 2010). Is it any wonder that the disparities and unequal treatment prompt this researcher to examine the ambiguities that exist in the workplace and question whether or not any of the safety nets that are in place actually assure women equal access to compensation in corporate America?

As documented in the Proclamation 8800 of April 17, 2012, the President of the United States of America, Barack Obama brought home the issues that are under investigation in this research proposal stating that working women power the economy of America and sustain the middle class. The President emphasized the issues that are at the forefront of millions of families

across the country that women and their wages mean food on the table, decent medical care and timely mortgage payments.

Yet, 47 years after President John F. Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act of 1963, women who worked full-time earned only 77 percent of what their male counterparts did. National Equal Pay Day represents the date in the current year through which women must work to match what men earned in the previous year, reminding us that we must keep striving for an America where everyone gets an equal day's pay for equal work (America, 2012).

Many issues, such as the political, social, economic status of women, promoted the establishment of legislative safeguards against discrimination on the basis of sex and are the main concern of the Women Rights Movement. In the United States the first definitive position on women's rights, which intermingled with antislavery issues, was taken in 1848 under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, N.Y. In 1850, the National Women's Rights Convention was held, led by Lucy Stone, an early activist. Both of these early groups coalesced in the formation (1863) of the Women's National Loyal League, under Susan B. Anthony, who wrote and submitted in 1878 a proposed right-to-vote amendment to the Constitution.

From 1920 to 1960 a number of women's political groups, such as the League of Women Voters (1920) and the National Council of Negro Women (1935), fought to procure equality for women. An equal rights amendment drafted in 1923 by the National Women's party (founded 1913) remained dormant for another 50 years. However, one might want to consider the fact that if the issue is important enough, the participants involved will never let sleeping dogs lie.

### **Analysis of Contributing Factor for Wage Gap**

Conversely, since the Great Recession, we have seen a substantial number of women entering and/or returning to the workforce, but have women gone as far as they can? In an article titled “The Gender Gap: Have Women Gone as Far as They Can?” *Academy of Management Perspectives*, Blau & Kahn examines gender pay and the gap that exists between the both. Blau & Kahn analyzes how far women have come in the workplace.

According to Blau & Kahn’s research, the work trends in the gender pay gap in the United States outline a diverse picture. For example, women continue to earn considerably less than men on average, and the convergence that began in the late 1970s slowed noticeably in the 1990s (Blau & Kahn, 2007). The article outlines or attempts to explain the different trends of employment of women over a course of time.

When analyzing the trends, a review of underlying reasons for the wage gap is considered. In one instance, a review of the labor market was analyzed to see what effect, if any, the market contributed to inequality of wages in 1980. Blau & Kahn found that one contributing factor for the wage gap was the qualification of men workers over women workers.

Blau & Kahn further analyzed the progress of the highest-earning women executives in the U.S. during the Great Recession as of 2008. The authors note that the "Forbes Life Executive Woman (FLEW)" magazine's list of the top 100 highest-paid women executives indicates that women are not achieving equality at work. The bias and barriers between men and women executives emphasize that men executives still receive higher pay than women. Hence from the Virginia Slims slogan ... "You've Come A Long Way Baby", current research reveals that women have a longer way to go.

**Narrowing the Gap**

In the same manner, according to the Double-Bind Dilemma for Women in Leadership: Dammed if You Do; Doomed if You Don't ... the key barriers to women's advancement in corporate leadership is gender stereotyping (Evans, 2011). Another reason for the barriers is that men are considered leaders by default, and women are not.

More times than not, women are considered to be too soft and lacking the ability to take risks, while men are considered risk takers and problem solvers. However, given the critic's borderline sexist conclusions based on clichés and generalizations of male and female personality traits, one must almost discredit the source unless the message given is that, in order to succeed, female executives must take on a more typically masculine persona.

As women continue to climb the ladder, further research is needed to expose the invisible bias and barriers that contribute to the inequality of wages as they relate to women in the workplace. The researcher's task is to evaluate further research on the barriers and differential between the salaries and positions given to women and men.

Overall, further research will focus on eradicating bias and barriers in the workplace as they relate to men and women. The researcher's goal is to research the question of overcoming ambiguity of breaking through barriers of unfair wage practices and career advancement for men over women.

In short, Wangari Maathai says it best, "In the course of history, there comes a time when humanity is called to shift to a new level of consciousness, to reach a higher moral ground, a time when we have to shed our fear and give hope to each other. That time is now."

This researcher clearly sees the pattern of women across the globe and realizes that they to seek the way forward into a new pattern leading women into the light of acceptance and a chance to earn equitable pay and treatment in the work-a-day world in which we live.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the variance between men and women in the workplace. Overall the researcher will observe the current legislation regarding the Equal Pay Act and determine if the current legislation is still a work in progress or if the current legislation should be replaced entirely.

Specifically, this study will examine the shift from access of senior level management positions traditionally held by men now that are currently held by women to inequality in compensation.

Research Question: It is evident that women can break through the symbolic glass ceiling, but can women receive access to equality in compensation? Has there really been any progress at erasing the gender gap and establishing complete gender equality in the workplace? What are the bias and barriers that limit access to equal compensation for women in senior level management positions?

This chapter describes the research design; the role of the researchers; the data collections, analysis and interpretation procedures; and the limitations that arose from the methodology selected for this investigation.

### **Research Design**

This analysis explored the variance between men and women in the workplace. Overall the researcher will observe the current legislation regarding the Equal Pay Act and determine if

the current legislation is still a work in progress or if the current legislation should be replaced entirely.

### **Role of the Researcher**

This researcher is qualified for conducting research into the area of wage inequality and discrimination based on the researcher's professional and personal experience with the subject matter. The researcher has observed and in some cases has been directly involved with issues relating to equal pay and equality in the workplace for women. The researcher also has personal knowledge from previous employment where men were paid more than women who worked in the same or similar positions.

### **Data Analysis, Interpretation and Limitations**

The researcher proposes to use literature reviews, case studies and comparisons; surveys; and statistical analysis of data. The researcher's strategy is to gather information from other scholars who have researched and explored the same or similar disparities. After a complete analysis of the literature, the researcher will rely on case studies completed by other researchers, in addition to any new studies that the researcher will conduct and/or compare.

One obvious limitation that the researcher will face is accountability. Current legislation, like the Equal Pay Act, makes it challenging for companies to admit or reveal the real reason for paying men more than women. Another limitation is receiving access to uncompromised data relating to the overall compensation of women to men.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

This study proposes modeling the bias and barriers that exist in the workplace for women who continue to shatter the glass ceiling. The disparity of wages in the workplace is an issue that has plagued generations of women seeking to better their socioeconomic status. The struggle has

been an ongoing fight to secure a foothold in various industries and top paying executive jobs. Unequal compensation in the workplace for women has led to lower wages, adding to the consensus that the only place a woman belongs is in the kitchen or the bedroom is outdated and irrational in this day and time.

The fight for equality in the job market is essential for women as they are taking on more nontraditional roles in the family unit. Becoming the breadwinner responsible for the economic success of the family is becoming the norm rather than the exception for most women in society today. It is an essential reason for the adoption of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which attempted to give women access to equality in compensation in the workplace.

### **Women Returning in the Labor Force**

Women returning to the labor force have increased in every occupation over the last ten years. For example, Figure 1, more women were employed as financial managers in 2010 than in 2000. For the purpose of this research, the occupation as a financial manager is defined as an individual who provides financial support to the Chief Executive Officer and other senior level management. Financial managers also perform data analysis and play an important role in the company's merger and acquisitions process (United States Bureau of Statistics "2000-2010").

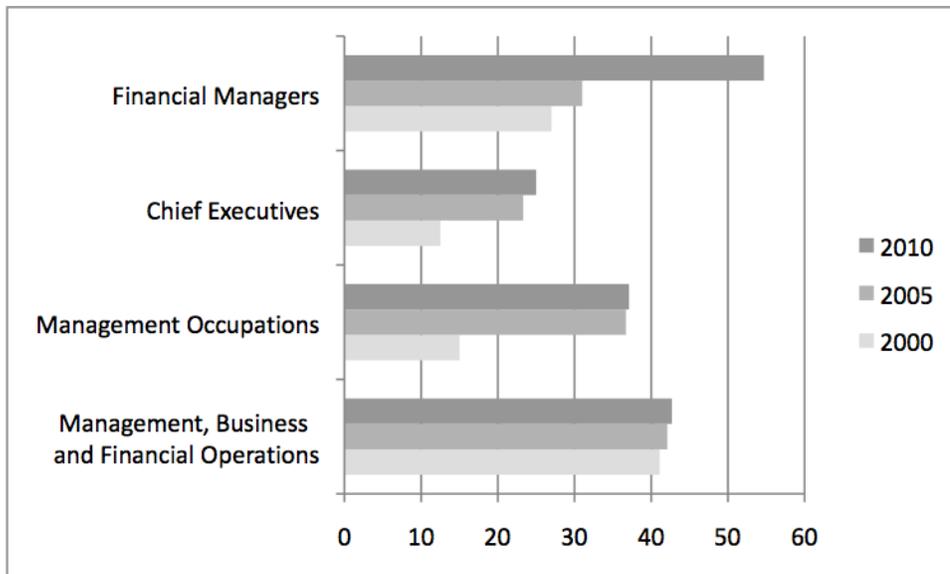


Figure 1. Women Returning to the Workforce.

### Weekly Earnings for Men and Women

In Figure 2, a compiled survey from the United States Department Of Labor confirms that the average weekly earnings for women working in executive positions are less than those of men. The researcher also observed that while there has been an increasing number of women gaining access to more senior level management positions (e.g. financial managers), women are still falling short in receiving access to equal compensation as shown in Figure 2 (United States Bureau of Statistics “2000-2010”).

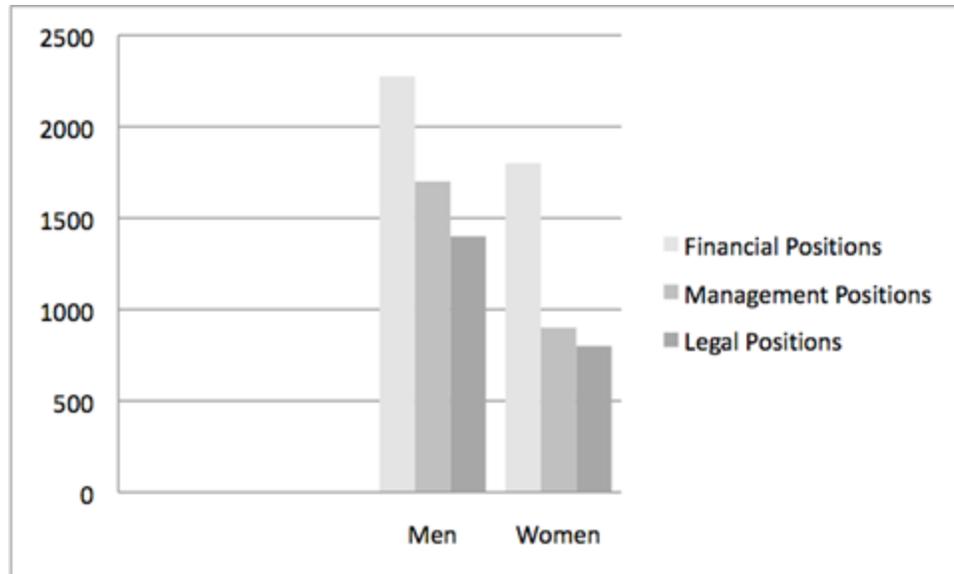


Figure 2. Weekly Earning For Men and Women in Executive Positions.

### Wage Gap

The outline in Figure 3 shown below suggests that in 2011, women (who were full-time employees) earned \$37,118, while men (who were in the same employment group) earned \$48,202, leaving a difference in pay of \$11,084, as shown in the chart. According to the 2012 census statistics report, women earned 77.0 percent of men's overall earnings in 2011, as compared to earning 77.4 percent in 2010 (National Committee on Pay Equity, 2013).

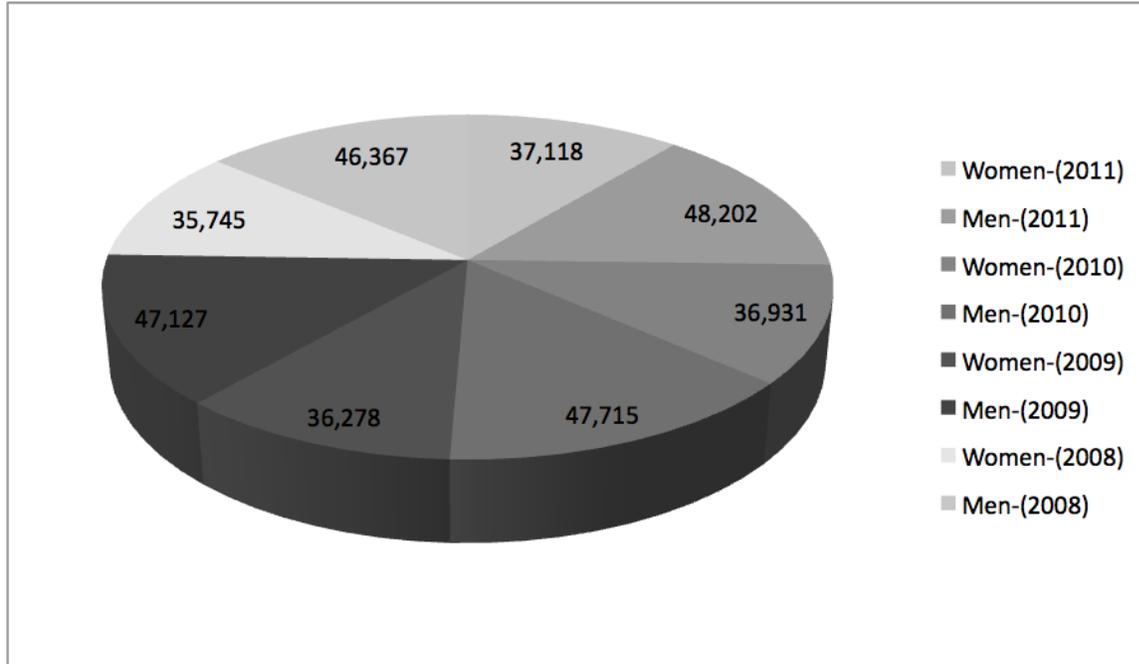


Figure 3. Wage Gap.

**Wage Gap vs. Levels of Education**

Figure 4 further suggests that the wage gap persists at all levels of education. In 2011, women in the United States with a high school diploma working full time, year round, was paid only 74 cents for every dollar paid to her male counterpart. Among people with a bachelor’s degree, the figure was also 74 cents for every dollar. In fact, the typical woman who has received an associate’s degree still is not paid as much as the typical man who only graduated from high school (National Committee on Pay Equity, 2013).

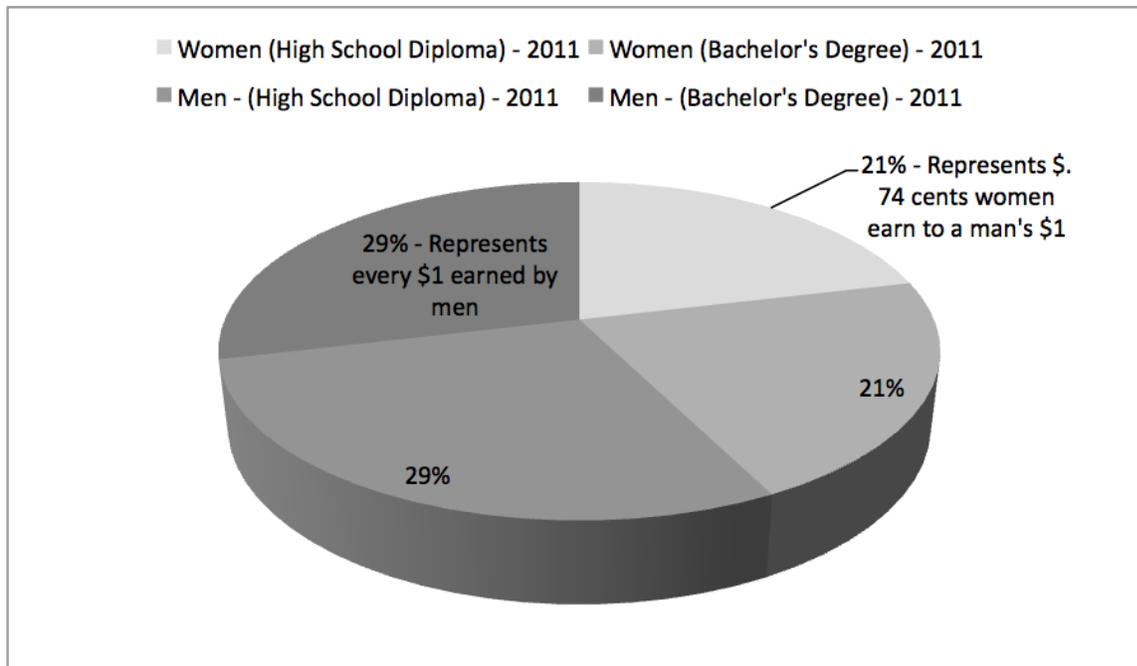


Figure 4. Wage Gap Educational Level.

### Analysis

Women have proven that they can shatter the symbolic glass ceiling; however female executives have yet to attain compensation equal to that of their male counterparts. While research backs up the ability of female workers to rise to high level positions, the wage disparity between genders indicates that complete equality has yet to be attained. Women in senior level management positions must now identify and quash the remaining barriers to true gender equality as represented by equal compensation.

### Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

Women have consistently shown, with opportunity, their talent can give way to great successes. Rosa Parks, a working woman too tired to adhere to the constraints of discrimination, sparked a movement that supported equal rights for people of color. Rosie and her riveters took on jobs abandoned by men due to the World War II and successfully kept the economy running until the men returned home from the war. Likewise, Savannah's own Juliette Gordon Low

found the Girl Scouts of America, which seeks to empower women by instilling in girls the mind frame that they can do anything.

More specifically, society has witnessed a shift in the job market. Now more women are being hired and appointed to senior level management positions, but women are not receiving equal compensation. While some researchers would argue that the wage disparity between men and women has improved over the last decade, current research reveal that women are still collectively underpaid in comparison to their male counterparts. Moreover, women in the workplace ultimately seek the same benefits afforded to men including, but not limited to, personal compensation and bonus. Achieving comparability between the private and public sectors requires considering both direct and other benefits, such as forty hour week, bonuses, life and health insurance and vacations to name a few. Overall, the objective is to focus on the shift from women obtaining access to senior level management positions to receiving access to equal compensation.

The investigated concerns of women receiving access to equal compensation in the work place have led to more questions. In this perspective, the researcher investigated concerns about women receiving access to equal compensation in the work place. The researcher looked at past accomplishments that lead women onto the road to redemption and visited legislation seeking to improve the statutes that dictate success in the woman's world. However, as women continue to cautiously transition from domesticated employment roles to key executive positions in the job market, an underlining bias still exists as to the wage compensations earned by these women and more women to follow. It is without doubt that women in corporate America are still struggling to obtain access to equal compensation for equal work.

Based on the findings of this study, it is the researcher's recommendation that current legislation, including The Paycheck Fairness Act (S.84,HR.377) as it relates to the EEOC and EPA, be re-examined and revised to adequately protect the interest of women in the work place and to ensure that women are receiving access to equal compensation.

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## Appendix A: List of Acronyms

CEO	Chief Executive Officer
COO	Chief Operating Officer
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EPA	Equal Pay Act
FPA	Fair Pay Act
IBM	International Business Machines
NCPE	National Committee for Pay Equity
PFA	Paycheck Fairness Act

Appendix B: List of Authorities

**Case**

*Ledbetter vs. Goodyear, 421 F.3d 1169(11<sup>th</sup> Circuit 2005)*

**Statutes**

Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42.U.S.C. §2000e2 (a)(1)

Equal Pay Act, 29 U.S.C. §206(d)

Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, S.181 (111<sup>th</sup>)

Paycheck Fairness Act, S.84, HR.377

## Appendix C: Smallest Gender Wage Gap

**Top 10 occupations with the smallest gender wage gap**

Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers, by detailed occupation and sex, 2011

Occupation	Women's earnings as a percent of men's	Women's median weekly earnings	Men's median weekly earnings	Difference in women's median weekly earnings	Percentage of women in occupation	Number of all workers	Number of women workers
Respiratory therapists	106.4%	\$1,028	\$966	\$62	57.9%	126,000	73,000
Computer support specialists	106.1%	\$951	\$896	\$55	24.7%	434,000	107,000
Operations research analysts	105.4%	\$1,326	\$1,258	\$68	44.0%	116,000	51,000
Stock clerks and order fillers	102.7%	\$501	\$488	\$13	34.0%	992,000	337,000
Medical scientists	102.3%	\$1,127	\$1,102	\$25	55.3%	141,000	78,000
Bookkeeping, accounting, and auditing clerks	100.3%	\$656	\$654	\$2	87.0%	862,000	750,000
Packers and packagers, hand	100.3%	\$397	\$396	\$1	55.5%	300,000	165,000
Receptionists and information clerks	99.8%	\$520	\$521	\$(1)	91%	868,000	790,000
Police and sheriff's patrol officers	99.0%	\$938	\$948	\$(10)	11.5%	653,000	75,000
Computer and information systems managers	96.7%	\$1,543	\$1,595	\$(52)	26%	530,000	138,000

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2011," available at <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpswom2011.pdf> (last accessed April 2013).

Reference: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/>

## Appendix D: Largest Gender Wage Gap

**Top 10 occupations with the largest gender wage gap**

Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers, by detailed occupation and sex, 2011

Occupation	Women's earnings as a percent of men's	Women's median weekly earnings	Men's median weekly earnings	Difference in women's median weekly earnings	Percentage of women in occupation	Number of all workers	Number of women workers
Property, real estate, and community association managers	60.6%	\$728	\$1,201	\$(473)	57.4%	317,000	182,000
Personal financial advisors	61.3%	\$941	\$1,535	\$(594)	35.9%	270,000	97,000
Credit counselors and loan officers	61.6%	\$829	\$1,345	\$(516)	52%	306,000	159,000
Insurance sales agents	64.4%	\$665	\$1,033	\$(368)	52.3%	384,000	201,000
First line supervisors of housekeeping and janitorial workers	64.6%	\$406	\$756	\$(350)	37.4%	179,000	67,000
Financial managers	65.9%	\$991	\$1,504	\$(513)	54.3%	1,044,000	567,000
Marketing and sales managers	67.9%	\$1,127	\$1,660	\$(533)	44%	891,000	392,000
Inspectors, testers, sorters, samplers, and weighers	68.3%	\$541	\$792	\$(251)	34.9%	608,000	212,000
Chief executives	69%	\$1,464	\$2,122	\$(658)	24.8%	990,000	245,000
Education administrators	69.3%	\$1,061	\$1,532	\$(471)	63.5%	735,000	467,000

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2011," available at <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpswom2011.pdf> (last accessed April 2013).

*Reference:* U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2011). Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/ooh/>

## **Professional Sports in America: The Federal Government Impact in Major League Baseball**

*Shymia Frasier, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*This study is to show Americans how government influences professional sports in America. The federal government's impact on professional sports is greater than investigating scandals and conducting congressional hearings. The foundation of all of the major American professional teams is government influence. The federal government has a job to make and enforce the laws and in a sense it does that job perfectly upsetting many American fans. On another note it also helps with the business of sports leagues so that people will have entertainment and so that the states can make money. Steroid use is a major issue in which with it, it hurts our society and sends out a bad message but without it performance of athletes in MLB for exactly are not there it would be with the use of steroids. Without government intervention of MLB, no proposals would be made to enforce steroids laws. It is known that without governmental involvement our professional sports world would not exist and be what it is today.*

### **Introduction**

The federal government's impact on professional sports is greater than just investigating scandals and conducting congressional hearings (George, 2008). American sports fans agree that governmental involvement in professional sports, whether it be for the investigation of steroid use or ensuring that sports laws are being followed, is not needed when it comes to the professional sports world. The federal government is in every aspect of American life including professional sports, for various reasons that go beyond athletes being looked at in a higher standard.

**Statement of the Problem**

Surveys show that American sports fans do not agree with government involvement in the professional world. People still have to question as to why the government feel it plays a role in the sports world. It is a problem because Americans look up to professional athletes the same way young people do, some living to be just like them. With the special spotlight and aspiration, special treatment from the government as well is not good for society. For people who are not famous, it would suggest that fame and talent means people can live law free and the rest of world is held to a lower standard. Steroid use and publication that our looked upon athletes are using such drugs for enhancing performances sends a bad message out to our youth and aspiring athletes in grade school and in college. It is clear that the American sports industries could not be what they are today without government involvement (George, 2008).

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is to explore how the federal government impact professional sports outside of making laws and forcing everyone to follow them, proposing to sports fans that government is more involvement for positive reasons than they may realize. Positive influence can be anything from how much money the government invests in a sport or the facility that the sport team uses. Steroid use is a main reason the government steps in for if not the government nothing can or would be done to fix that problem. This study will show just how involved the government is in the professional sports world, and how the government also allows fame and talent to be a big part of our world. If the government does not police steroids in any way and lets them be widely used by professional athletes, with no consequence, younger people may start to believe it is okay to use these drugs. It will be seen as though steroids are a must if you plan on becoming a professional athlete. Sometimes this improper use by young athletes has

deadly consequences. If steroids are regulated more by the government and made illegal, less young athletes would be inclined to use and more lives could possibly be saved steroids and sports.

### **Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study explores governmental influence and involvement in professional sports leagues. The study also discovers Major League Baseball (MLB) and steroid use by athletes and what government is doing to overcome that problem. This study shows that sports and government are indeed apart of one another because of the world we live in today. Sports play a huge role in our everyday lives and society. American citizens live by the law and professional sports are something many people demand, enjoy, and for some even live for. The federal government not only funds many facilities, but it also gives tax breaks, and even special treatment towards anti-trust laws. These examples shows how involved our government is with our sports world and even the simple parts of our everyday life. With this study American sport fans will have a better understanding and would not have to question as to why our government has involvement when it comes to our sports industry.

This research question will cover the key and fundamental aspects of government involvement in the sports world. It will cover what the government is doing for the world of sports and MLB when it comes to drug use, and how it impacts our society. It will also cover how our government goes about doing it and why the government invests itself with professional sports, and at the level of involvement it has with the topic when there are other important things bigger than demand going on in the world.

Research Question: Whether MLB should be allowed to use performance enhancing drugs regardless of the impact it has on our society, and if and why the government should get in the way of it.

### **Definition of Terms**

*Federal:* Of, relating to, or being a form of government in which a union of states recognizes the sovereignty of a central authority while retaining certain residual powers of government (Federal, 2000).

*Government:* The act or process of governing the control and administration of public policy in a political unit (Government, 2004).

*Influence:* A power affecting a person, thing, or course of events, especially one that operates without any direct or apparent effort (Influence, 2001).

*Major League Baseball (MLB):* A professional baseball league consisting of teams that play in the American League and the National League. The two leagues merged in 2000 into a single organization led by the Commissioner of Baseball, after 100 years as separate legal entities (Major League, 2004).

*Professional sports:* As opposed to amateur sports, are sports in which athletes receive payment for their performance? Professional athleticism has come to the fore through a combination of developments. Mass media and increased leisure have brought larger audiences, so that sports organizations or teams can command large incomes. As a result, more sportspeople can afford to make athleticism their primary career, devoting the training time necessary to increase skills, physical condition, and experience to modern levels of achievement. This proficiency has also helped boost the popularity of sports (Professional, 2005).

*Steroids*: A steroid is a type of organic compound that contains a characteristic arrangement of four cycloalkane rings that are joined to each other. Examples of steroids include the dietary fat cholesterol, the sex hormones estradiol and testosterone, and the anti-inflammatory drug dexamethasone (Steroids, 2003).

### **Literature Review**

This literature review identifies the argument and ideals behind government involvement in professional sports. There are several landmark proposals already researched to give some insight on how the federal government influences professional sports in America, such as *Government and Sports: Where Integrity Stops and Control Begins* by Jeff Yang, *For Government Involvement*, author Unknown, and “Clean sports and Dirty Politics”, by Christopher S. Storm. These articles largely discuss the proposals for steroid testing legislations for MLB and the government’s dirty involvement of sticking their nose where it does not belong. American sports fans and reporters speak largely on how government and congress does dirty politics and is also overlooking the fourth amendment, player’s privacy laws (Storm, 1995). Regional governments provide a large amount of funding that is used to build sport facilities.

Local governments also grant tax breaks which in some cases include waiving property taxes, or arranging for special deals like “payment in lieu of taxes” which give incentives to sports owners (George, 2008). This information shows that even though the government steps in and does its job making fans and sports owners angry, it also plays a huge role in the success of our professional world and the funding government provides. Without the federal government it is clear that these sports leagues could not operate and the influence it has on professional sports in America is big, and Americans should be aware of that.

Having performance-enhancing drugs be widely used by known athletes creates problems for our society in a way that no one but the government can clean up and fix. Spectators feel as if who cares if athletes use performance enhanced drugs to better their play, but what they do not see is the effect that it will have not only on the lives of the players because some of these drugs have long term consequences. Another factor deals with the way society would be affected if athletes are allowed to use drugs, seeing that students all over feel as if it is okay to do certain things and lives all over could be destroyed and the growth of our youth would be affected.

Impact and influence weighs heavily when it comes to the spotlight being able to break laws that the rest of the world must abide by. It is not fair and also it sends out a bad message. Young adults and students would believe that it is fine to cheat to be better and they would not try as hard to be a good athlete. It would suggest that natural ability with hard work is not applicable and people all over would be on drugs.

### **Performance Enhancing Drugs**

Performance enhancing drugs is widely talked about but little to no information is known about other than the usual the idea that athletes are using harmful drugs to get ahead in life. The use of performance enhancing drugs has tracked the rise and fall of mass-entertainment sports. Going back to the ancient Olympics and Roman times, athletes used performance-enhancing herbs and mushrooms in order to improve their performance in competition by making them faster, stronger or braver (Osborne, 2005).

Steroids finally made it to “baseballs banned substance” list in 1991, however, testing for major league players did not begin until the 2003 season (Grossman, et al, n.d). In 1996, the Orioles, Mariners, and A's all broke their single season home run records. In 1998 Mark McGwire destroyed Roger Maris home run record, closely followed by Cubs slugger Sammy

Sosa (Grossman et al, n.d). These miracles and highly looked upon baseball players were doing amazing things which to fans were almost impossible but it suggests that steroids were always in the picture. Three years later, Barry Bonds broke McGwire's home run record. A change in the nature and frequency of injuries also pointed to increased steroid use. Furthermore, the nature of injuries changed to ailments resulting from oversized muscles ripping away from bones that could no longer support them (Assael, 2005).

Because of all the stipulation and injuries occurring, the agreement with the Major League Baseball Player Association (MLBPA) called for one random test per player per year with no punishments in the first year. If more than 5% of players tested positive in 2003, tougher, punitive testing would be implemented with penalties ranging from counseling for a first offense to a maximum one year suspension for a fifth violation (Assael, 2005). If less than 2.5% of players tested positive in two consecutive years, testing would be dropped. Negotiators felt that this would give players who were currently using time to clean up. In November of 2003, however, MLB announced that more than 5% of players had tested positive and that testing would continue in 2004 (Assael, 2005).

After players continuously failed drug testing polices, in January of 2005, MLB and the MLBPA announced a new drug testing policy. The new policy, currently in effect, includes year-round testing and stricter penalties for steroid use. Penalties for positive tests remain toothless compared to other sports, starting with a ten day unpaid suspension for the first offense and a potential life ban, at the commissioners discretion, for the fifth (Grossman et al, n.d). This new drug testing policy ensured that baseball players would follow the law and help themselves because if not they would only be throwing their career away. It was not hard to figure out who was on drugs and who wasn't because as stated above the drugs helped out a ton when it came to

performances (Grossman et al, n.d).

### **Government Involvement**

Baseball's inability to enact and enforce tough punishments for steroid use led to Congress involvement in the issue. In 2004, Senator John McCain informed baseball officials that Congress would intervene unless tougher testing is instituted (Bodley, 2004). In March 2005, players and representatives of the League and the MLBPA were called to testify before the House Government Reform Committee (Dahlberg, 2005). Sluggers Rafael Palmeiro, Mark McGwire, Frank Thomas, Sammy Sosa and Jose Canseco and pitcher Curt Schilling testified to varying degrees on their use of steroids and use by their teammates. Former commissioner Fay Vincent, Commissioner Bud Selig and Player Association leader Donald Fehr were also subpoenaed to appear (AP, 2005). In May, Palmeiro tested positive for steroid use and was given a ten-day suspension, although Congress declined to charge him with perjury (Fendrich, 2005).

The pressure from the Capital was likely a driving force behind the two increasingly strict new policies of 2004-2005 (Grossman et al, n.d). With its legislative power, Congress is able to obtain leverage over both the League and the Players, for example by revoking baseball anti-trust exemption or instituting tough new anti-doping policies through legislation (Grossman et al, n.d). Congress had no choice but to step in and regulate taking it to another level and making it known that they were serious. The steps that were being taken were based off the failed attempts for the Major League Baseball Association (MLBA) to handle the players and their addiction from the beginning. If not for the government, most baseball players would still be using these drugs and harming their bodies in the process.

Congress also moved in small steps to earn its credibility. It began by first making public

announcements as early as 2004. The House followed up by holding hearings in March 2005 and the Senate held hearings in September (AP, 2005). At these hearings, Senator McCain turned up the pressure by telling Donald Fehr “We're at the end here, and I don't want to do it, but we need an agreement soon. It's not complicated. It's not complicated. All sports fans understand it, I suggest you act and you act soon” (AP, 2005).

Finally, Congress increased its commitment by introducing legislation. Senator McCain proposed the Clean Sports Act of 2005, a companion to a similar House bill. Senator Bunning, a Kentucky Republican, sponsored the Professional Sports and Integrity Act. The two Senate Acts were later consolidated behind one united front (Fendrich, 2005).

Baseball’s use of steroids creates problems for everybody where as it is an issue that only the government can control. Using this research as a tool to investigate exactly where congress and our government comes in as and how they are needed shows that it is much serious than many American sports fans realize. Even though MLB is not the only sport to use performance-enhancing drugs it is the one mostly used as an example. MLB has had the most problems to the point that the law had to step in and put it to an end. These players were not only hurting themselves but everyone from government to society.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of the study is to explore how the federal government impact professional sports outside of making laws and forcing everyone to follow them. Major League Baseball sets the example of government involvement and how invested they are in to making sure they follow the rules. To propose to sports fans that government has more involvement for positive reasons than they may realize, especially when it comes to MLB.

Research Question: Whether MLB should be allowed to use performance enhancing drugs regardless of the impact it has on our society, and if and why the government should get in the way of it.

This analysis explores how the government influences professional sports; it shows that many people are fairly interested in the topic for the very reason that the professional world of sports is a demand in our economy and with the intervention of government that demand is still high, but strongly disliked. MLB and their steroid use is a topic many fans would have an opinion on. Whether or not it is appropriate and how it affects our society.

### **Role of Researcher**

This researcher is qualified for conducting research into the area of the federal government impact in major league baseball. Generalizing to a population who understands what is going on and who cares to a certain extent to give more analytical thought and insight to the world of sports, and even if they are not sports fans people who are into the politics of sports would report back good results. Generalizing to the younger population such as high school or younger would not bring back good results or and high samples because they do not care about the politics of sports. They only want the excitement of going to watch the game or being in an area filled with exciting events that are occurring. So that leaves generalizing to an older population.

### **Data Collection & Analysis**

Data will be collected by using the basic research paradigm, which is to 1) Define the population; 2) Draw a representative sample from the population; 3) Do the research on the sample; and 4) Infer results from the sample back to the population. A sample of unit of analysis over males and females between the ages of 20-45 who are apart of some type of social

organization, a professor, or even just a well-educated student who has knowledge of sports legislation is where the samples will come from. This type of sample limits the study to the borders of college campuses and the people around it. Out of that come better interviews, surveys, and more knowledge on the subject. The procedure and time frame analysis will be consists of surveys and samples being taken and done over a period of a week. Surveys over steroids use and the outcomes of opinions will be the main source of information being reviewed.

During this research any limitations that may appear will result in direct treatment of the data of the surveys being taken. After sending out 100 surveys to a chosen population only 68 people actually took the survey. That limited the results and held off from an exact percentage of opinions. Government's actions and response to the testimony of Capitol Hill for such offenses limits the direction of the study because if government does nothing, and only talk about it the probability of performance-enhancing drugs will continue at its same rate.

### **Data Analysis and Results**

In this chapter the results of the data analysis that was conducted is presented. The data was organized and collected based off the responses to the problems presented in Chapter One Introduction. Two main ideas drove the collection of the data, which were to develop a base of knowledge about government impact in major league baseball, and to determine if performance enhancing drugs affects our society and if it should be allowed. These objectives were accomplished. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate the non-probability samples taken from all ages in a college community.

Research Question: Whether MLB should be allowed to use performance enhancing drugs regardless of the impact it has on our society, and if and why the government should get in the way of it.

### Involvement of Government

MLB's inability to stop the drug use is what led Congress to get involved in situation. It became such a problem that they had to begin to create laws just to ensure that everything would go according to the MLBPA rule book. Without government involvement baseball players would continue to use drugs and do as they please. Below, surveys were conducted where several questions were asked getting the opinions from sports fans and college teenagers, on their thought and ideas of MLB and government involvement. The data below presented was conducted over five days allowing students and others to answer truthfully on how knowledgeable they were on MLB and how important performance enhancing drugs being used is when it comes to our society.

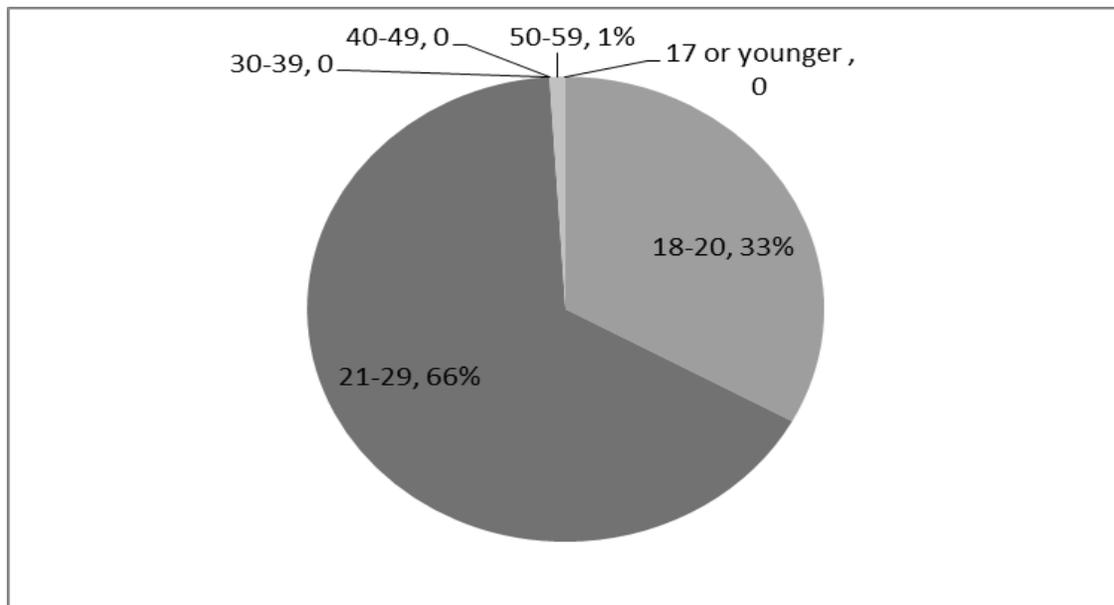
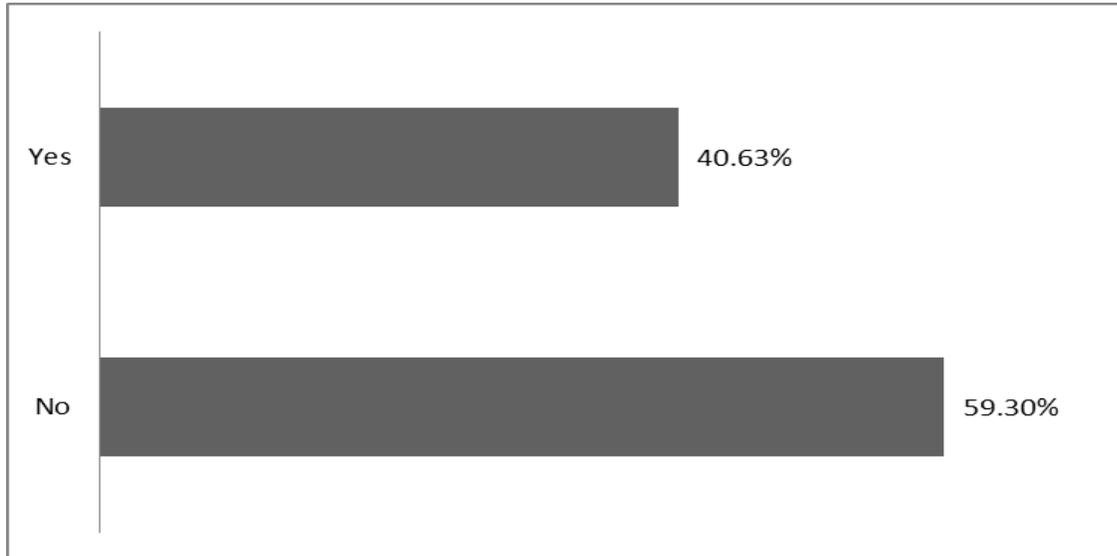


Figure 1. Age Group of Participants.

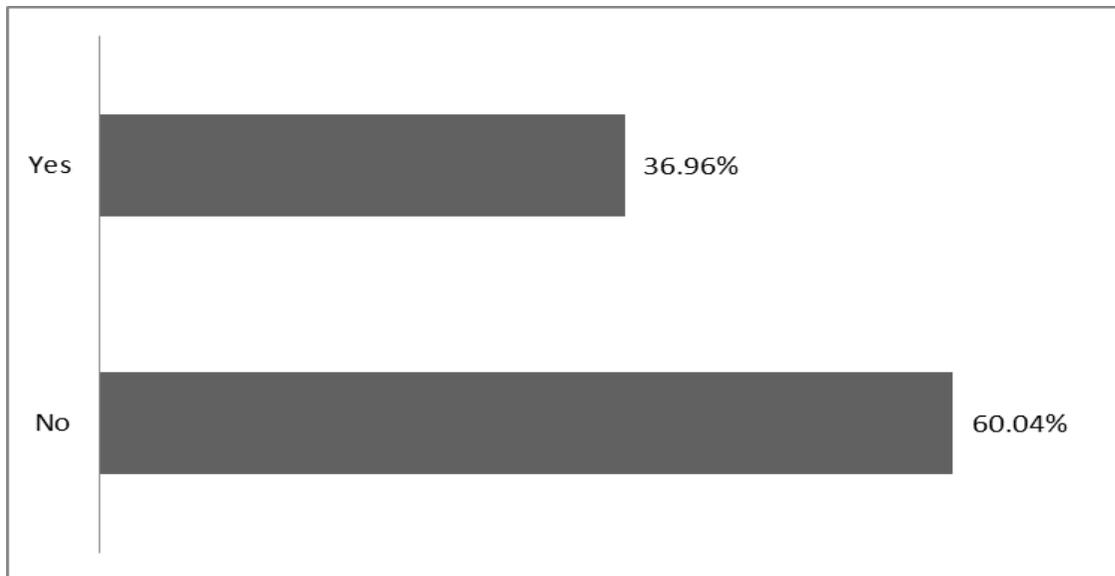
Figure 1 represents the age group of those taking the survey was asked for specific reasons. It is important to know what type of audience you have and exactly what type of sample you are analyzing. Looking at the data of the people who took the survey, they are all above the age of 18. Most are between the ages of 21-29, which they have some knowledge in sort of MLB

and their opinion on government involvement can be a valid adult opinion. Only one person between the ages of 50-59 saw and took the survey, which was predicted in Chapter Three Research Methodology, that the population of the research was correct.



*Figure 2.* Interest of Politics.

Figure 2 shows whether or not participants were interest with the politics of sports. These results gives a feel of what type of people you are dealing with when it comes to the opinion of MLB and government involvement. You would want to know if they are interested in the topic beforehand to see if the results you get back are accurate and are from people who actually care about the topic at hand. This survey shows that 54.35% of people are not interested in the politics of sports, but still took the survey anyways. Of the 45.65% of people who do care about the politics of sports, it shows that the survey was taken by 50% of people who are interested than of those who are not.



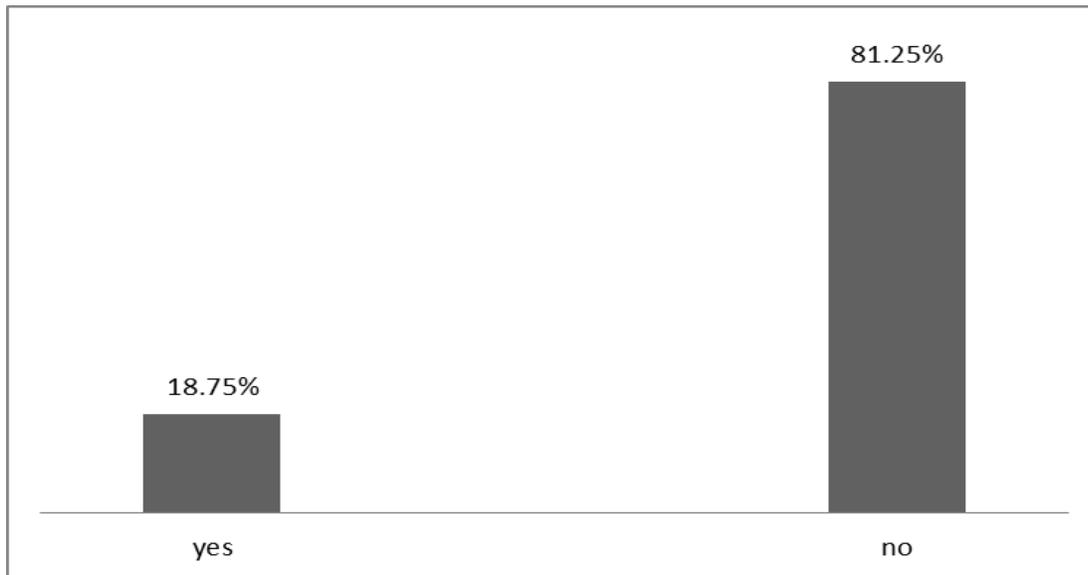
*Figure 3.* Government Involvement Necessary in Professional Sports.

Figure 3 shows the results of the opinions of a sample of analysis taken by people between the ages of 21-29 who do not believe that government involvement is needed in MLB or any professional sport. The impact our government has in MLB is viewed by survey takers as unnecessary. Most young adults in the 17-22 age groups do not read deep into the discussion of why the government plays a role. They only assume that something such as our entertainment being that it is what particularly keeps our world going and growing with business, bringing in money should need no help from government because it would only make things complicated.

### **Performance Enhancing Drugs in Sports**

Having performance enhancing drugs be widely used by known athletes creates problems for our society in a way that no one but the government can clean up and fix. Some feel as if who cares if athletes use performance enhanced drugs to better their play, but what they do not see is the effect that it will have not only on the lives of the players because some of these drugs have long term consequences. Another factor is how society would be affected if athletes were allowed to use drugs, believing that students all over would feel as if it is okay to do drugs and

lives could be destroyed along with the growth of our youth would be affected. Impact and influence plays an important role when it comes to the spotlight being able to do things that the rest of the world is not allowed to do. The use of performance enhanced drugs in sports is not fair and it sends out a bad message that it is acceptable to cheat to be better and they would not try as hard to be a good athlete. It would suggest that natural ability with hard work is not applicable and people all over would be on drugs.



*Figure 4.* MLB Viewers.

Figure 4 show that 80% of data of the people who answered the survey do not watch Major League Baseball. This data shows that people do not care about the sport as much as the care about the politics when it comes to sports. General information would suggest that if you do not like major league baseball then you would not care if the government is involved in it or not. But the data presents a different case. This data shows that people care about our youth and our society and the impact that MLB would have on our youth. Regardless, if people watch MLB or not, they still care.

No, I believe the game should be played and players should prepare fairly. For example, the old way which is lifting weights, running and having the correct nutrition and diet to maintain correct muscle mass.

3/26/2013 11:48 PM

Because it's a sense of cheating

3/26/2013 11:46 PM

It should be illegal due to the fact that it's not natural performance. If it was legal then there should be a limit to the dosage of enhancers.

3/26/2013 11:30 PM

They shouldn't it is a unfair opportunity to the other player

3/26/2013 11:27 PM

Using performance enhancement drugs is having an unfair advantage

3/26/2013 11:12 PM

Yes. Unfair advantage.

3/26/2013 11:08 PM

I agree, they have long term damaging effects

3/26/2013 10:12 PM

No

3/26/2013 10:09 PM

Its unfair advantage

3/26/2013 10:07 PM

*Figure 5. Response to Open-Ended Question.*

Figure 5 is participant responses to the survey question “Do you feel as if MLB players should not use performance enhancing drugs to better their game? If so please explain below.”

Figure 6 shows that, even though not many people who answered the survey have previous knowledge on drug use in MLB, they all still had an opinion on whether or not performance-enhancing drugs is needed or if it affects our society. By looking at only some of the answers provided you can see that everyone disagrees and believe that performance-enhancing drugs is harmful in the way that it affect our society and that it is also cheating because everyone should win using their own strengths and talents. Our youth will be greatly affected if kids got the impression that it was okay to use drugs to become successful.

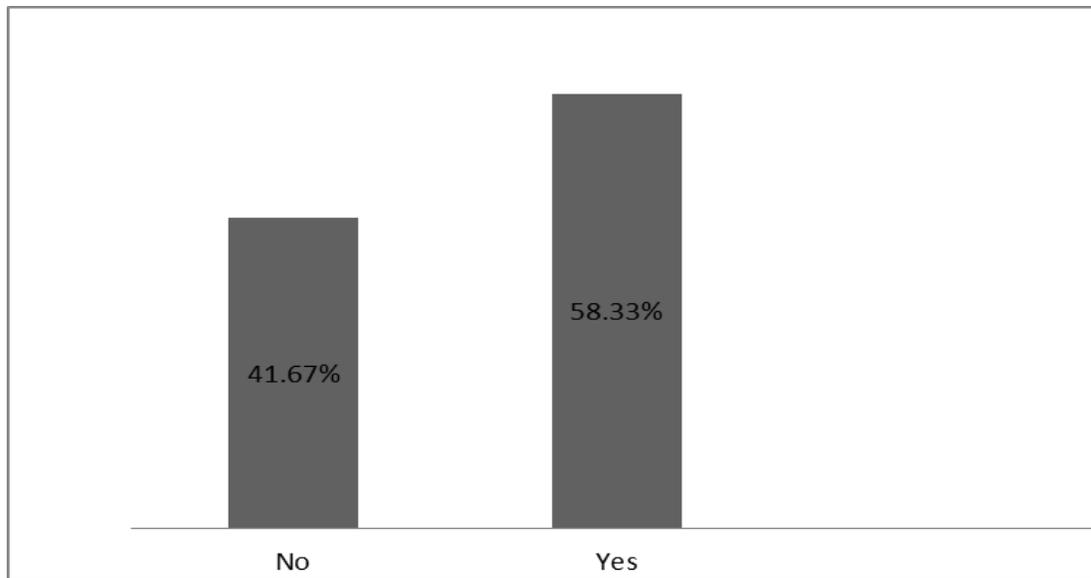


Figure 6. Prior Knowledge to MLB and Its Drug Use.

Figure 6 like that of figure 5 and 7 responds to the data in a way that represents the age population that was presented in the data analysis to show that more than 50 percent of survey takers had prior knowledge of MLB and its drug use. This question was asked specifically to see where society stood when it came to government making MLB a big ordeal because of the policies that were being broken, but was Americans aware of those policies and did they care. This figure shows that although they had knowledge of what was going on many still, using figures 4, 5, and 7 to back this up, had no interest in the politics of sports or watched MLB.

Yes, society looks up to the media. What's shown or allowed will be mocked amongst fans & peers.  
 3/26/2013 11:30 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 yes, upcoming children who see this is how they look at how they can be at that level  
 3/26/2013 11:27 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 Yes. It would give others an excuse to use them as well.  
 3/26/2013 11:12 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 Yes. Athletes won't be great athletes.  
 3/26/2013 11:08 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 Not necessarily. There are plenty of people in the world using enhancers, it's not just in baseball.  
 3/26/2013 11:08 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 Yes, because that would cause others to want to be better also  
 3/26/2013 11:03 PM [View respondent's answers](#)  
 Not so much but fans will be disappointed if their favorite athlete is fired.  
 3/26/2013 10:59 PM [View respondent's answers](#)

Figure 7. Effects of MLB's Continued Drug Use.

Figure 7 shows the varied responses to the question “If MLB players continued to use drugs to better their game, do you believe our society would be affected?” based upon the answers given from this specific population these survey takers felt as if society looks up to the media and if drugs were allowed to better game performance it would be mocked all over by fans and peers. Others felt as if they wouldn’t be considered true athletes because it wouldn’t be their natural ability. On the flip side some said that there is nothing wrong using enhancing for the simple fact that enhancers are used in many things just not baseball. The only issue with this is that right or wrong our society will look at the world as if it is okay to cheat and other than cheating performance enhancing drugs comes with serious side effects. Affects those children and some adults bodies cannot handle. One law could ruin many lives just so that MLB players can win games.

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation**

American sports fans look up to professional athletes along with our youth, some aspiring to be just like them. With the special spotlight and aspiration, special treatment from the government as well is not good for society. Steroid use and publication that our looked upon athletes are using such as drugs for enhancing performances sends a bad message out to our youth and aspiring athletes in grade school and in college. It is clear that the American sports industries could not be what they are today without government involvement (George, 2008).

The purpose of the study was to explore how the federal government impact professional sports outside of making laws and forcing everyone to follow them, proposing to sports fans that government is more involvement for positive reasons than they may realize. Positive influence can be anything from how much money the government invests in a sport or the facility that the sport team uses. Steroid use is a main reason the government steps in for if not the government

nothing can or would be done to fix that problem. This study showed just how involved the government is in the professional sports world, and how the government also allows fame and talent to be a big part of our world. If the government does not police steroids in any way and lets them be widely used by professional athletes, with no consequence, younger people may start to believe it is alright to use these drugs.

Data shows that 80% of students and adults between the ages of 18-29 do not regularly watch MLB or too much care for it, but has a strong opinion on the effects that MLB has on our society. Even though the study proved that most American fans do not agree with government involvement what so ever, survey takers still felt that politics of sports was important and an interest to them. After sending the survey to one hundred people and getting back only about sixty people to complete it, 80% of people expressed that they disagreed on MLB steroid use and felt as if our society would be damaged greatly if it were allowed. Although these survey takers did not care for the sport, American governmental involvement still mattered.

The results of the survey exemplified the before thought of the research and allowed a chance to see how our society is when it comes to our view on our political world mixed with the demand of sports. Everyone wants the entertainment but not the government impact, but also still wants rules to be followed to ensure that our youth is well taken care of when it comes to their future. The reader should have a better understanding as to why government steps in when it has to and exactly why our government system is needed. People want our world to be the world that it is and without our government some things, even MLB or other professional sports would not be what it is without the influence and impact the government has on it. The results from the survey concluded exactly where the research was going. Data research proved that most

Americans in the 18-29 age groups think alike and have the same thoughts towards our government.

For future recommendation more research on the study could be done in order to present the reader with more valid thoughts and facts. The data can be reviewed from a different viewpoint in order to raise a new question and go in a different direction than I chose to do so. Instead of gaining the opinions of population, governmental research could be done to better support the thesis. Looking into the number of MLB players who continued to use performance-enhancing drugs versus those who did not what the results from that could have been. Also getting the results of those who did not stop if punishment was orchestrated and if so what kind. The conclusion and thesis could have been better supported by data if the surveys were conducted in a different direction.

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Appendix A: List of Acronyms

MLB	Major League Baseball
MLBPA	Major League Baseball Player Association
MLBA	Major League Baseball Association

Appendix B: Survey Questions

1. Which category below includes your age?
2. Do you watch major league baseball?
3. Does the politics of sports interest you?
4. Do you believe government involvement in MLB or any professional sport is necessary?
5. Do you feel as if MLB players should not use performance enhancing drugs to better their game? If so please explain below.
6. Did you have any prior knowledge on MLB and its drug use?
7. If MLB players continued to use drugs to better their game do you believe our society would be affected? Please explain.

## Appendix C: MLB Players Suspended

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**Major League Baseball players suspended for using performance enhancing drugs, April 2005–July 2007**

<b>Player</b>	<b>Team</b>	<b>Date announced</b>
Alex Sanchez	Tampa Bay	April 2005
Jorge Piedra	Colorado	April 2005
Agustin Montero	Texas	April 2005
Jamal Strong	Seattle	April 2005
Juan Rincón	Minnesota	May 2005
Rafael Betancourt	Cleveland	July 2005
Rafael Palmeiro	Baltimore	August 2005
Ryan Franklin	Seattle	August 2005
Mike Morse	Seattle	September 2005
Carlos Almanzar	Texas	October 2005
Felix Heredia	NY Mets	October 2005
Matt Lawton	NY Yankees	November 2005
Yasaku Iriki	NY Mets	April 2006
Jason Grimsley	Arizona	June 2006
Guillermo Mota	NY Mets	November 2006
Juan Salas	Tampa Bay	May 2007
Neifi Perez	Detroit	July 2007
Donnie Sadler	Arizona	July 2007

SOURCE: Created by Robert Jacobson for The Gale Group, 2007

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Reference: *Performance-enhancing drugs*. (2008).

## **Same-Sex Marriage and Obama Care: The Impact of a Universal Health Care System and the Evolving Institute of Marriage**

*MyAlicia Thompson, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community lacks having basic civil rights, as; they are treated as outcasts due to their sexual orientation. The issue is whether the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (Obama Care) covers same sex marriage even though the federal government does not recognize it. This research will show that same sex marriage is not recognized in most states, which is how the states lost the power to say no to the Obama Care. The legal issues surrounding same-sex marriage in the United States (U.S.) are complicated by the nation's federal system of government. The federal government does not define the institution of marriage; however, the federal government may not recognize any marriage recognized by the state, even if that marriage was not recognized by one or more other states.*

### **Introduction**

The American gay community has evolved over a time span of about three decades and varies on a state-by-state basis. From being most undercover or “in the closet” is the correct terminology to being more open and gaining some civil rights. Unlike some other developed nations, the United States does not extend complete legal rights to its Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) citizens on a national level. Twenty-one states, plus Washington, D.C; outlaw discrimination based on sexual orientation, however sixteen states including Washington, D.C. outlaw discrimination based on gender identity or expression (Barnett, 2010). As of January 2013 same-sex marriage in the U.S is recognized in several jurisdictions (Applebome,

2012). Same-sex marriage became a political issue in the 1990's when some states began to ask if their constitutions permitted two people of the same gender to be married. This social shift prompted action at the federal level to ensure that socially conservative states would not have to recognize same-sex marriages in other states.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act of 1996 (DOMA) a federal law defining marriage to be “the legal union of one man and one woman for federal and inter- state recognition purposed in the United States” (Calmes & Baker, 2012). The states, rather than the federal government, determined many aspects of marriage law; therefore, DOMA does not prevent individual states from defining marriage for its purposes. The United States Supreme Court (U.S.S.C.) dismissed the case of *Baker v. Nelson*, 191 NW 2d 185 (1972) regarding same – sex marriage in Minnesota for want of a substantial federal question. The right to have same-sex marriage was first extended to same-sex couples by a U.S. jurisdiction on November 2003, by a state Supreme Judicial Court ruling in Massachusetts (Calmes & Baker, 2012). Opponents of same-sex marriage have worked to prevent individual states from recognizing same-sex unions by attempting to amend the U.S Constitution to define marriage as a union between one man and one woman. Research shows that one of the main reasons why the federal government does not recognize same-sex marriage is because of conservatism. Conservatism is defined as a political and social philosophy that promotes retaining traditional social institutions. The correct labels for people that follow these beliefs are called traditionalist or conservative (“A definition of,” n.d.).

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study consists of conservative Americans being dependable in their religious beliefs leading to the fact that they do not believe in two people of the same sex getting

married. Leviticus 18:22-24 states “Do not lie with a man as one lies with a woman; that is detestable. Do not have sexual relations with an animal and defile you with it. A woman must not present herself to an animal to have sexual relations with it; that is a perversion. Do not defile yourself in any of these ways” (Holy Bible, 1984). The Bible condemns indulging in sexual relations with someone of the same sex and that it is an abomination.

When the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (Obama Care) caused a conflict with issue of same- sex marriage and the Tenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The Tenth Amendment states the Constitution's principle of federalism by providing that powers not granted to the federal government by the Constitution, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or the people. In the case of *United States v. Sprague*, 282 U.S. 716, 733 (1931), “The Tenth Amendment was intended to confirm the understanding of the people at the time the Constitution was adopted, that powers not granted to the United States were reserved to the States or to the people. It added nothing to the instrument as originally ratified.” The U.S. Constitution allowed the federal government the limited powers that are necessary for the federal government to provide for the common defense of the entire nation; therefore improving the well-being of the nation as a whole, conducting diplomatic relationships with other nations, and keeping the peace between the different states.

The power of the federal government was not supposed to impact individual citizens living in this country or the individual companies doing business in the United States. Before the passing of Obama Care, the regulation of health insurance companies was only done at the state level by state insurance commissions, “Obama Care does force health insurance companies to leave a lot of unpopular and possibly harmful practices such as denying coverage for pre-existing conditions, and going against the Constitution in the process” (“Does Obama Care,” 2011).

When President Obama was first sworn into office in 2009, his administration passed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010. Obama Care is aimed primarily at decreasing the number of uninsured Americans and reducing the overall costs of health care. The Act provides a number of mechanisms including mandates, subsidies, and tax credits to employers and individuals in order to increase the coverage rate. Obama Care is necessary for today's new generation, but the violation toward the Tenth Amendment that was not to be ignored. This idea leads to the research of how the states lost their power to veto certain health care plans: "Several states are considering measures attempting to exempt their residents from an individual health insurance mandate.

Research question: Whether the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (Obama Care) covers same sex marriage even though federal government does not recognize the validity and sanctity of same sex marriage.

While such provisions may have a political impact, none is likely to have any effect on the legislation's constitutionality. Under the Tenth Amendment, if Congress enacts a law pursuant to one of the powers delegated to the United States by the Constitution, then that law is supreme, and nothing a state can do changes this. Any state power to nullify unconstitutional federal laws has long been rejected" (Barnett, 2010). Obama Care does violate individual persons no matter what their sexual orientation however as a same-sex couple it is not the same.

### **Significance of the Study**

A political conflict exists, as some states do not even recognize the same-sex marriage, yet these recognize same-sex marriages are fighting for normal spousal support from the federal government as if it was a heterosexual marriage. In the case of *United States v. Windsor*, 699 F.3d 169 (2d Cir. 2012), Edith Windsor and Thea Spyer were, residents of New York and,

married in Toronto, Canada. After 40 years of romantic partnership, Canada's first openly gay judge, Justice Harvey Brownstone officiated, their marriage. Windsor had first suggested engagement in 1965. Spyer died in 2009, at which time New York legally recognized same-sex marriages performed in other jurisdictions. After Spyer's death, Windsor was required to pay more than \$363,000 in federal estate taxes on her inheritance. If federal law accorded their marriage the same status as different-sex marriages recognized by their state, she would have paid no taxes (Applebome, 2012). This case is still in the trial process; however, it is an example of why same-sex couples should be treated equally. The U.S.S.C. will most likely hear the case in March 2013 and make a decision in June 2013.

### **Definition of Terms**

*Same – sex marriage:* The practice of marriage is between two males or two females. Although the institution of marriage between male and female partners has been regulated through law, religion, and custom in most countries of the world, the legal and social responses to same-sex marriage have ranged from celebration on the one hand to criminalization on the other ("Defining marriage: Defense," 2013) .

*Obama Care:* Obama Care expanded eligibility of Medicaid and required most Americans to purchase health insurance. It also set up exchanges in the several states so insurers could compete with each other to provide the most cost effectiveness for consumers. It provided subsidies for health insurance premiums. Proponents argue Obama care makes health insurance more affordable, while critics contend it is too expensive and constitutes excessive government interference in the U.S. economy. The legislation is named for U.S. President Barack Obama, who promoted it (Mitchell, 2009).

*Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)*: A United States federal law that defines marriage as the legal union of one man and one woman for federal and inter-state recognition purposes in the United States ("Defining marriage: Defense," 2013).

*Canada Health Act*: An Act relating to cash contributions by Canada and relating to criteria and conditions in respect of insured health services and extended health care services (Health Care System, .n.d.).

### **Literature Review**

Throughout the researchers studies they looked at other parts of the world to see how they conducted their health care systems, such as Canada and Great Britain, the *Canada Health Act* of 1984 states that “All insured persons must be covered for insured health services "provided for by the plan on uniform terms and conditions” (Applebome,2012). This definition of insured persons excludes those who may be covered by other federal or provincial legislation, such as serving members of the Canadian Forces or Royal Canadian Mounted Police, inmates of federal penitentiaries, and persons covered by provincial workers' compensation. Some categories of resident, such as landed immigrants and Canadians returning to live in Canada from other countries, may be subject to a waiting period by a province or territory, not to exceed three months, before they are classified as insured persons; this waiting period arises from the portability provisions.”

Before the *Canada Health Act of 1984*, Canada had The Constitution Act of 1867 which did not give either the federal or provincial government’s responsibility for health care, as it was then a minor concern. The Act did give the provinces responsibility for regulating hospitals, and the provinces claimed that their general responsibility for local and private matters encompassed health care. The federal government mentioned that the health of the population fell under the

Peace, Order, and Good Government part of its responsibilities. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC) decided that the administration and delivery of health care was a provincial concern, but that the federal government also had the responsibility of protecting the health and well-being of the population.

Another country with universal coverage is Great Britain. Their health care act is called Universal Health Care providing health care and financial protection to all its citizens. Universal health care can be determined by three critical dimensions: who is covered, what services are covered, and how much of the cost is covered. Universal health care, in most countries, has been achieved by a mixed model of funding. General taxation revenue is the primary source of funding, but in many countries it is supplemented by specific levies or with the option of private payments for services beyond those covered by the public system.

The article read that “On the first day of 2014, the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, or Obama care, starts in earnest. That's when the act's two most notable provisions, mandatory coverage and the state or federally administered health-insurance exchanges, finally take effect, nearly four years after the act was signed into law” (O'Donnell, 2013). Obama Care is officially a law, but how same-sex marriage is not, causing a serious conflict. States no longer have the power to veto mandatory health care but they still have the power to deny same-sex marriage. Research shows that there are nine states that allow same-sex marriage; those states are Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, and Washington. This information led the research on the Commerce Clause which states that the United States Congress shall have power to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States.

Although the U.S. Constitution places some limits on state power, the states enjoy guaranteed rights by virtue of their reserved powers pursuant to the Tenth Amendment. A state has the inherent and reserved right to regulate its domestic commerce. However, that right must be exercised in a manner that does not interfere with, or place a burden on, interstate commerce, or else Congress may regulate that area of domestic commerce in order to protect interstate commerce from the unreasonable burden.

If the state interest is slight compared with the national interest, the courts will declare the state statute unconstitutional as an unreasonable burden on interstate commerce. For example; with the United States in the case of *Southern Pacific Co. v. Arizona*, 325 U.S. 761, (1945) held that an Arizona statute that prohibited railroads within the state from having more than 70 cars in a freight train, or 14 cars in a passenger train, was unconstitutional. ("Southern Pacific Co.," 1945). In 1972 Delaware state law recognized civil unions between same-sex couples as legal relationships. Persons in civil unions have the same rights, benefits, protections, and responsibilities as married persons under Delaware law. Along with eight other states like Delaware, civil unions are allowed.

One of the main arguments as to why federal governments do not recognize same- sex marriage is because of the conservative forces in the government system. "Requiring citizens to sanction same-sex relationships violates moral and religious beliefs of millions of Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others, who believe marriage is the union of one man and one woman" ("Conservative vs.," 2010). When the government is hearing more support than opposition about a situation such as same- sex marriage then it is more than likely to side with the majority. One idea that could possibly work is if the government only recognized civil unions for everyone. Rabbi Shmuley Boteach has the idea that the government should provide only civil unions to two

consenting adults wishing to unify their lives, leaving the spirituality of the union to other entities to recognize, name, sanctify and define. This idea would cut down on all of the religious views about marriage and allow people with same- sex preference.

“The benefits to this proposal are, first and foremost, that no one would receive either preferential treatment or any discrimination when it comes to the government's recognition of the legal rights of the union of any couple” (Boteach, 2012). Boteach argues that main reason for this idea is to remove the offense of those who can marry and those who cannot. The government would retreat further from our lives and one of the great battles that have raged in America could be put behind us so that we can focus, finally, on curbing divorce, keeping husbands and wives together, and keeping kids out of custody battles rather than fighting over gay marriage. This change would even promote non-involved, non-religious people to entertain the concept of how religion can enhance and enrich one's life, and be an invitation to engage in further religious learning, traditions, communities and beliefs.

People are forced to confront the choice of wanting merely a government recognized civil union before a justice of the peace, which addresses only legal status issues, or the opportunity to imbue their union with a deeper, more eternal spiritual dimension. They would see the benefit of having something with greater holiness impact their union, and they would be forced to confront the difference between mere legal blends versus a spiritual arrangements of two people into one whole. In other words, once couples are forced to start thinking about their vows, they might just drift further into faith and religion.

### **Marital Status**

If the idea of changing the title of marriage to civil union could actually happen then that would be the change that the federal government needs to recognize same- sex couples and give

them the same health coverage. The idea of changing to civil unions does not even affect the Tenth Amendment, which intends to confirm the understanding of the people at the time the Constitution was adopted, that powers not granted to the U.S. were reserved to the States or to the people. For those individual or groups who oppose gay civil unions this issue would still not be a solution. It should not bother people to have same-sex couples granted the decency to visit each other in hospital during serious illness, make end of life decisions and receive tax benefits as a couple.

It is not worthwhile for us to put behind the questions of dual insurance coverage in order to have this terribly divisive issue finally settled. By getting over the gay marriage debate the government can finally focus on the real problem: straight people do not seem to either want to marry, and once they get married they find it difficult to remain married. It added nothing to the instrument as originally ratified” *United States v. Sprague*, 282 U.S. 716, 733 (1931). The issue of power and especially the great potential for a power struggle between the federal and the state governments was extremely important to the founding fathers. They deeply distrusted government power, and their goal was to prevent the growth of the type of government that the British were forcing over the colonies. Adoption of the Constitution of 1787 was opposed by a number of well-known patriots including Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and others. They passionately argued that the Constitution would eventually lead to a strong, centralized state power which would destroy the individual liberty of the People. Many in this movement were given the poorly named tag, “Anti-Federalists.”

### **Universal Health Care**

Universal health care is the government’s belief that all citizens should have access to affordable, high-quality medical care. Universal health care is a broad concept that can be

structured and funded in various ways. The common factor for all universal health care programs is that they require some form of government involvement, whether it is through legislation, mandates, or regulation. The laws determine what type of care must be provided, to whom the care must be provided, and the basis for determining coverage. In some universal health care programs the government may also manage the health care system, but in many instances the health care system uses both public and private health care providers.

The population provides funding for Universal Health Care, whether through required health insurance, taxation, or a combination of both. The patient may pay health care costs while the universal health insurance may cover other health related expenses. Commonly people refer to universal health care as socialized medicine. Although some people refer to universal health care as socialized medicine, the concepts are not completely synonymous. The term, "socialized medicine" is mainly used in the U.S. by those who do not support the idea of universal health care. Outside the U.S. the terms most used are universal health care or public health care. The actual definition of socialized medicine is somewhat varied and inconsistent in usage, though it generally describes any system of health care that is publicly financed, government administered, or both. For some, socialized medicine is specific to systems in which the government both operates the health care facilities and employs the health care professionals. In the U.S, examples of this type of care are the U.S. Veterans Health Administration, and the medical departments of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force. Socialized medicine in broader terms as any system that is partially or totally funded by government although health care is provided by private business. Examples of this type of health care system in the U.S are Medicare, Medicaid, and the U.S. military's TRICARE health care system. Many Americans believe in a free market society, and thus their beliefs may extend to health care as well.

While a capitalist structure, supply and demand, and a free market system help regulate business models, should health care be run as a profit-driven industry. This is a basic issue at the core of the universal health care debate. Currently, many socialized programs provide a wide variety of beneficial services to Americans, including police departments, fire departments, public libraries, public schools, Medicare, Medicaid, and the U.S Military and Veterans health programs. Socialized programs can play an important role in capitalist societies the challenge is in finding the right balance and determining how the U.S. can best provide health care for all its citizens.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the conflict between same-sex marriages and the federal government. Specifically this study examines the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. To determine the applicability of the research the researcher will conduct analysis and collect data. The research question is whether or not the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (Obama Care) covers same sex marriage even though federal government does not recognize same sex marriage. This chapter describes the research design; the role of the researcher; the data collection method; analysis and interpretation procedures; and the limitations that arose from the methodology selected for this investigation.

### **Research Design**

The research plan begins with an understanding of the history of the research question then the research will continue on to talk about the health in other countries such as Canada and Great Britain. This researcher is qualified for conducting research into the areas of same- sex marriage, Obama Care and the role of the federal government. The researcher will develop a series of questions about those areas and produce them to 30-60 people.

The research will end with the explaining what data was found. The researcher will use certain insurance companies as models such as Blue Cross Blue Shield, and Kaiser Permanente to show that states laws can fit it into Obama Care. These are the examples the researcher will use to show how other countries made changes to their laws and constitution to fit a new generation of people. This question is testable, the test that will be used to present the results are surveys. The researcher will collect data from at least 57 people to show what other opinions are about the situation.

Predictions indicate that a majority people will side with religious views and feel as though it should be left up to the states to decide whether or not same-sex couples is legal. The researcher predicts that majority of the test subjects will agree that same-sex marriage should be recognized in all states no matter what their own laws are. The test subjects will agree that same-sex marriage should be recognized in all states no matter what their own laws are.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Overall, the evidence suggests that allows same-sex couples to marry would be a progressive public policy. Same-sex couples and their families will benefit, and the institution of marriage will not suffer. Same-sex couples' interest in marriage is a vote in favor of the evolve relevance of marriage in today's world, a change that should strengthen, not weaken, the institution. Some of the limitations that the researcher faces are determining the main reason as to why same- sex marriage is not recognized by the federal government. There are many factors that it is difficult to pin point just one. Moreover most people with beliefs that marriage is a public institution because it brings together men and women for the reproduction of the human race, and keeps them together to raise the children produced by their union.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

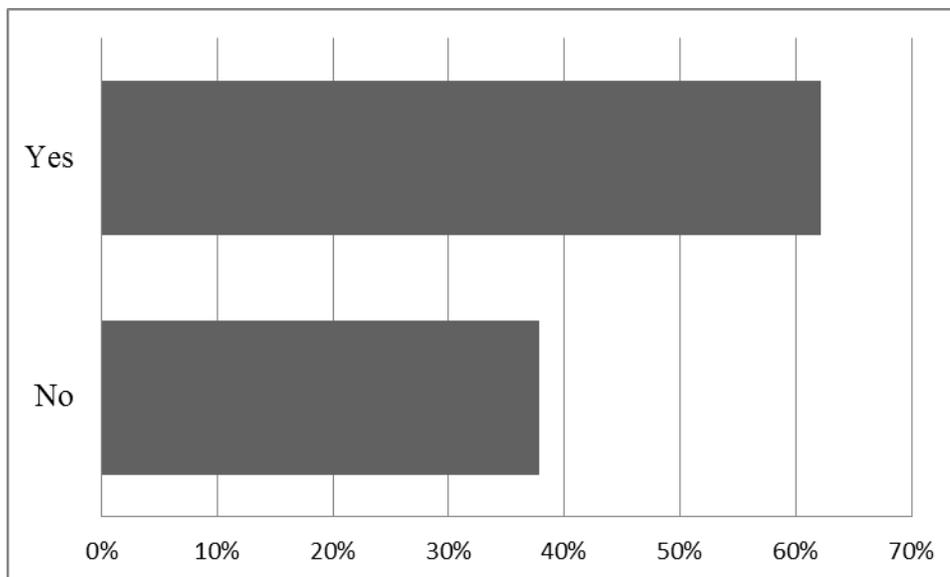
Research Question: Whether or not the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (Obama Care) covers same sex marriage even though federal government does not recognize same sex marriage. This question is testable, and the tests that will be used to present the results are surveys. The researcher will collect data from at least 57 people to show what others opinion are about the topic of Obama Care and same-sex couples. The researcher predicts that most people will side with their religious views and feel as though it should be left up to the states to decide whether or not same-sex marriage is allowed. One of the questions that the researcher will present in the survey is: Should same-sex marriage be recognized in all the states even though some states do not allow same-sex marriage?

The researcher predicts that majority of the test subjects will agree that the marriage should be recognized in all states no matter what their own law is. Although the researcher's hypothesis that the majority will not be anti-same-sex couples there are many conservative American socialist that would disagree. In Iowa, for example, the Federal grant money awarded to a social conservative group to provide marriage counseling also helped pay some of its operational expenses ,even though was leading an anti-gay marriage campaign, according to grant documents obtained by the Associated Press under the Freedom of Information Act. The \$2.2 million received by the Iowa Family Policy Center between 2006 and 2010 helped hundreds of Iowans receive education and counseling, according to the documents. But the funds also paid for part of the salaries of five employees, rent, telephone, Internet and other expenses while the group was fighting legalized gay marriage in Iowa (Bullock, 2011). It has been argued that the purpose of marriage is to provide institutional support for childrearing. Those lesbian and gay couples, who cannot biologically produce children, would have no need of this institutional

support. According to the 2000 Census, 96 percent of U.S. counties have at least one same-sex couple with a child.

### **Date Analysis**

In the first set of graphs (Figures 1 through 5) the researcher used the results from a survey that was conducted about Obama Care covering same-sex couples and how it would affect the general population. The results were produced by random people ranging from the ages of 17 to over 25, who also vary in religions and gender. In figure 1 the question that was asked: Would you support if tax payers' dollars if they went to same- sex couples? The results came back with 62.16% yes and 37.84% with no.

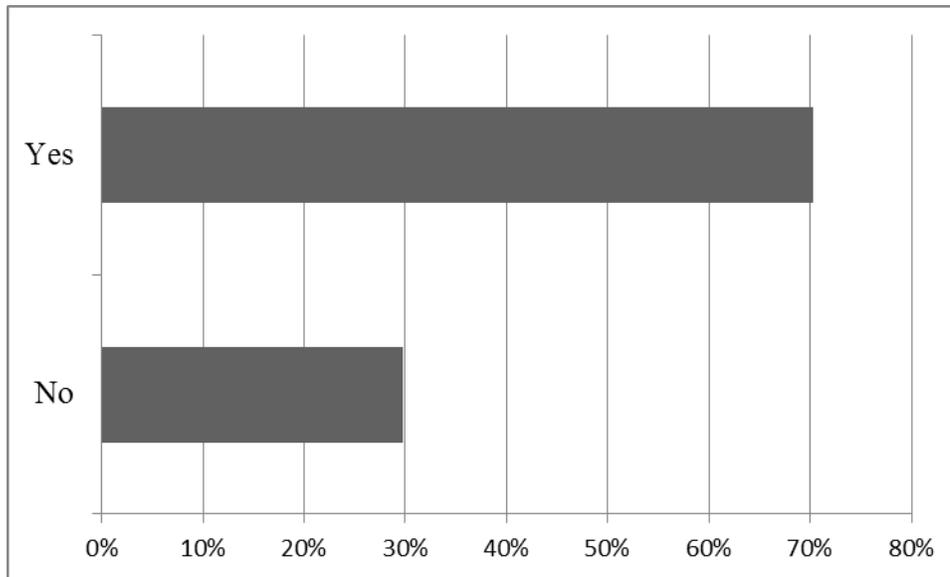


*Figure 1. Tax Payers Dollars for Same-Sex Couples.*

The researcher was able to determine a conclusion using this question that there are a sizable amount of people in the world that do not mind if the money they use to pay their taxes goes to financially helps same- sex couples. For example, Republican Senator Rob Portman of Ohio is supporting gay marriage and publicly conflicts with party leaders, such as House of

Representatives Speaker John Boehner. Portman this month said he had switched his position on the issue after his son told him he was gay (Henderson, 2013).

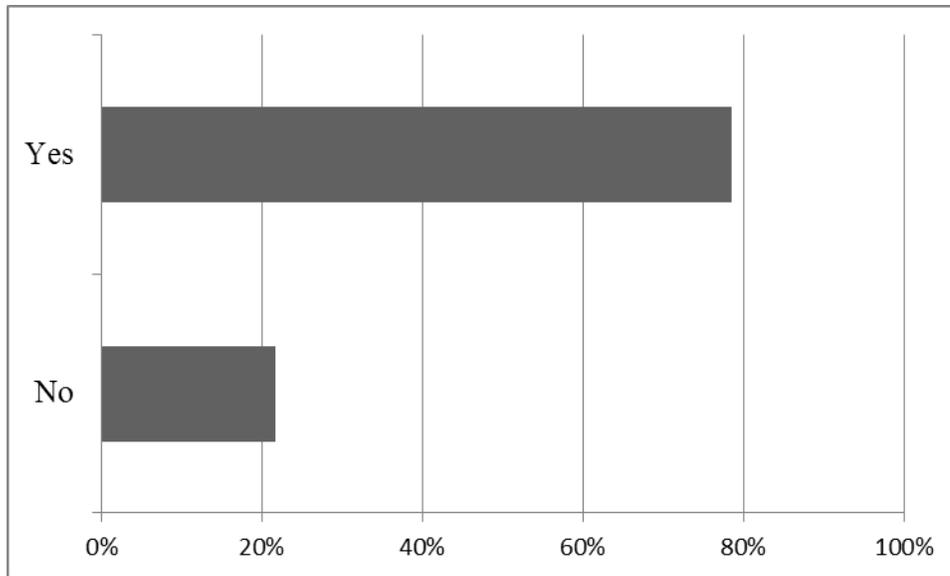
In Figure 2 the question that was asked was: Do you believe that same-sex marriage should be legal? The results were 70.27% with yes and 29.73% with no.



*Figure 2.* Legalization of Same-Sex Couples.

With these results the researcher was able to conclude that the majority of Americans do believe that same-sex couples should be allowed to get married. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that people who marry tend to be better off financially, emotionally, psychologically, and even medically. Marriage is not universally an improvement but it generally is, because of these results, it stands to reason that legalizes gay marriage will ultimately prove beneficial for the economy.

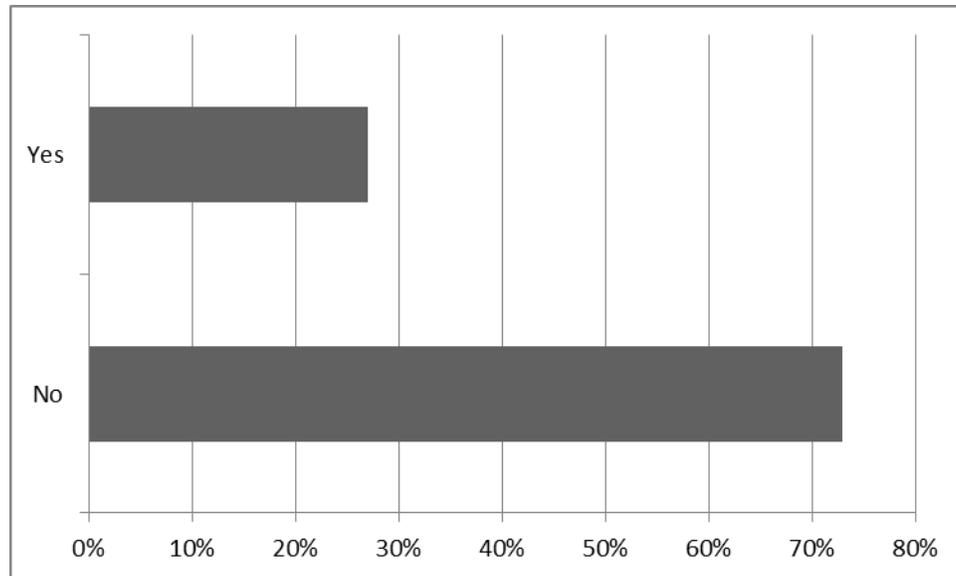
In Figure 3 the researcher asked the subjects doing the survey if they understood the terms of Obama Care. The results came back 78.38% with yes and 21.62% with no.



*Figure 3.* Amount of people that understand Obama Care.

With this specific question the researcher was able to conclude that even though there are many people that do understand Obama Care and its terms, but there is still many others that do not. With Obama Care affecting everyone it is very important that people know how it affects their health and financial well-being.

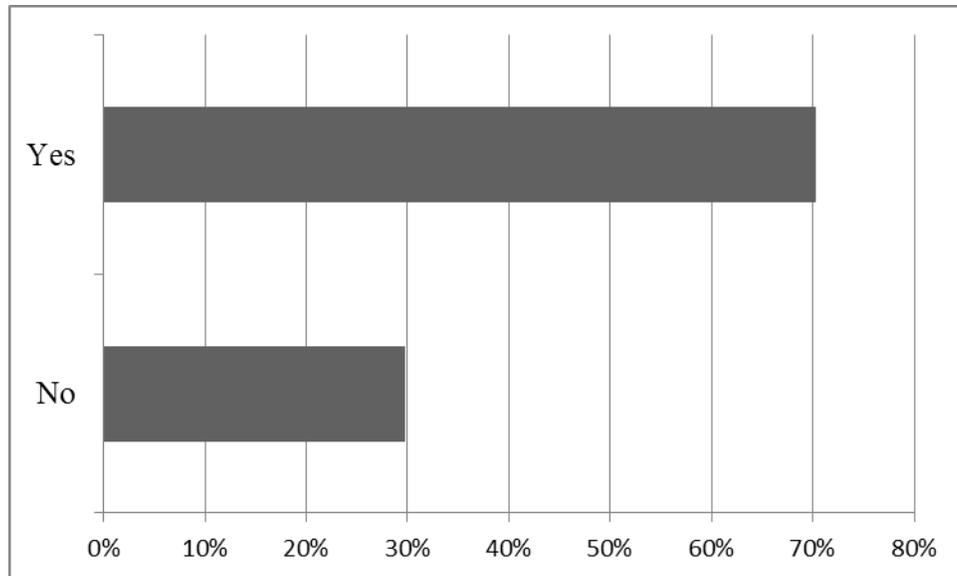
In Figure 4 the researcher asked the subjects if the federal government recognized same-sex couples; do you feel as though legalized same-sex marriage would affect you personally. The result came back with 27.03% saying yes and 72.97% saying no.



*Figure 4.* Legalization of Same-Sex Marriage affecting you.

With these results the researcher was able to conclude that the majority of the general population does not personally feel affected by legal recognition of same-sex marriage. For example, on March 26, 2013 supporters of same-sex marriage gathered in front of the U.S.S.C as the U.S.S.C begins hearing oral arguments on the issue. The court heard oral arguments for about 80 minutes on California's Proposition 8 of 2008 state constitutional amendment barring same-sex marriage. They will reappear Wednesday to consider New Yorker Edie Windsor's bid to overturn the 1996 federal Defense of Marriage Act, which specified only weddings between a man and a woman were legitimate. A ruling is not expected until later this year. During the Tuesday hearing, Chief Justice John Roberts suggested proponents of gay nuptials were making an attempt to redefine the very meaning of the word marriage (McShane & Straw, 2013).

In Figure 5 the researcher asked the question: Do you believe that Obama Care should cover same-sex marriage, even though the federal government does not recognize it? The response received was 70.27% with yes and 29.73% with no.



*Figure 5. Obama Care Covering Same-Sex Marriage.*

These results led the researcher to determine that the recognition of same-sex marriage is mostly a wedge issue. Same-sex marriages are already accepted in nine states, including New York, and the District of Columbia. There are thirty states that bar same-sex unions in their state constitutions, while another ten have state laws blocking gay marriage. New Mexico is the only state with no state statutes either way.

In this last figure the researcher asked the subjects: Should those who do disclose their orientation be allowed to serve in the military? The results came back with 35.23% saying yes and 64.77% saying no.

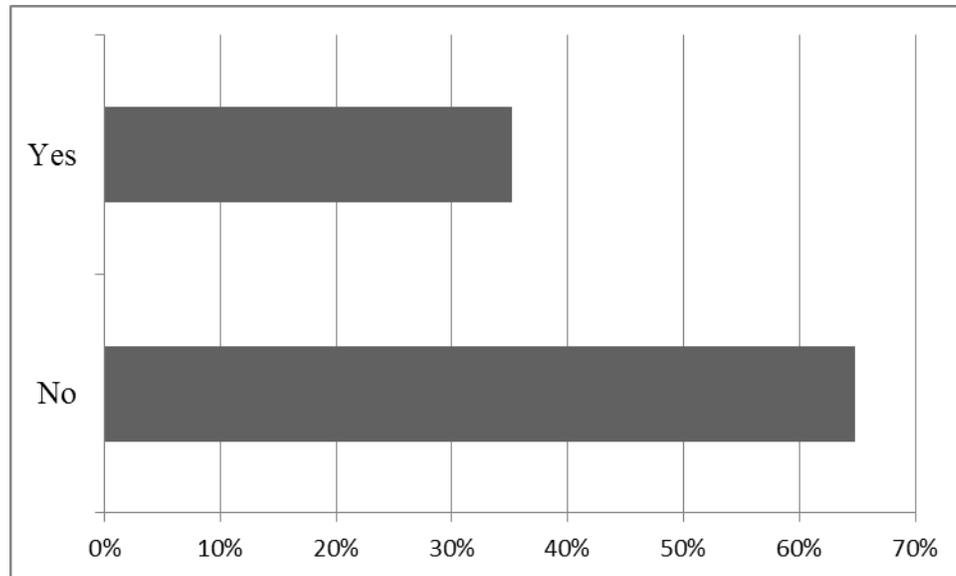


Figure 6. Gay People in the Military.

It has been exactly a year since “don’t ask, don’t tell” was repealed, and by most measures the change has been a success. Gay service members say they feel relief they no longer have to live secret lives. Pentagon officials say that recruiting, retention and overall morale have not been affected. None of the dire predictions of opponents, including warnings of a mass exodus of active duty troops, have occurred (Bumiller, 2012). Now with these results the researcher was left wondering why it is a problem to have people of the same orientation in the military. The researcher was able to determine that their hypothesis was mostly incorrect. The idea that the subjects would go with their religious views was wrong but the researcher was correct that most of the subjects do believe that same-sex couples should be allowed to marry.

### Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

The issue is whether or not Obama Care covers same same-sex marriage even though the Federal government does not recognize same-sex marriage. Same-sex couples are similarly situated to different-sex couples in terms of their economic status, their family decisions, their interdependence, and their valuing of marriage. It is no surprise, that gay couples eagerly take

advantage of the right to marry when they have it. Research shows that couples whom marry gay or straight want to express their commitment to each other and to their family and friends. Same-sex couples want to marry to create a firm personal and legal foundation for their own lives and security for their current and future children. This research led to certain produces, such as; the researcher believed that most of society would side with their religious beliefs and say no to same-sex marriage. With this hypothesis the researcher was able to develop a purpose for the thesis paper.

The purpose of this study consists of individuals being consistent in their religious beliefs leading to the fact that they do not believe in two people of the same sex getting married. The determination of the analysis was to explore the conflict between same-sex marriages and the federal government. Specifically the study examined the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act. To determine the applicability of the research the researcher will conduct analysis and collect data. A political conflict exists, as some states do not even recognize the same-sex marriage, yet these recognize same-sex marriages are fighting for normal spousal support from the federal government as if it was a heterosexual marriage.

In January 2014 Obama Care should cover each person. “The ACA will affect anyone once it’s up and running in 2014, partly because a lot of its effects will be indirect, and partly because how the law is implemented will make a big difference” (How Obama Care Affects, 2013). To the knowledge of the researcher adding or changing any of the amendments will not be happening any time soon, but with the conflict of interest it shows that something in the future will have to change.

The U.S. Supreme Court will have the opinions of the *United States v. Windsor*, 699 F.3d 169 (2d Cir. 2012), case and the case of Proposition 8 decided by June 2013. In the case of

*United States v. Windsor* is a case pending in the U.S. Supreme Court of a lawsuit in which the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York's decision in *United States v. Windsor*, which found Section 3 of DOMA unconstitutional, as section defines the term marriage as a legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife and spouse as a person of the opposite sex who is a husband or a wife. Although the case was argued in March 2013, it will take until June 2013 for the court to reach a decision. In the case of proposition 8 there was a California ballot Proposition 8 and a state constitutional amendment passed in the November 2008 state elections.

The measure added a new provision, Section 7.5 of the Declaration of Rights, to the California Constitution, which provides that only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California. As this argument for this case was heard the day before Windsor case, it too will have a decision by June 2013. Further recommendations is to await the U.S. Supreme Court's decision on these two landmark cases with further exploration of the legal premise of same-sex marriage and its benefits tied to Obama Care.

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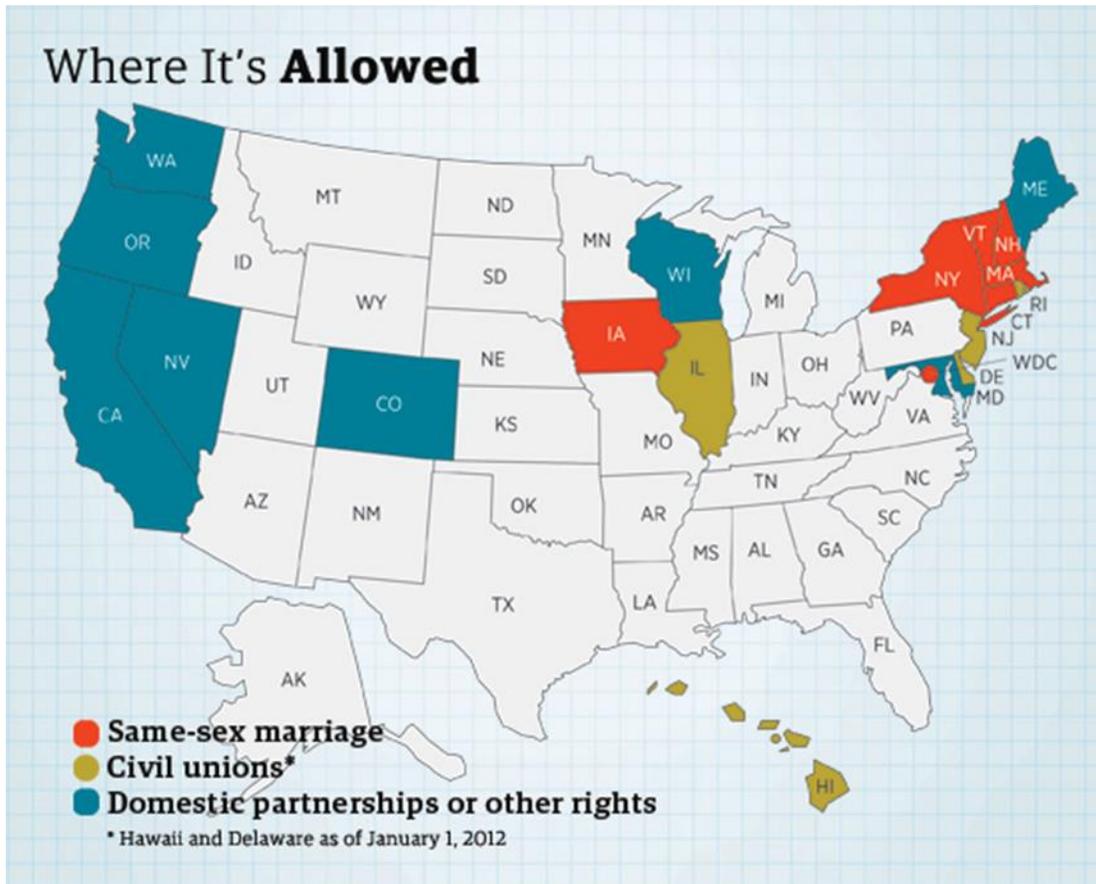
Appendix A: List of Acronyms

DOMA	Defense of Marriage Act
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
U.S.S.C.	United States Supreme Court
U.S.	United States

Appendix B: Survey Questions

1. Would you support if tax payers' dollars went to same- sex couples?
2. Do you believe that same-sex marriage should be legal?
3. Do you understand the terms of Obama Care?
4. Do you feel as though legalized same-sex marriage would affect you personally?
5. Do you believe that Obama Care should cover same-sex marriage, even though the federal government does not recognize it?
6. Should those who do disclose their orientation be allowed to serve in the military?

Appendix C: States Recognize LGBT



Reference: Jacobs, D. (2011, August 04). *It's time to stop fighting about same-sex marriage.*

## **Child of Chaos: The Horrors of Being a Female Child Soldier**

*Danielle M. Burns, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*The atrocity that is child soldiering has been going on for centuries all around the world, however, the worst of it has been in Africa. Over the last three or four decades the use of children as soldiers has decreased, however the new challenge is what is being done to help get these children back into the flow of reality. There are many centers around the world to assist these children in what they call Disarming, Demobilizing, and Reintegration (DDR) program. Many of these centers are located in Africa, specifically in the country of Sierra Leone. This program is designed to essentially reintegrate children back into society; however, these programs are not gender specific which can cause problems for the female child soldiers. As these programs improve the reintegration of females should increase however, it has not fully increased so that females are getting just as much help as males.*

### **Introduction**

When one thinks of a child soldier normally only one picture comes to mind. The picture of a young boy holding a weapon larger than the child himself; however, not all child soldiers are male; there are many female child soldiers as well. In fact over one-third of the child soldier population is female. The story below is told by a female that was once a child soldier. It is about her account of what it was like in a rebel army.

*“...my life changed forever when I was nine years old. I used to feel safe in my parent’s home, but when the rebels came, even they could not protect me. I was taken in the night. The rebels made me to be one of them... They made me march very far distances and taught me to operate large guns, how to loot and attack... I don’t know how many people I killed...I lost count. If I refused anything then I was beaten and tortured. They cut my*

*back with a machete to teach me a lesson once, made me sit on dead bodies and participate in ceremonies with their spirits. I was first given to a man when I was ten years old. I screamed a lot at first...it was so painful. He pointed a gun to my face, so I stopped...When he would go away to fight, other men would have me where they wanted, whenever they wanted. When I finally escaped, the people there recognized me for what I had done to them in the bush and they beat and stoned me, almost to the point of death. When I returned home, many people did not accept me. They would disturb me all the time, yelling horrible things to me. I think they were afraid of me because of what I had done before... My parents couldn't pay my school fees, and I couldn't go back to a bush, so I felt I had no choice but to go to a man. It was all I knew. So I went...I felt like my life was over at 14" ("Life as a," 2011).*

In many African countries children get abducted into the rebel forces mostly between the ages of 13 and 18; however, in Sierra Leone many children are abducted or recruited at the age of 5 (Steel, 2008). Using children is appealing to many of the rebel forces because they are “cheap, easily manipulated, and can be used as spies” (Fawaz, 2005). Not only are they cheap, they are also easily accessible, because many African countries children are in abundance. Once children are abducted or recruited into the armies, there are different rituals that the children have to perform. The armies think that by making the children perform these rituals they are more apt to stay in the army for the fear of leaving and its consequences are too great.

The three most used tactics by armies in order to keep children loyal are to make children kill or commit various acts of violence against strangers or even people from their own village. The armies do this so that the village will turn against the child so they will not be able to return once the war ends. The second tactic is making the children practice forms of cannibalism where

the children would drink the blood or eat parts of the flesh of their victims. The soldiers said that this would make the children grow stronger in order to justify what they were doing. The last tactic used by soldiers on the children is to drug them so the effects of conscience are nullified. The drugs of choice are “amphetamines, crack cocaine, palm wine, brown-brown (cocaine mixed with gun powder), marijuana and tranquilizers” (Steel, 2008). Due to many of the wars ending and many of the children and adults being left on their own to reintegrate back into society the United Nations came up with a program that would help the adults and children. These programs were called Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR).

When DDR programs first started they were only focused on reintegrating adult males. As the use of children in armed conflict became apparent, when wars ended DDR programs started to incorporate children as well. However, due to the lack of funding the DDR programs would only take children that showed that they had held or trained in weaponry (Fawaz, 2005). As more programs started to grow the funding increased to include all children as well as females, however, the programs were not prepared fund wise for the influx of females. Due to this influx, the DDR programs did not know how to appropriately reintegrate these females back into society. The reason that many of the DDR programs failed to reintegrate females is because they treated them like the males which did not work due to the stigma that is placed on a female when she comes back from war. That stigma is that of unclean and of someone who has done a wrong that cannot be forgiven. The reason this stigma is placed is because there are many different sexual tasks that females are asked to perform for the male soldiers. Once this stigma is placed there is no shying away from it and because of this stigma is why it is so difficult to reintegrate females back into society.

**Statement of the Problem**

During an 11 year war in Sierra Leone the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) was a main military organization that was at war with the Liberian government. The RUF used around 10,000 children during the 11 years, and of the 10,000 around one third were females. Since the war ended in 2002, the DDR programs have been trying to reintegrate these children back into society. However, many programs are failing, especially for the females. Many females have suffered more than the males, simply because most are subject to sex slavery. The problem is that DDR programs use a generic model to attempt to reintegrate these children back in society. Using a generic model is not conducive to the reintegration process because each child is different in reference to gender, age, and how long each child has served in the army. With that being said the two problems that DDR programs are facing is lack of funding and the model that they use as it is basic and not gender specific.

**Purpose & Significance of the Study**

The goal of this study is to show the failings of the DDR programs and how it affects both males and females and reintegrating them into society. It is to show how ineffective a generic model can be and how detrimental a lack of funding can have on this program. The study of the DDR programs and what they do for child soldiers is significant because they are the ones that assist these children back into society. When the program fails, these children, especially the males, often go back to old habits, including the violence they learned from war. Many females will go back to the soldiers or they will become prostitutes. This study's significance is that it highlights the limits of using a generic reintegration model for child soldiers because it neglects the variable of gender.

Research Question: Whether gender is a significant variable in the failure of DDR programs.

### **Definition of Terms**

*Child soldier:* Is defined by the 2007 Paris Principles interpret “a child associated with an armed force or armed group” as “any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys, and girls used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities” (Steel, 2008).

*Disarmament:* Is the act of reducing or abolishing weapons in any state.

*Demobilization:* Is the act of discharging an individual from military service.

*Reintegration:* Is the process of smoothly transitioning someone from a war-like state back into society and living a normal, healthy life.

*Stigma:* Is defined as a mark of shame based on an action that a person committed.

### **Literature Review**

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programs are set up around the world, mostly in Africa. As the programs are set up they focus mainly on making sure the immediate physical needs are given, such as food, water, shelter, and family reunification. However, the children were not taking to the basics as well as the leaders hoped. The reason being is because the “child soldiers [were having] difficulty processing their experiences and reintegrating within their communities” (Steel, 2008). In order to prioritize funding and resources, programs focus on adult males and boys who show evidence that they know how to hold a weapon. With the mindset of males first in the program it makes it very difficult for

females to get a reintegration process like the males. DDR programs in Sierra Leone started in 2003 (Hanson, 2007) a year after the 11 year war ended. There was an estimated 48,000 child soldiers; however, only an estimated 7,000 were demobilized.

The start of this DDR program is based on the principle of “one man, one gun” which strictly focused on disarming adult males while woman and children were excluded (Hanson, 2007). As those in charge of the DDR programs started to realize that what they were doing was not working and the children were falling back into old habits, those in charge started changing their tactics. However, even after the changes DDR programs are still neglecting the females who have also been soldiers. Most programs treat every child the same, trying to reintegrate them all using the same tactics, when in reality each child is different and some children need more attention than others, especially the females due to the extra duties that they perform while being a soldier.

The extra duties that these females are told to perform are becoming ‘wives’ for the soldiers, or they are asked to entertain the soldiers for hours on end. In one instance a group of females were asked to dance for the soldiers for more than 24 hours without stopping, many times they would throw water on the females in order to keep them awake. Not only are entertaining the soldiers and being wives part of what the females have to do but in performing these acts many females get pregnant. When a female is abducted there are many things that some rebel forces take into consideration. One being what actions each female will perform and in the event of a pregnancy what actions will be conducted on the female. There are some countries that take pregnancy into consideration and others that could care less. For example some countries (such as Colombia) use a form of birth control on the females while Sierra Leone does not. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) uses very cruel practices on females if they get

pregnant. In fact many of the babies do not survive and many of the females often do not survive child birth. Some of the birthing techniques practiced by the RUF include “jumping on the abdomens of expectant girls and inserting objects into their vagina to force the girls into labor well before they were properly dilated” as well as “tying their [females’] legs together to delay birth if the forces needed to move quickly” (Steel, 2008).

With the trauma that these girls experience many if not all need special treatment when going through the reintegration process. Not only do they need more attention due to the extra trauma but they are now stigmatized by their society. Not only do females have the risk of pregnancy to deal with but, due to the amount of sex acts that females are asked to perform while being soldiers, many contract sexually transmitted diseases, especially Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS). In African societies, including Sierra Leone, when a female has a child out of wedlock or even has sex without being married she is shunned from the community from which she came. Communities turn their backs on female soldiers which can cause many of these females to go back to live a soldierly life or get in the field of prostitution. With these issues the reintegration programs need to develop a way to reintegrate females more easily so these females do not resort back to old ways.

### **Issues Involving DDR**

When the DDR programs first started there were many issues and conflicts due to funding and lack of leadership among the different groups implementing this program. At the beginning, DDR programs were focused on supplying the basics such as “food, water, shelter, security, and family reunification” (Scott, 2008). However, the children that were involved in fighting needed more than just the basics: their mental health was at stake. It wasn’t until later that those in charge of DDR programs realized that their efforts were not working. UNICEF and

the United Nations (UN) were the ones initially to make the change to the program that included the implementation of the examining of the child's mental health after being rescued from the life of being a soldier.

As these organizations started fixing the way they reintegrated these children, many started implementing the actions of drug withdrawal and helping with post-traumatic stress disorder that almost all of these children faced. Once these programs improved the way they reintegrated children they saw that their efforts were working and the children started having a smoother transition back into society (Scott, 2008). Now the problem is not necessarily how the program is run, but how it is funded. With the lack of funding becoming an issue there was many children that were not approved for the DDR program therefore, they were left to reintegrate on their own. Which when a child was left on their own they went back to what they knew which was being a soldier.

### **DDR Pertaining to Females**

With the lack of funding being such an issue in many of these programs the females are normally the last ones to receive help. However, females often need more attention than the males do when it comes to reintegration. Many females that come back from being child soldiers have endured much more than the males, especially sexually. Many of the females that are recruited or abducted are used as "wives" or sex slaves for the adult male combatants and the boy soldiers that hold positions in the armies. Although not all females are used as sex slaves, some are given a weapon and sent out to fight while the others, especially the young females, are used as entertainment for the soldiers. After being sexually abused by these males, in many African states, the females will not be allowed to live back at home due to the morals that Africans live by. In the event that a female engages in sex or gets pregnant out of wedlock they

could possibly be shunned and then stigmatized as unclean. When the communities refuse to accept these females many turn back to the army they came from for support or they turn to prostitution for that is all they know. There are even some instances where females are not even allowed to leave the army to receive help from these programs because the soldiers claim them as their 'wives'.

Due to the issue of not being able to leave the army and knowing that a stigma will be placed on them due to their actions while serving, many females who will not seek help from the DDR programs and they will find somewhere else to live. The DDR programs have been stuck in figuring out what they should do about this issue, according to an expert, the best possible solution would be "to put the power in the hands of girls; to have them go through a process wherein they organize themselves, define what reintegration means to them; ask what's missing, and then design small actions and steps" (Morse, 2008). Although that is a good solution to this particular problem in DDR programs, getting it implemented and getting the funds to change the program will be the biggest challenge.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of this analysis was to explore the failure of DDR programs to reintegrate child soldiers. Specifically this study examined that the DDR programs have improved since they first began. They started off by focusing strictly on the basics, like giving the soldiers food, water, shelter, and security. The first programs also only focused on disarming the men that left the armies, while children and females came later. The DDR programs are still struggling to get females reintegrated back into society, which is the main focus of this thesis. To determine the applicability of this thesis the researcher has looked at many different case studies, countries, and successes of DDR programs in the African region.

Research Question: Whether gender is a significant variable in the failure of DDR programs.

This chapter describes the research design; the role of the researcher; the data collection, analysis and interpretation procedures; and the limitations that arose from the methodology selected for this investigation. This analysis explored the many different DDR programs around the African region, specifically in the country of Sierra Leone. With each different country the DDR programs vary depending on the specific needs of that particular country and the children that fought in that region. In Sierra Leone the DDR program was founded in 2003, with little funds and lack of knowledge about the children that were used in the war. Many times the DDR programs failed and the children went back to their old ways (Hanson, 2007).

### **Data Analysis & Interpretation**

This researcher is qualified for conducting research into the area of DDR programs and child soldiers because of the quantity of research and extensive knowledge of the background on this particular topic. Much of the data collection was from the internet and Galileo from the Savannah State University (SSU) library website. The data that was gathered was that of articles and memoirs from prior child soldiers and their accounts of their experiences and how they were rehabilitated through the DDR program. The limitations that were put on the research of this topic were that there were a lot of opinion based articles. The lack of articles that were available on the subject was also a problem that the researcher faced. Although child soldiering is not a new problem that the world faces, it is just recently being discovered, which limits the years that articles go back and the lack of information that is available on the topic.

### **Data Presentation Analysis & Interpretations**

As the conflict of child soldiers becomes more apparent in today's society the research being done has increased while also improving the DDR programs that are set up around the world. Now that quantitative data has been put into place with each of these programs it is easy to see that these programs are having many issues with successfully reintegrating these children back into their communities. While there are many issues as to why these programs are not completely successful, the greatest issue is that of gender. While there are more males than females that serve as soldiers, the females often get neglected in the reintegration process.

The main reason why they get neglected is because the DDR programs run off a generic model, where each child gets the same attention and treatment. This is why they fail, while the males are easier to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate, the females are not. The females require more attention due to the increased sexual damage that is done. Although both male and female soldiers may suffer psychological damage, ultimately females suffer more due to the automatic placed stigmas and the extra responsibilities of possibly having a baby or contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

### **Data Analysis**

This thesis has been strictly referencing Sierra Leone, but in order to fully understand the effects of child soldiering, a look at the African nations as a whole is essential. The research question remains whether gender is a significant variable in the failure of DDR programs. There are eight countries that have actual data on child soldiers. The graph below will show the proportion of children to the population.

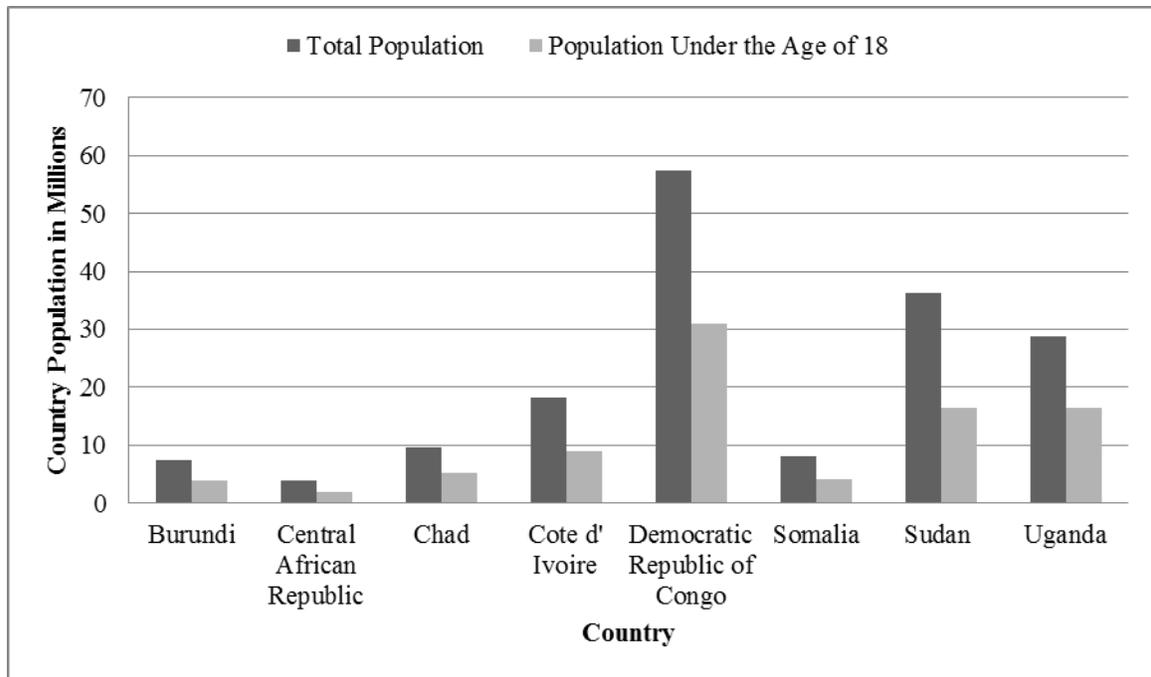


Figure 1. Overall Population v. Population Under 18.

In almost every country displayed in this graph the population of those under the age of 18 accounts for just about fifty percent of the actual population. With the population of those under 18 amounting to half of the original population, there is no doubt when researchers said that children are in abundance and easily acceptable. Due to the fact that this data came from the Global Report of 2008, the country of Sierra Leone was not accounted for in the world map, but instead it was just a section in the actual report.

In many of the armies those under the age of 15 are what they consider a child; however, due to the definition of a child soldier from the 2007 Paris Principles interpretation “a child associated with an armed force or armed group” as “any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys, and girls used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities” (Steel, 2008). With this definition it is safe to say that half of the countries in Figure 1

have children that can be used as soldiers. There are countries that use children more than others such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda; however, at some point in time all of the countries above have used children in some form of combat. The table below is just another look at the data in Figure 1 along with an added column for the percentage, to show just how much of each population is made up of children.

Table 1

*Percent of Population that is Under the Age of 18*

Percent of Population that is Under the Age of 18			
Country	Population (in Millions)	Population Under 18 (in Millions)	Percent
Burundi	7.5	4	53
Central African Republic	4	2	50
Chad	9.7	5.3	54
Cote d'Ivoire	18.2	8.9	48
Democratic Republic of Congo	57.5	31	53
Somalia	8.2	4.2	51
Sudan	36.2	16.5	45
Uganda	28.8	16.5	57

### **The Gender Complications of DDR Programs**

Since the start of DDR programs to present day the issue of gender has played a role in how successful each DDR program is. Gender has been a problem because it determines what each child goes through and which person gets reintegrated first. Females have always been the last to get implemented into the program due to the lack of funding and the fact that many females are not used on the frontline, therefore they are not normally given a weapon. Knowing how to use a weapon is relevant to DDR programs because when they first started they only took those that had shown that they knew how to use a weapon, making females pushed off to the side. In order to better understand the gender conflict, the graph below shows the percent of children that are used in each of the armies in Sierra Leone.

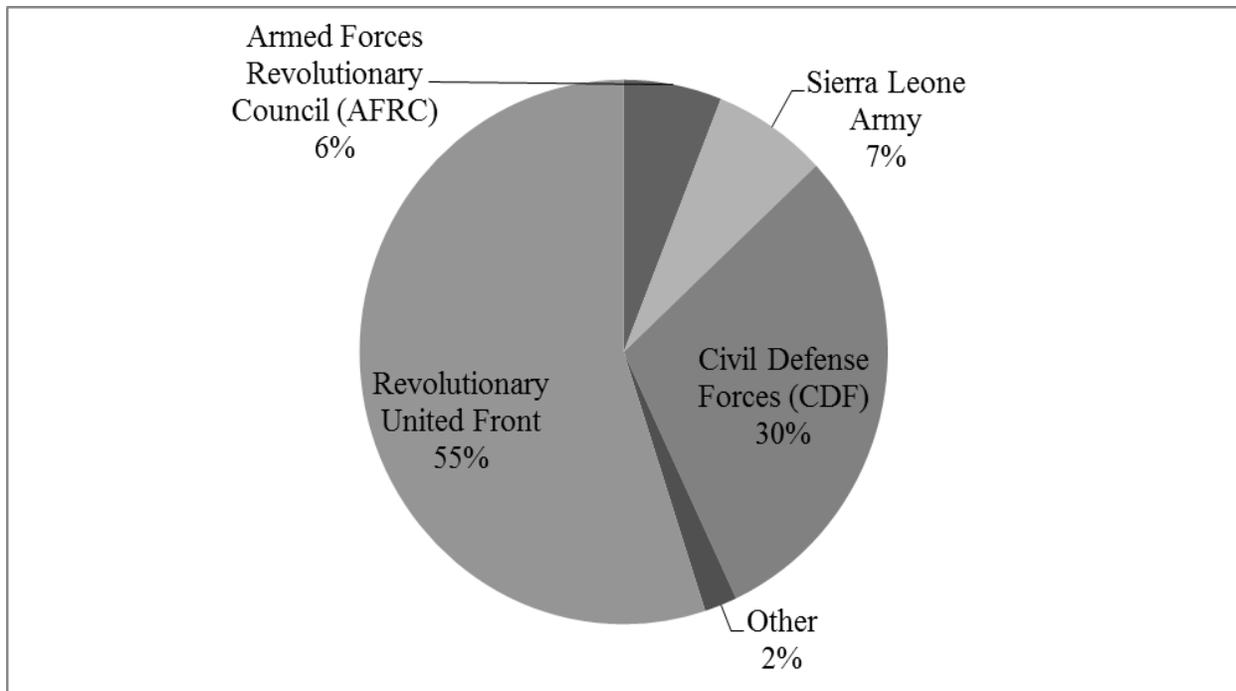
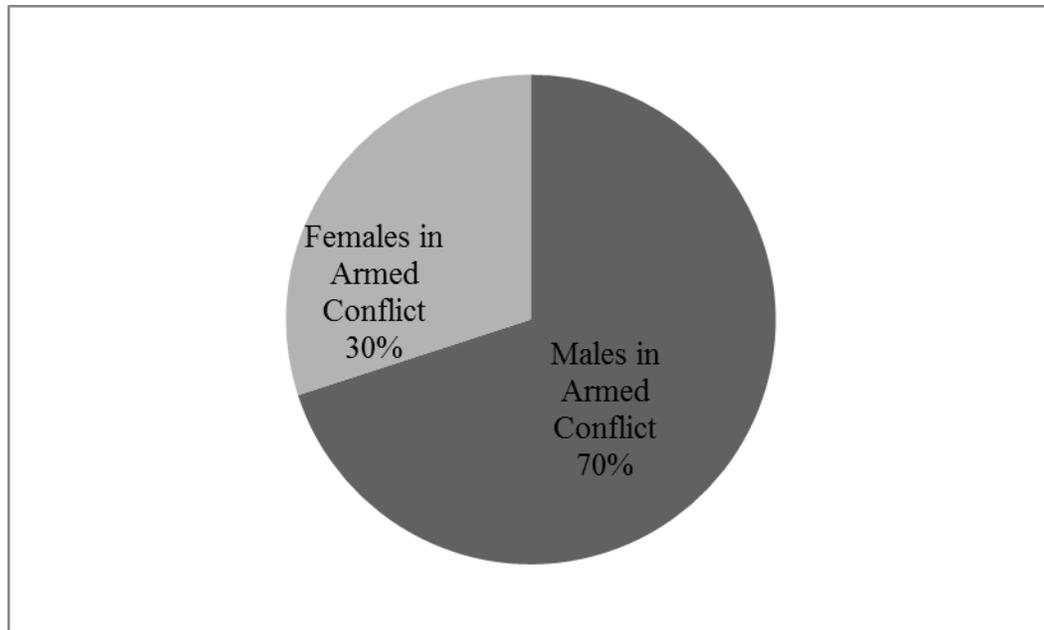


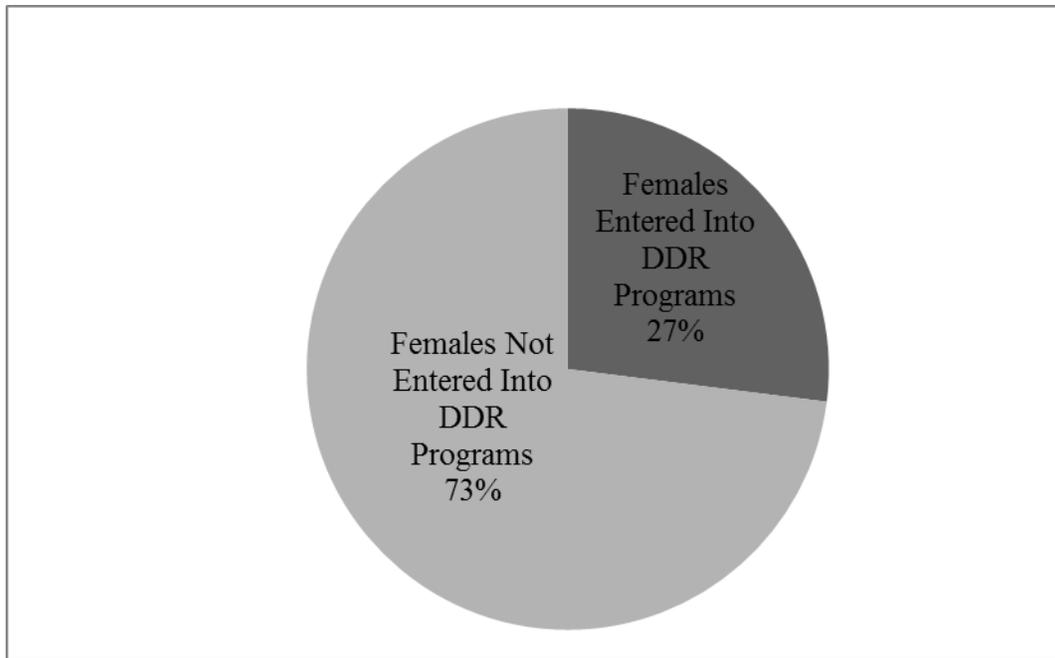
Figure 2. Percent of Child Soldiers that Served in Each Armed Service in Sierra Leone.

The RUF makes up the majority of children that served in armed forces. The RUF was mentioned in the above chapters because it was one of the largest armed forces that Sierra Leone has. The RUF used children as young as five in their armies, and were known for handing females over to male commanders as soon as they hit puberty or started to develop a chest. This goes to show just how much females went through when they were part of this armed service. The graph below shows the ratio of male to female in the RUF.



*Figure 3.* Percent of Children in Armed Conflict According to Gender.

As the graph shows the females only make up thirty percent, which makes it that much more difficult for them to get implemented into DDR programs because they are so few. In fact even when females were implemented into the DDR programs, many refused to go because they were scared of the stigma that their community would place on them. For the females that had children while they served in the RUF, the females knew that their child would not be accepted by their family members even if the females were allowed back into their communities. Along with choosing not to receive help from DDR some females were not allowed out of the RUF because the commanders that claimed them as ‘wives’ would not let them go. In Figure 4 below shows that the percentage of females that received help in DDR programs and the percentage that did not is based on the thirty percent from Figure 3.



*Figure 4.* Percent of Females Entered into DDR.

Figure 4 displays the percent of females that did not receive help from the DDR programs is much greater than those that did. This further provides evidence to the point made above about many of the females not seeking help in the DDR programs due to stigmas placed, and the men in the armies keeping them as ‘wives’. When females choose not to seek help in these programs, it shows that there is a problem with the DDR system. It shows that these programs are not doing enough to support females and are not taking the time to successfully reintegrate them back into their societies. In the table below taken from Bennet’s thesis it shows how females expect the community to respond when they come home from war and get out of the DDR programs (Bennet, 2002).

Table 2

*Expectation of Males and Females upon Return to Their Communities*

Expectations on return	Males	Females
Would be welcomed	30	14
Welcome if return with skill	1	3
They would be afraid of me	1	4
Some people but not all would welcome me		4
They would welcome my children	2	8
They would not welcome my children		7

The first line shows that more males expect to be welcome than females. This development may also show that females are scared to return home due to the stigma that they know has been placed on them by their community.

As far as males keeping the females as ‘wives’, there is not much that DDR programs can do in that situation; however the situation is not common. Not all DDR programs have failed. There was a study done in Sierra Leone by John Williamson who studied the outcome of child soldiers for twelve years and he completed his study in 2006. The results were that “most children who have been demobilized appear to be doing as well as other children in their community” (Morse, 2008).

The program in Sierra Leone was not always successful. Like most programs, when they first start out, they have a lack of funding as well as a generic model. As the program funding increases and the model changes the programs become more successful. One of the last issues that the program faces and is working on, is not only helping reintegrate the child but also the community that they are going back to. It is one thing to help the child but if the community is unwilling to accept the child then the reintegration will fail. In Sierra Leone, some programs are working on helping the communities as well as the children, so that reintegration will be successful. Although this is more easily done for the males, for the females however, it is hard to

change century's worth of tradition and morals on a community. With the females being stigmatized and the community recognizing that stigmatism it will be difficult trying to get the community to understand that it was not the females fault. The community just looks at it as they had a choice regardless of what their consequences were.

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

The problem that has been asked and looked at throughout this thesis is what type of effect gender plays on the DDR programs for child soldiers around the world and specifically in the country of Sierra Leone. When the programs first started, males were the first to be incorporated; this means that females were left on their own to reintegrate themselves back into society. The purpose was to show what effects the reintegration process as far as gender, finances, and model. Gender in terms of females getting left out and not getting properly reintegrated which makes them revert back to the army or get involved in prostitution. The finance becomes a problem because when the programs are not funded properly they cannot fully spend time to reintegrate children back into society; therefore they resort to a generic model. The generic model is one of the biggest issues involved with DDR programs. It forces children through the same process when each child is different and some children need more help than others.

As this thesis comes to an end the researcher has taken all her knowledge and findings and has concluded that gender does play a role in the successfulness of the DDR program. She has also concluded that not only does gender play a role, but the community's acceptance of the child is also what causes many programs to fail. As the DDR programs continue to improve and receive more funding the leaders of each program are finding new ways to reintegrate these children without failing. These programs have come a long way from what they used to be,

however there are still some kinks that need to be worked on. As the problem of child soldiers come to life around the world more people are starting to get involved and help find a solution to the problem.

There are many things that DDR programs need to work on. There will be no program that has a 100% success rate; however, there are things that can be done in order to increase the success rate of reintegrating children, especially females back into society. The first thing that DDR programs should work on is figuring out who needs the most attention. They need to pay attention to how long each served in the armed conflict and then figure out which ones suffered more than just getting put out on the front line. For instance, if you look at a male and female that have both been in for two years the female is more than likely going to need more assistance because she has most likely been raped and has given birth to a child, where the male has just been given a weapon and placed on the front line. Time is vital to the reintegration process and when those in charge rush through it, the children are not given a fair chance at reintegration because they were not properly reintegrated.

The second recommendation that the researcher has is that not only do the children have issues reintegrating but the communities that they came from often have a problem with having them back. For the males, some are looked at as heroes when they come back from war, which could potentially make men and other boys jealous because they did not get a chance to go fight. When male children return there are many fears that parents may have with him living in the house because they do not know how he will act. Will he turn on them in the middle of the night? What will the other villagers think if I let him back into the house? There are also times when the children are originally captured, they have to partake in some form of ritual that consists of killing or beating someone from their village, which ultimately makes the community

turn their back on the children. If the DDR programs work with the village and explain that it was not the child's fault then maybe the community will be a little more willing to welcome them back.

The community and female reintegration is another story. In many African countries, as stated in chapter 2, when a female has any sexual relation out of wedlock, or bares a child without being married, she will be shunned from the community. This causes extra problems when reintegrating females. Not only do the DDR programs have to focus on getting these females back into society but they also have to get the communities to accept them back. When a female enters a community without being accepted the citizens in the community will often refer to her as being unclean which in return causes the community to ignore her. These issues cause the females to feel like an outsider, which is not the best situation for a former child soldier. In order for a DDR program to fully work a child must not only receive help from the program but they also need to return to a normal life. When a female goes back to her village and all of a sudden she starts to feel neglected due to the way to community treats her then she is not going back to a normal life. The life she is going back to is one much like she experienced in the army but without the brutality and forced sexual acts. This can cause females to resort back to the men they used to be with or force them into prostitution because that is the only place that they feel accepted.

There are many things that DDR programs need to work on and with the funds increasing and more care being put into the reintegration of each child these programs will succeed. It is just a matter of how willing each program is and the will of the children to want to get reintegrated back into their communities. Success will happen if the will is there.

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## Appendix A: List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CSW	Commercial Sex Workers
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration Program
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SSU	Savannah State University
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Child Emergency Fund

## Appendix B: Female Child Soldiers as Commercial Sex Workers

Age now	Age when captured	Age when started CSW
23	21	15
28	19	14
16	13	12
17	14	13
25	21	13
14	12	12
23	15	14
16		15
18		
18	15	

## Appendix C: Aspired Careers of Child Soldiers

<b>Job</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
Tailor		16
Engineer/Mechanic	5	
Accountant	4	
Lawyer	4	
Carpenter	4	
Builder	2	2
Religious Minister	3	
Welder	1	2
Caterer		3
Sailor	3	
Petty Trader	1	1
Driver		1
Gara Tie Dyer		1
Hairdresser		1
President (politician)	1	
Doctor	1	
Police Officer	1	
Teacher	1	
Soldier	1	
Fitter	1	

## **Making Your Vote Count: An Analysis of the Electoral College and Its Effect with the Popular Vote**

*RaVeign Lee, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*In the first week of November, every four years, U.S. citizens have the opportunity to elect the President of the United States. One of the main reasons people decide not to vote is because of the Electoral College. The Electoral College and the popular vote are the two sets of numbers voters see on Election Day. The researcher plans to find out if the Electoral College is detrimental to voters not wanting to vote. The assumption that people essentially do not have a voice because they do not directly choose whom they would like to be president may very well be true. Coming up with a solution for this problem is very important because if not, the citizens will not trust the government and in effect no one would want to vote. Making the U.S. citizens feel as though this is really a democracy is pretty hard to prove with the way this system works.*

### **Introduction**

From the Civil War to present day, while finding it extremely difficult to have Americans' voices heard from their local communities to Washington, D.C., the fight for the right to vote has been very relevant throughout the history of the United States. The reason for fighting for this right to vote is that the voices of the people can be heard. Although our ancestors have done so much in the past to give us a better future, there are still about 50% of people who refuse to vote today. Voter-eligible citizens cast votes to be represented and their views about what needs to be changed in their society. If a change needs to be made on a controversial issue, then the best way to come up with a solution is through voting. The facts about voting are very well known, and still there are citizens whom not only forget to vote, but refuse to do so. There has to be a reason some people do not vote and the researcher plans to find out what that reason is. Not only will

finding out what the problem is be the main concern, but finding a solution to the issue will be the main focus of the research.

The popular vote is one vote per person. This vote is the whole number and each vote represents one person. When people watch the election, they are able to see whom the U.S. citizens actually chose to be the next President of the United States. The Electoral College is a systematic process of voting. This is a process that is put in place by our Founding fathers to give power to smaller states. “The Electoral College system was established in Article II of the Constitution and amended by the 12th Amendment in 1804” (Longley, 2013). Amending the constitution is something that is rarely done, as changing the rules set forth by our founding fathers is mostly frowned upon. The Electoral College is among the most criticized features of the original Constitution and has been the most frequent target of proposed amendments because of the way the system works. Only once has a proposal to eliminate the Electoral College passed the House—it died in the Senate—and the prospects for ratification by three-fourths of the states are grim” (Hendricks, 2009, p.1). Seeing as though there may be glitches in the system, a change may be necessary. Once citizens find out that the Electoral College vote is what really counts (or so they think) they begin to shun the polls. In the 2000 Presidential Election citizens eyes were open as to what control they really had.

*“Bush v. Gore* marked an astonishing event in the history of democratic governance.

Never before in the history of democratic government has an unelected judicial organ chosen the head of state by preventing the counting of votes. Such an event cuts entirely against the grain of our political history” (Shane, 2001, p.2).

If the United States is a democracy, like it claims to be, then majority rules.

“The beliefs of many Americans in majority rule and in every-vote-counts were severely challenged by the 2000 Presidential election. As vote counting and recounting in Florida dragged on, many citizens renewed their acquaintance with the Electoral College and confronted the reality that the country does not directly vote for the President” (Fon, 2004, p.2).

Keeping it a democracy and abolishing the Electoral College would be the easiest and most direct solution to the problem in that case. Although this notion may sound easy the fact remains that it is not the best possible solution. In fact, the United States is not only a democracy, but the United States is really republic. A republic is “[a] state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them” (Republic, 2013). The United States have always been a republic and the fact that the Electoral College is still around may be proof that it will remain a republic.

### **Statement of the Problem**

There are discrepancies between the Electoral College and the popular vote leading voters to shy away from polling stations on Election Day each November. Being as though the Electoral College is supposed to represent the views of the people, this process is impossible if they go against what is chosen by the people with the popular vote. If the Electoral College is not representing the people, then it is only plausible for everyone to have the same question as to whether an eligible voter’s vote really counts. The average person does not even know who sits upon the Electors; therefore, it becomes impossible to know what they represent or stand for. Their views are essentially reticent because of the lack of communication between them and the citizens they “represent.”

This case study will determine the validity of the Electoral College and its place in the voter process. After exploring the validity of the Electoral College, the reliability of the system will be tested and determined if it exists. The Electoral College must gain the trust amongst the people to ensure a higher voter turnout on Election Day. If voters determine that the Electoral College detours them from the polls, then a solution will be proposed.

### **Purpose of Study**

The purpose of this research is to determine if the Electoral College affects the popular vote and its effectiveness in determining the next President of the United States. Coming up with a solution to increase voter turnout, and for the Electoral College to be a more reliable system, is the researcher's goal. Voter-eligible citizens have the right to voice their opinions about the way their society is to be run and the government hears our voices when citizens work together such as voting. Citizens know that the most effective way for them to make a change is voting. Although they know this, most people who do not vote refuse to do so because of the Electoral College. The Electoral College is a process of voting.

Educating and stressing to U.S. citizens the importance of voting is the outcome of this study. Most people stray away from voting because of the process known as the Electoral College. Being able to elaborate on the job of the Electoral College and how it ties with the popular vote will encourage people to want to take action in this. The whole issue revolves around whether voter-eligible citizens trust the process. Trust involved in any process helps people build a better relationship with federal government; therefore, the ability to gain people's trust may be more effective than ridding the system of the Electoral College altogether.

Citizens feel as though the Electoral College has the last say, even if it means going against what the majority wants in the popular vote to determine the next President of the United

States. Investigation into the popular vote with the influential process of the Electoral College is deemed necessary, as this study will answer the following question:

Research Question: Whether the elimination of the Electoral College would increase voter turnout solely utilizing the popular vote to determine the next President of the United States.

### **Definition of Terms**

*Constitution:* “The way in which a thing is composed or made up; makeup; composition” (Constitution, 2013). For the purpose of the research the Constitution only refers to the U.S. Constitution.

*Democracy:* This type of Government is for the people. “Government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system” (Democracy, 2013).

*Election:* “The selection of a person or persons for office by vote” (Election, 2013).

*Election Day:* For the purpose of this research Election Day will refer to the presidential election in November.

*Electoral College:* “The presidential electors who meet after the citizens vote for president and cast ballots for the president and vice president. Each state is granted the same number of electors as it has senators and representatives combined. These electors, rather than the public, actually elect the president and the vice president. The Founding Fathers assumed that electors would exercise discretion and not necessarily be bound by the popular vote, but the rise of political parties undermined this assumption. Electors are now pledged in advance to vote for the candidate of their party, and nearly always do so. Thus, the vote of the Electoral College is largely a formality” (The American Heritage, 2005).

*Founding Fathers:* The framers of the constitution. “The delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787” (Founding fathers, 2013).

*Popular Vote:* “The vote for a U.S. presidential candidate made by the qualified voters, as opposed to that made by the electoral college” (Popular vote, 2013).

*Republic:* “A state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them” (Republic, 2013).

*The People:* For the purpose of this research, the people will only represent U.S. citizens.

*Voters:* U.S citizens who vote on Election Day.

*Voter Eligible Citizens:* U.S. citizens who qualify for voting rights and exercise them.

### **Literature Review**

This literature review identifies the overlap and the argument of the Electoral College process and the popular vote of the presidential elections. Before beginning to pick which argument is best suited and more persuasive, it is important to first know that “[t]he Electoral College was established by the founding fathers as a compromise between election of the president by Congress and election by popular vote. The electors are a popularly elected body chosen by the States and the District of Columbia on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November” (“A procedural guide, 2012”). These electors are chosen for a single purpose which is to vote for the President. The day that the President is chosen is not in November on Election Day.

“On the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December, the electors meet in their respective state capitals to officially cast their votes for President and Vice President. These votes are then sealed and sent to the president of the Senate, who on Jan. 6 opens and reads the votes before both houses of Congress. The winner is sworn into office at noon Jan. 20” (“A

procedural guide, 2012”). The Electoral College is intended to critically analyze each candidate then choose the one that best suits the needs of them and or the people they represent. In reality the President is not chosen on Election Day and the people do not “choose” the President.

### **Against the Electoral College**

The Electoral College was invented to speak for the people for the representation of the people want and their needs. It was not until the *Bush v. Gore* presidential election that the trust for the Electoral College was lost and is still not easily restored.

“The beliefs of many Americans in majority rule and in every-vote-counts were severely challenged by the 2000 Presidential election. As vote counting and recounting in Florida dragged on, many citizens renewed their acquaintance with the Electoral College and confronted the reality that the country does not directly vote for the President” (Von, 2004, p.2).

The country went into an uproar on how the selection for the U.S. president is not really the job of the majority. The citizens of the United States have lost their faith in a system in which was supposed to protect our views because of the outcome of the 2000 Presidential Election. Some wish to eliminate it all together and reforming the Electoral College is also definitely an option. “If the Electoral College is capable of producing these outcomes, and these possibilities become realities often enough to make us uncomfortable, shouldn’t the system be changed so that every vote counts equally?” (Von, 2004, p.4). People are uncomfortable with the fact that we may not have a voice to input on what our society needs. Knowing that the Electoral College is really in control of the selection of the President makes people uncomfortable, as the trust is no longer there. In order for this process to work for a majority people then these people must have a certain connection or trust for the Electoral College.

One important claim that many people make is that we are represented by the Electoral College and our vote counts not only once but twice. If this was the case then, it will be beneficially. This is, if this claim was always true. If there is not an elector representing each state then your vote never counts. If this is the case, then there is no use of appointing each state an elector. These Electors are not representing people when they decide not to vote, or when they become a faithless elector. A faithless elector is an elector who does not vote for their party designated candidate or just decide not to vote at all. So if there are electors who are not voting how does that equal 538 electors. Something is not being broken down enough so that the people could understand what is going on. In order to regain the trust of the people, then this system will need some serious reforming.

The Electoral College not only failed the people once in the 2000 election with *Bush v. Gore* but this has happened three other times in history.

In 1876 there were a total of 369 electoral votes available with 185 needed to win.

Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, with 4,036,298 popular votes won 185 electoral votes.

His main opponent, Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, won the popular vote with 4,300,590 votes, but won only 184 electoral votes. Hayes was elected president.

In 1888 there were a total of 401 electoral votes available with 201 needed to win.

Republican Benjamin Harrison, with 5,439,853 popular votes won 233 electoral votes.

His main opponent, Democrat Grover Cleveland, won the popular vote with 5,540,309 votes, but won only 168 electoral votes. Harrison was elected president. (Longley, 2008, p.3)

In 2000 there were a total of 538 electoral votes available with 270 needed to win.

Republican George W. Bush, with 50,456,002 popular votes won 271 electoral votes. His

Democratic opponent, Al Gore, won the popular vote with 50,999,897 votes, but won only 266 electoral votes. Bush was elected president (Longley, 2008, p.3).

In each of these elections the majority vote was just ignored and overlooked. According to the founding fathers the electors do not have to go along with the popular vote. They have the right to vote different from the people. It is no law stating that it is imperative for them to go along with the popular vote. According to the laws for the Electoral College our voice is as silent as a person who does not vote at all. Although it may seem as if we have a say so, at the end of the day we are numbers and our vote does not count. To reiterate, eliminating or reforming is needed.

Eventually, no one is going to waste their time going to polls and choosing the President of the United States. It will be left up to the electors (like it already is). The electors are the reason that so many eligible voters do not and will not vote. Feeling like their vote does not is the claim for the absences on Election Day.

### **For the Electoral College**

The Electoral College was a legislation enforced by our Founding fathers. They understood what the popular vote results could do to our country, so decided to come up with this systematic way of electing the President. This way of voting will make it fair for each individual and also each state. If you eliminate the Electoral College, our Founding fathers may do all sorts of flips and turns in their graves. Amending what the men who built this country said is something the United States hate to do. Although our Founding fathers established this, there are still people who feel as though times have changed and it is a new day and age. With time comes wisdom, and one thing that should be understood now is that the Electoral College may be

a system that has reached its deathbed. Basically, it is time for some reforming. Most People agree with reforming.

Hypothetically, after all of the fighting for reformation or elimination, all of the fussing and complaining about the Electoral College worked and the U.S. are working off of popular vote outcomes. This may sound like a happy moment and a time to rejoice but the United States have not tested this way of voting before so having an issue will be inevitable. Citizens vote and the next day there is a dispute. There will probably never be a president because there will be so many problems with trying to count each and every vote properly without someone feeling like some injustice was committed. “It creates unclear lines of decision and a high likelihood of lengthy and unpredictable legal disputes when the winning candidate’s margin is narrow” (Loy, 2008, p.5). Problems will come with this way of choosing the President also, maybe even worse than what happened in 2000. In 2000, the recounts were terrible and that was only for a couple of counties in one state. Imagine doing that for our entire country.

“In a true direct-election system, finality could be an even bigger issue, as there would be no built-in mechanism to definitively end it all — no meetings of the electors at which the 538 votes that matter are finally cast, no congressional tally of those votes to conclusively choose the president and vice president” (Loy, 2008, p.6).

The election will never end. In a true “every vote count”, it will be imperative to look into all and any dispute that people may have. A recount of millions v hundreds make all the difference. The challenges against the results will never end, and all kind of deadlines will be void or non-existence. The reality is, there will always be a dispute with who the winner of the United States really may be when numbers are so close. The benefits of having this system are

that they must be and remain legitimate, functional, and timeless. It is also beneficially to states because of what the president can and will do, if was solely off of popular vote.

Trying to eliminate the Electoral College may be an even bigger mistake than creating it. The smaller states will have little power if the President was determined by the national popular vote? These states will be ignored. There will be no use in trying to impress someone in Rhode Island with the population being only one million vs. California with a population of thirty eight million. These smaller states will be of no importance to the candidates and because of that fear the Electoral College was implemented. It is unfair to ignore these states because they are smaller. "The small states were given additional power to prevent politicians from only focusing on issues which affect the larger states. The fear was that without this power, politicians would only focus on the big states and major cities" ("Concerns with the," 2009, para.3). These states are just as important as any other state. Trying to eliminate the Electoral College will essentially eliminate these smaller states with a smaller population.

### **A Deeper Look**

The research shows it is apparent that the Electoral College is liked just as much as the popular vote is. The Electoral College may be dislike by a little more people than it is like by. This imbalance of the system all started in 1876 with *Hayes v. Tilden* and still could be seen in 2000 with *Bush v. Gore*. People do not care to vote because they know how much their vote is worth during the elections. The examples from previous elections show people that numbers do not lie. In order for everyone to be satisfied or for it to even feel like true democratic views, the electoral system may have to be eliminated or reformed and this is not an easy task. Reformation may not come or appear until years and years from now but this may be the direction that is needed.

On the other hand, the Electoral College is made out to be one of the best systems that we still have around today. The Electoral College makes it necessary for the candidates to focus on smaller states and not just on the bigger states where they may get the most votes. However, if the candidate knows that one state will favor him then it is not necessary for him to travel there and campaign. This system also makes it easier for the federal and the state to determine the winner versus trying to count and recount the popular vote until everyone is satisfied. After all, every vote will count and they will have to make that apparent.

Trying to come up with a solution to satisfy everyone about the election will be impossible. Since we are a democracy the solution should come from what the majority want. The majority will want to go along with the popular vote and that may not be a great solution. Ratification of the entire process is needed in order to gain trust and that fact cannot be ignored. On the other hand, the elimination of this Electoral College system is something that does not need to be done. Eliminating this system will cause problems with counting and selecting the President.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of this analysis was to explore the conflict between the Electoral College and the popular vote. The conflicts that come up when speaking about the Electoral College is they essentially choose the President of the United States. Even if the majority or the popular vote chooses one president, it is not mandatory for the Electoral College to choose the same one. Majority of Americans feel this system is unfair. Specifically, this study examined a way to satisfy the majority without completely eliminating the system. By taking a liberal approach and focusing on a common denominator, coming up with a solution is easy with the right negotiations.

To determine the applicability of the Electoral College it is important to understand why the system was first written into existence. There was once a problem that the system had to solve. In order to gain the trust of the voters and increase the turnout it is important to rule out anything that will hurt the voting process as oppose to helping. By understanding the conflict and trying to resolve the problem, more participation in politics will be a result.

Research Question: Whether the elimination of the Electoral College would increase voter turnout solely utilizing the popular vote to determine the next President of the United States.

This chapter describes the research design, the role of the researcher, the data collection, analysis and interpretation procedures; and the limitations that arose from the methodology selected for this investigation.

### **Research Design**

The research design will consist of surveys and legal research. The opinions of certain individuals will be very vital for research and analysis. By collecting the opinions of others through surveys, the researchers will gain a better understanding of what majority people do not like and what the majority of people thinks need to happen. Understanding the views of not only the people, but the people with certain credentials will be very important. This analysis takes more of a mixed methods approach. Gathering information and analyzing what is happening will help to gain the appropriate solutions for the problem at hand.

Looking at *Bush v. Gore* will be very vital to the research to prove citizens reaction to the Electoral College. In the 2000 presidential election, the trust in the Electoral College was lost by most U.S. citizens.

“The beliefs of many Americans in majority rule and in every-vote-counts were severely challenged by the 2000 Presidential election. As vote counting and recounting in Florida dragged on, many citizens renewed their acquaintance with the Electoral College and confronted the reality that the country does not directly vote for the President” (Von, 2004, p.3).

After this election, voters started to make their assumptions on the Electoral College process.

One of the assumptions was that their vote, as U.S. citizens, does not count.

This researcher is qualified for conducting research into the area because of her interest and major in political science and as a member of the Political Science Association with Savannah State University. The researcher is also a soldier in the United States Army Reserve for four years belonging to the 4/518<sup>th</sup> Regime in Fort Benning, Georgia working as a Human Resource Specialist. Part of the military duty includes, but not limited to, helping people register to vote.

Interest in this subject first comes from people trying to influence that voting was not important because it did not count your vote. Oppression is “the institutional constraint on self-development.” To be oppressed, in her view, is to inhibited from developing and exercising one’s capacities and expressing one’s experience” (Fraser, 2007, p. 208). These people where suffering from a type of oppression know as Powerlessness. Powerlessness is defined as” the condition of having power exercised over one by others without oneself exercising power in turn” (Fraser, 2007, p. 213). The researcher found it disturbing that the people she was the closest with and loved the most was suffering from this. In order to help her people, she felt it was necessary to do research and try to gain more participation in the voting process.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

The researcher will be collecting the data through surveys, interviews, and also experiments. These types of methods will help to gain the answers and help that is needed to come up with a solution. With the data the researcher plans to gain the answer to several unanswered questions that still remain. After collecting all of the data, the researcher plans to expand the knowledge of voters on the Electoral College system. If an individual is taking the survey, but does not know about this system, then their responses will be treated differently from those who do know about the Electoral College. Throughout the rest of the research there will be certain limitations. The researcher cannot be bias in the research or influence people to think the way that she does. The limitations would be that the researcher does not have a way to get in contact with the actual people that take place in the Electoral College system. Getting the opinions and knowing how they feel would be essential to this research.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

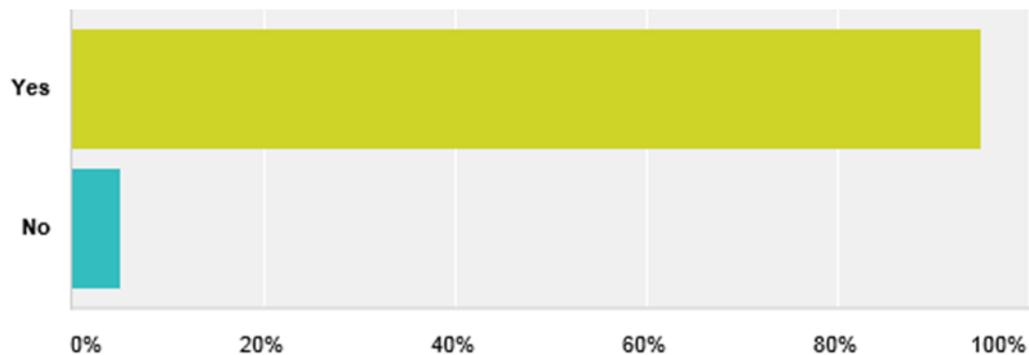
This study proposes modeling different presidential elections to prove what the Electoral College has done to voters. The Presidential election from 2000 (Bush v. Gore) will be very essential to the research being done. This election is allegedly the turning point for most of the voters in the United States. It is the turning point because this election made the American voters see, first hand, what the Electoral College can do. Also looking at and analyzing elections after *Bush v. Gore* will set the tone for how voting have changed. These models will prove whether or not the impact of the Electoral College is the reason for people not voting.

Research Question: Whether the elimination of the Electoral College would increase voter turnout solely utilizing the popular vote to determine the next President of the United States.

The data will indicate whether or not eliminating or reforming the Electoral College is necessary. The survey was sent out to 100, which 61 people returned the survey. The target audience for the survey was individuals over the age 18, which is the legal voting age for the United States. These surveys will indicate whether or not the Electoral College is a major impact on the voter turnout of all ages.

### Data Analysis

This section of the research will describe actual findings from the survey. The people in the survey are both males and females from the ages 18-64.



#### Responses

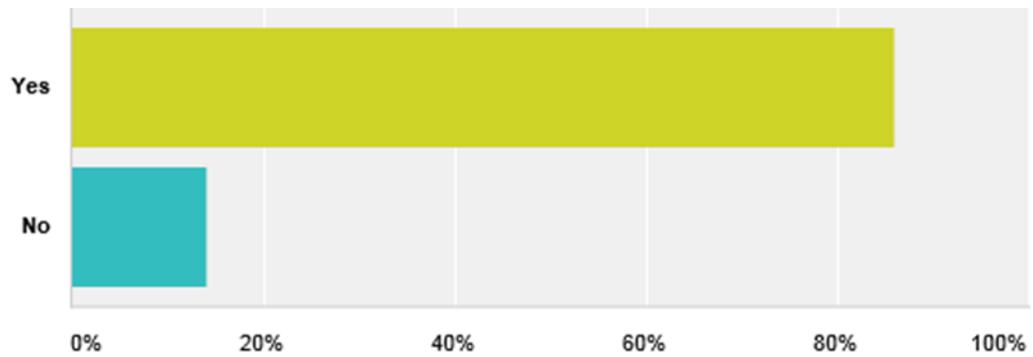
Yes 95% 57

No 5% 3

Total 60

*Figure 1.* Are you registered to vote?

Figure 1 shows the respondents answering whether they were registered to vote or not. Ninety-five percent of these people have taken the time to register and vote. Although some people who have taken the survey are not registered voters, most of them were. The registered voters are the people who the research focused around.



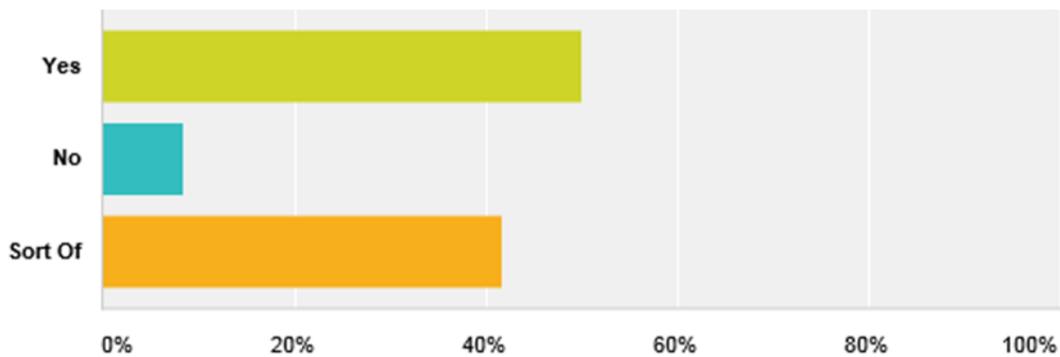
Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	85.96%
	49
No	14.04%
	8
Total	

Figure 2. Do you vote every presidential election?

Figure 2 represents that 57 or 95% of the survey participants are actual registered voters. Furthermore, only 85.96% of the people actually take the time to vote. These individuals will vote regardless and although they may agree or disagree with the Electoral College, they will still voice their opinions by voting. However, there are some people who do not vote at all. Most of the people who do not vote are registered voters. Since these people are registered to vote, the researcher does feel like, something has detour them.

Figure 3 represents the chosen set of data is from people who do not vote every presidential election. These are also the people who are registered to vote. When asked did they know what the Electoral College is, most of them knew what it was; however, 8.33% of the

respondents did not know of the Electoral College. if the survey participants knew of the Electoral College and agreed with the process, then more likely than not they would vote. Since there is no relationship formed between the individuals and the Electoral College, then no trust exists. The survey participants may only have heard the name, but do not understand the responsibilities of Electoral College.

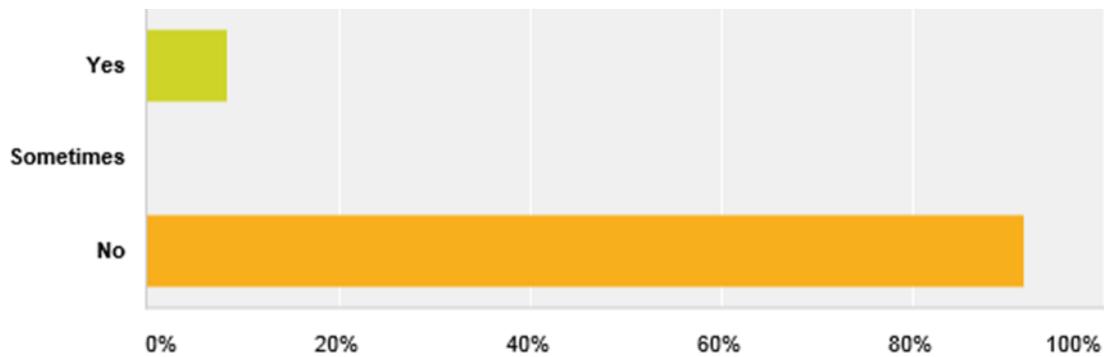


Answer Choices	Responses
Yes	50% 6
No	8.33% 1
Sort Of	41.67% 5
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>

Figure 3. Do you know what the Electoral College is?

Figure 4 demonstrates that these same people were also asked if they are anyone they know been detoured from voting because of the Electoral College. The research takes a complete turn. Individuals know of the Electoral College, but only one of them has been detoured from voting because of this process. The researcher understands either these people are happy with

what the Electoral College does, or they do not know exactly what the Electoral College does. This drove the research in yet, another direction.



Yes	8.33%
	1
Sometimes	0%
	0
No	91.67%
	11
Total	12

Figure 4. Have you or anyone you know been detoured from voting?

**Statistics Do Not Lie**

The presidential election of 2000 is the main election the research revolves around. According to a number of scholars, the 2000 election is what really tuned people in to how the voting process works. People of the United States lost trust in this system and it made some people not want to vote for President at all. However, the results in the table below, of Table 1, indicate otherwise.

Table 1

*Voter Turnout*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Voting-Age Population</b>	<b>Voter Registration</b>	<b>Voter Turnout</b>	<b>Turnout of Voting-Age Population</b>
2012*	239,405,657	197,828,022	126,000,000	57.5 % *Estimate
2008	231,229,580	182,578,209	132,618,580	56.8 %
2004	221,256,931	174,862,732	122,294,978	55.3 %
2000	205,815,000	156,421,311	105,586,274	51.3 %
1996	196,511,000	146,211,960	96,456,345	49.1 %
1992	189,529,000	133,821,178	104,405,155	55.1 %

Table 1 shows that it has been increases in voter turnout since the Presidential year of 2000. It further shows that maybe the system is not what detouring voters away from the polls is. The people, who did not vote, said the Electoral College was not their reason for not exercising that right. The 2000 election was such a huge turning point, but the number of voter increased versus decreased.

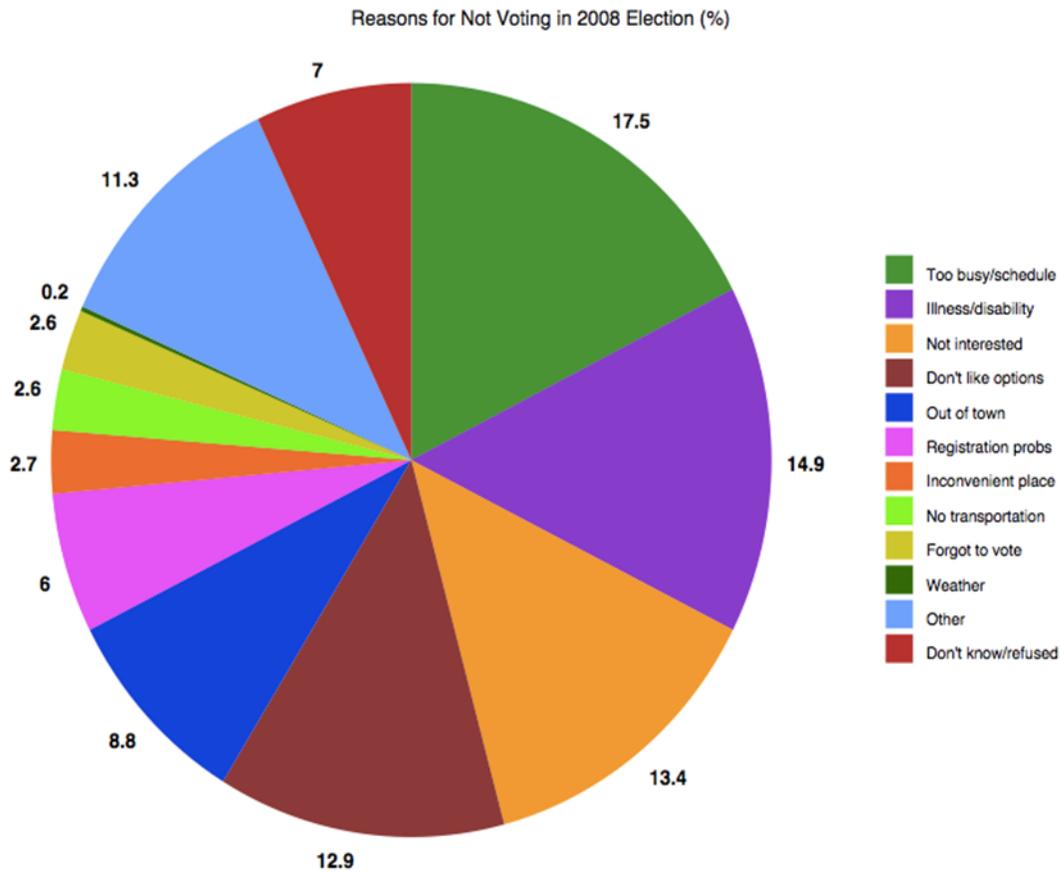


Figure 5. Reasons for Not Voting.

Although a lot of Americans have a problem with the Electoral College, a lot of those people vote. As you can see in the pie chart above most Americans do not participate in voting because they are too busy. The chart indicates that the Electoral College is not the main reason for not voting on Election Day. This single reason indicates that eliminating or reforming the Electoral College may not increase the voter turnout that much. The 7% may increase majorly but that may be it.

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

The Electoral College is a systematic process, established by our Founding fathers, in the United States constitution. This system was established to choose the President of the United States. Instead of the President of the United States being completely chosen by the citizens who vote, the President is chosen by the Electors of the Electoral College. If the Electoral College is not representing the people, then it is only plausible for everyone to have the same question as to whether an eligible voter's vote really counts. The average person does not even know who sits upon the Electors; therefore, it becomes impossible to know what they represent or stand for. The issue is, people refuse to vote on Election Day.

The problem citizens have with this voting process is people not feeling like their voice can be heard. In return, citizens refuse to exercise their right because of the contradiction of the process. In the 2000 presidential election the president was chosen against the popular vote. Although George W. Bush was losing according to the popular vote, He still was elected President of the United States. This has also been done three other times in history. With that being said, people start to notice this and lose their interest of voting.

The purpose of this research was to determine if the Electoral College affects the popular vote and its effectiveness in determining the next President of the United States. If the Electoral College affects citizens from voting, then it is impossible to know or understand what the people need and want. Coming up with a solution to increase voter turnout, and for the Electoral College to be a more reliable system, was the researcher's goal. Voter-eligible citizens have the right to voice their opinions about the way their society is to be run and the government hears our voices when citizens work together such as voting. Citizens know that the most effective way for them to make a change is voting. Although they know the importance of voting, most people

who do not vote refuse to do so because of the Electoral College. Most people do not know much about how the voting process works or how it really works. If more people knew better, these people may take different approaches to voting. The purpose is not only to determine how the Electoral College affects people but also how people can affect the Electoral College.

Based on the findings of the research the Electoral College affects a percentage of the people who vote. When the 2000 election happened, the integrity of the voting system was questioned by millions of Americans. Although the integrity was questioned, the Electoral College is not the main reason most people do not vote. Most people who are registered to vote do not even know the complete job and duties of the Electoral College. The Electoral College does have an effect on certain people in the population, but most of those individuals still vote. Eliminating the Electoral College may not increase the voter turnout by much but it will increase it. The most eliminating this process will do is satisfying the American people and make them feel as though they are in control. Gaining people trust may be the most effective way to gain more participation in the voting process.

Based on the findings of this study, keeping the Electoral College is recommended, but with a little reforming done to the system. The issue with people not voting and the voter turnout being low is a trust issue. If the Electors are introduced to the state, just as the candidates for the President, then people are able to know who represents them. Once people know who the representative is in each state, then the bond between the people and elector will be much stronger.

The electors should be independent voters, so that voting will never be a bias situation. With this, the candidates will focus on actual issues, what the people of the state wants, and what they need. Not only will they be able to represent the people, but explaining the benefits, each

state could receive per presidential candidate is something that the electors will be responsible for. Even with the electors still in play, making it a law that winner takes all will also benefit the country and knowing that the president the majority chooses is the President of the United States. Doing so will eliminate all the bias and mistrust within the Electoral College. Although eliminating the Electoral College sounds like a good option, it may not be recommended. The Electoral College helps with the checks and balances when it comes to the Presidential Campaign. Without them, there may be more chaos than before. The Electoral College was put in place so that the smaller states will have just as much power as bigger states.

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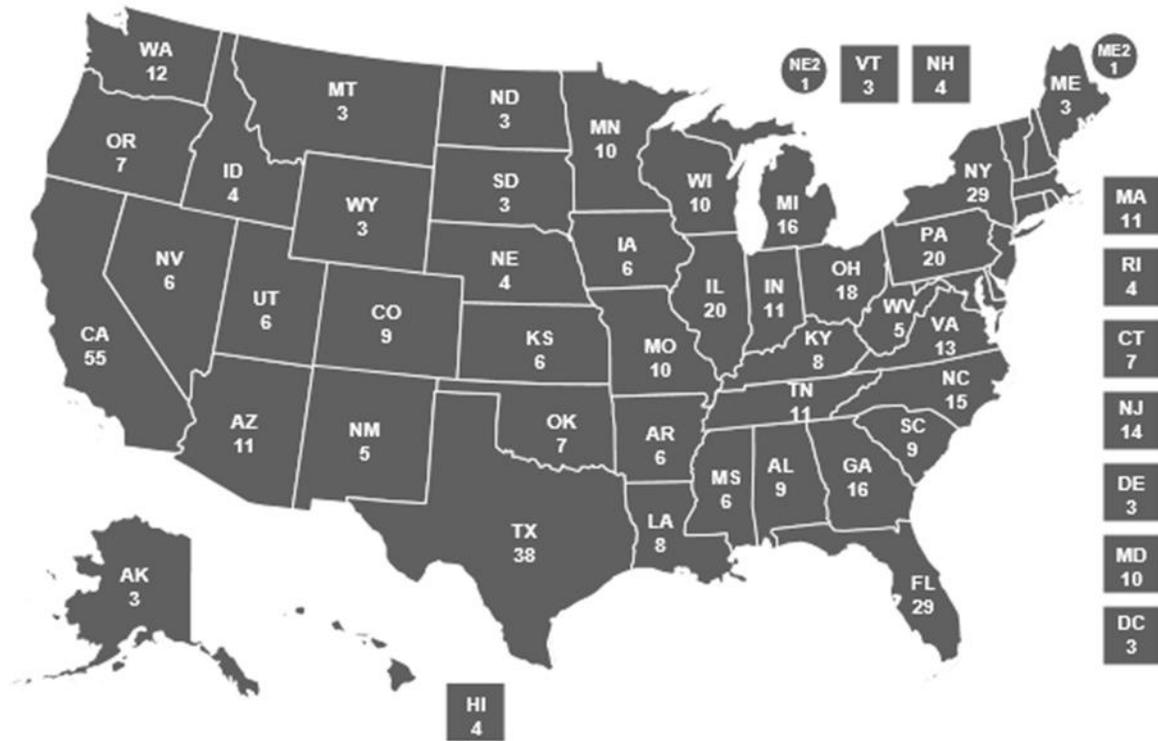
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Appendix A: Survey Questions

1. What is your gender?
2. What is your age?
3. What is your classification?
4. Are you registered to vote?
5. Do you vote every presidential election?
6. Do you know what the Electoral College is?
7. How familiar are you with the Electoral College?
8. Do you like the process of the Electoral College?
9. Have you or anyone you know been detoured from voting because of the Electoral College process?

Appendix B: Electoral College Votes by State



Reference: (2011). Electoral Map [Print Photo]. Retrieved from [http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/obama\\_vs\\_romney\\_create\\_your\\_own\\_electoral\\_college\\_map.html](http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/obama_vs_romney_create_your_own_electoral_college_map.html)

## **Political Campaign Funding: Distribution of Taxpayer Dollars and Corporate Contributions in an Election Year**

*Andrew Garren, Senior*

### *Abstract*

*Politicians relentlessly campaign for office throughout their respective election years. They assemble teams loaded with experts who know the ins and outs of campaigning, and the importance of appealing to all demographics. Politicians feel that it is necessary to promote their agenda as much as possible, and to do so in all corners of the country. As one can imagine, this can be extremely expensive. The everyday American citizen has become accustomed to seeing fancy conventions, colorful advertisements, and spirited rallies that were created by campaign teams in order to help their candidate get elected. However, many voters are still unfamiliar with where the money that funds these events comes from. The majority of it comes from the American taxpayer.*

### **Introduction**

Since 1976, public funding has influenced every single presidential election in the United States of America. Although there was a public funding law passed ten years prior, it was later repealed. The Federal Election Campaign Act and the Revenue Act were both passed in 1971. The Revenue Act designated \$1.00 of the taxpayer's money to presidential campaigns. It was not until 1974, however, that amendments to the FECA established spending limits for publicly financed presidential elections. In 1994, Congress increased the individual tax checkoff amount from \$1.00 to its present level of \$3.00 ("Federal election commission,"2013).

Today funding is much different. Public funding in past election cycles has ranged from about \$73 million in 1976 to nearly \$240 million in 2000. The total for 2008 was over \$139 million, representing the largest decline in spending from one cycle to the next ("Federal election

commission,” 2013). This decline happened in part because the two major party nominees, Democrat Barack Obama and Republican John McCain, chose not to participate in the primary matching fund program.

There are several reasons as to why public campaign financing was created. The reason mentioned by scholars the most, however, is corruption. In the ‘60s and ‘70s, many Americans were beginning to feel that the vast sums of money being donated to campaigns made things unfair. These donations were coming primarily from large corporations. One specific incident that played a huge role in the development of the United States’ current campaign finance system was the Watergate Scandal in 1972. Needless to say, the large amounts of money being spent to cover up this event played a major role in American politics at this time. “There are two things that are important in politics,” Mark Hanna, the great Republican kingmaker of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, once said. “The first thing is money, and I can’t remember what the second one is” (Kirkpatrick, 2010). Public campaign financing was created so elections would be more about issues, and less about money. People also believed that it would give them more of a direct connection to the election.

On the other hand, there were also many people during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century that believed public funding did not eliminate corruption. These people believed that the government was unjustifiably taking hard earned money away from the taxpayers in order to fund presidential campaigns. Increased taxes as a result of public financing were also an issue that upset many employed Americans at this time. Another major complaint towards the creation of public funding is that people’s money might go towards a candidate or group that they did not support.

**Statement of the Problem**

Presidential campaigns are unbelievably expensive, and it only seems to be getting worse. There are numerous political analysts who believe the political conventions that take place every four years are a huge waste of time and money. Tom Murse of About.com wrote:

“American taxpayers help pay for the political conventions held every four years by both the Republican and Democratic national committees. The conventions cost tens of millions of dollars and are put on even though there have been no brokered conventions and every presidential nominee in modern history has been chosen well beforehand” (Murse, 2013).

Based on this quote alone, it is evident that Mr. Murse believes these political conventions are vastly too expensive, and that they ultimately play no role in the election process. He is not the only person with this line of thinking. Many other Americans are ready for the national conventions to be terminated. Once again the main reason people feel that these events are detrimental is because they are paid for by the American taxpayer. Many Americans do not want large amounts of their money being used for something they feel it is insignificant. As Murse explained, taxpayers contribute millions of dollars to fund conventions, and they have seemingly no influence on who Americans vote for. However, the elimination of the political conventions would not eliminate public campaign funding altogether.

There would still be large expenses for the campaign process that would have to be paid for. Therefore, supporters of public financing would still exist. These people often refer to publicly funded elections as “fair” elections. They believe this because full public financing makes candidates and elected officials accountable only to the public interest, rather than private special interests (“Fair elections now,” 2013).

Many political analysts think public financing will likely result in a net savings of money by reducing the waste resulting from inappropriate giveaways to big campaign contributors. It allows elected officials to focus more on running government rather than raising money. This means that taxpayers would actually be saving money in the long run ("Fair elections now," 2013).

### **Background and Significance**

Public campaign financing is detested by people for several reasons. Although many taxpayers believe that their money should not be used to aid politicians, others feel that they should be able to donate as much money as they please. This line of thinking is supported by the United States Constitution and freedom of speech. On the other side of the argument, supporters of public funding feel that this is the equivalent of special interest group involvement, and that it is a corrupt practice. Anthony Corrado states that this debate is a never ending circle.

"The political world has been arguing about campaign finance policy for decades.

Unfortunately, what was once a rich conversation has devolved into a two-sided battleground, with the debate's underlying structure looking much as it did in the 1970s.

One side argues that restraining the role of money through contribution or spending limits is essential to restraining corruption, or the appearance of corruption, or the 'undue influence' of wealthy donors. The other side resists any such limits in the name of free speech. Despite dramatic changes in the political world, and despite some court cases that have been coming down on the speech side of these debates, the arguments on each side remain largely unchanged" (Corrado, 2013).

As Anthony Corrado of the Brookings Institution eloquently stated, this study is extremely relevant and affects all employed Americans who are registered to vote. It is directly

linked to what makes America great: democracy. Political candidates must run a strong campaign if they are to be elected. With these campaigns come a price, and a very high one at that. The way they are paid for, however, is very controversial. Funding, regardless of the type, influences who is elected into the Oval Office. Advocates of public funding want a direct connection to the election and for candidates to concentrate on issues rather than fundraising. They also feel that if a candidate is financially supported by the people, then he or she will fairly represent their community. A survey conducted in 2008 by the Brookings Institution was targeted towards politicians in the U.S. and conveyed that an elected official is more likely to “take care of” the people who helped him/her get elected. If public financing is being executed, then these people would be the working Americans.

Public funding is a system that seeks to remove the influence of money in politics. It is based on the idea that any qualified person should be able to run for office and represent their community (“General benefits of,” 2013). Others feel that public funding is not only a waste of money but that it is unconstitutional. “Forcing an American citizen to support something he/she opposes, some say, will corrupt the American political system far more than lobbyists or special interest groups” (“Public funding of,” 2011).

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to focus on the pros and cons of public funding for political campaigns. This research will aim to discover the fairest and least corrupt way for political campaigns to be funded in the United States. The researcher will further examine the reason public financing was created in the first place and the various elements that compose a successful campaign.

Research Question: Whether taxpayers should financially support political campaigns.

**Definition of Terms**

*Brookings Institute:* The Bookings Institute is an American think tank based in Washington D.C. in the United States. One of Washington's oldest think tanks, Brookings conducts research and education in the social sciences, primarily in economics, metropolitan policy, governance, foreign policy, and global economy and development.

*Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA):* FECA is a law passed in 1971 (and amended in 1974, 1976 and 1979) that limits the financing of campaigns for federal elections. The law requires that candidates and their political committees let the public know who gives them money and how they spend that money. The law also regulates the public funding for presidential elections.

*Interest groups:* Interest groups are social groups whose members control some field of activity and have common aims.

**Literature Review**

Politicians running for office must run a strong campaign in order to be elected. There are numerous factors that make up a successful campaign, the majority of which require some form of funding. Candidates travel, create advertisements, and throw rallies all in an effort to promote their cause. However, these campaign necessities must be paid for, and oftentimes they are quite expensive. Hundreds of thousands of Americans do not realize that the money used to fuel these candidates comes directly from their very own pockets. Some taxpayers believe that they should not have to finance federal campaigns because it is both wrong and unnecessary. The cost of flying Air Force One is currently about \$180,000 per hour, according to ABC News. Only a portion of the cost is borne by the campaign (Koffler, 2012).

There have been several instances where politicians have literally taken the small remainder of their life savings and used it to campaign for office, only to be elected afterwards. For example, Republican Tim Scott of South Carolina recently used his and his wife's personal savings (approximately \$1,000) to run for his seat in District 117 of the South Carolina House of Representatives and won the Republican primary with 53% of the vote. He is now a U.S. Senator. On the other hand, many people do believe public funding for campaigns is a good idea. Some view it as the only honest means to fund candidates because it is a direct representation of the people, as outlined in the U.S. Constitution. The purpose of public financing for elections is to eliminate corruption throughout the campaign process. The following literature reviews will attempt to convey an unbiased explanation for both sides of this particular argument.

### **Unnecessary Expenses**

In an article by Tom Cole of U.S. News, the reader is exposed to several facts about political conventions in the United States today. He starts off by mentioning the 1976 Republican National Convention and its huge impact on the outcome of ensuing election. The tables are turned though when Cole explains that "the most memorable moments of the 2008 conventions involved Greek columns and a joke contrasting pit bulls and hockey moms" (Cole, 2012). In his expert opinion, the nominees are determined months in advance, and today's political conventions exist primarily to showcase each party's candidate, platform, and rising stars.

The article's relevance to the research question is revealed when Cole states that these conventions are paid for by the taxpayers. According to Cole, this is a travesty. The article then lists a few statistics in order to persuade the reader. Cole writes: "While our military faces \$55 billion in cuts each year, the Democratic and Republican parties accepted \$18 million each to

fund their 2012 conventions. Over \$220 million of taxpayer money has been spent on party conventions since 1976” (Cole, 2012. p.1).

Both major parties have the means to pay for their conventions on their own without the taxpayers help. In the most recent presidential election, Obama and Romney both opted not to use public funding for their campaigns. Obama alone raised \$745 million in private contributions. In Cole’s eyes, this is proof that it is unnecessary for the American taxpayer to fund presidential elections. “While political conventions do provide the American people the valuable opportunity to learn more about candidates and party platforms free from media filters, there is still no excuse for devoting taxpayer dollars to fund what are essentially extended campaign infomercials” (Cole, 2012. p.1). Tom Cole acknowledged that the purpose of public financing is to limit the influence of private and corporate contributors, but immediately stated that it has been a miserable failure.

Columnist M.D. Kittle touched on a point that is rarely brought up when discussing campaign funding. This is the basic fact that the American people do not realize what their money is being used for. In *Conventions Cost Federal Taxpayers as Much as \$136 Million*, the title of the article immediately reveals that taxpayers paid over \$136 million for conventions alone in 2012.

“Campaign finance trackers say the millions more flowing into cocktail soirees, celebrity mixers and cigar tent sideshows paid for by unions, corporations and other special interests could eventually come with a higher price tag for taxpayers. While some voters willingly kick in for the balloons, booze, and bunting, plenty of taxpayers are unaware they are contributing to the parties’ parties” (Kittle, 2012, p. 1).

Kittle then goes to quote Jay Beck, the executive director of Common Cause Wisconsin when he stated that Americans do not realize they are the ones paying for these conventions, and that it is ultimately wrong. Kittle makes public funding seem like a waste of the taxpayer's money when he stated that "the approximately \$110 million combined in publicly funded contributions (cost of living adjustment included) is a pittance compared to the \$1 billion-plus the combatants will spend in their campaigns for the White House" (Kittle, 2012. p.1). The private and corporate contributors outweigh the public funds; therefore, many people (mainly conservatives) feel that they should not have to pay large amounts of money for campaigns.

There is a rapid decline in taxpayer support for elections. The article, *Conventions Cost Federal Taxpayers as Much as \$136 Million*, states that, "Heck and others acknowledge that the bipartisan nature of the public fund, divvying up the pot of taxpayer money to candidates and parties evenly, doesn't appeal to an ever-partisan voter" (Kittle, 2012. p.1). Americans who support a particular party are strongly opposed to public funding. This is because a portion of their money goes to the party they do not support. According to this article, this is the biggest downfall of the public funding system. Kittle does, however, go on to state that Heck does detest the fact that Obama and Romney are forced to spend so much time with fund-raising.

### **Public Funding Viewed as Unconstitutional**

A column written by Brian Balfour reveals his strong opinion against the public financing of campaigns. He began his article with a quote by Thomas Jefferson: "To compel a man to furnish funds for the propagation of ideas he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical" (Balfour, 2011. p.1). Balfour chose to focus primarily on elections that take place within his home state of North Carolina. In his eyes, public funding does not reduce the influence of special

interest groups at all. He also brings up a new point that relates to the original research question, which is that public funding for political candidates has a negative effect on free speech rights.

“In short, a taxpayer-financed campaign system forces taxpayers to fund candidates who articulate views and opinions they may vehemently oppose. As Jefferson noted, there is no moral justification to forcing individuals to part with their earned property in order to finance the spread of ideas they detest” (Balfour, 2011. p.1).

Balfour elaborated on the point that Kittle briefly brought up in his writings. Taxpayer-funded campaigns can actually further empower special interest group influences on the campaign cycle. Because candidates must first garner a specified number of small, private donations before becoming eligible for taxpayer campaign funds, special interest organizations – like unions or other political advocacy groups – can merely direct their member lists to pony up the ten dollar checks to their chosen candidate in order to meet the eligibility threshold. This initial small special interest group support can leverage hundreds of thousands in taxpayer funds for their chosen candidate.

Once the handpicked candidate has access to taxpayer dollars, the special interest group can still afford to go ahead and finance campaign ads supporting their chosen candidate. The result is a system in which the hand-picked candidate benefits from both special interest money and taxpayer dollars. According to the article, money gravitates towards power, and the only way to reduce special interest funding is to reduce the power held by politicians.

### **Representing People, Not Corporations**

In 2007, Gloria Allen wrote a column titled *Is taxpayer funding for political campaigns a good idea?* It explains in depth why it is beneficial for taxpayers to pay for political campaign

expenses. She expressed her belief that that public funding is a true representation of the American people.

“One of the principles that our US Constitution is based on is taxation with representation. If we the people are to be taxed, on the federal or state level, those taxes that we pay must represent our wishes, which is why we vote locally on matters, or vote for candidates who take a stand on issues” (Allen, 2007. p.1).

Money given to candidates from sources other than the taxpayers could raise eyebrows and cause extreme controversy, especially if it is from government entities. A private corporation that donates a significant amount of money to a candidate running for office, who later becomes elected, can receive an unfair advantage. An example would be if the elected official created a bill that he/she makes sure congress views, therefore enabling the private corporation to buy vast amounts of public lands, such as pristine wilderness areas that were formally owned and controlled by the federal or state national forest for the purpose of oil extraction or the mining of mineral deposits. Allen expressed her belief that when an American taxpayer makes the choice to donate money to a particular candidate, they are giving that person their vote of confidence and speaking up. This is what the democratic process is all about.

### **Fighting Corruption**

In a scholarly book entitled *Public Funding of Judicial Elections: Financing Campaigns for Fair and Impartial Courts* written by Professor Deborah Goldberg of NYU, she lists several reasons that support public financing in elections.

“Publically funded elections promote numerous benefits in addition to fighting corruption, all of which bolster the case for public financing. By focusing exclusively on the significant anti-corruption benefits of public financing, advocates have sometimes

overlooked these other ways that public funding programs enhance the legitimacy of government” (Goldberg, 2002. p.20)

The book lists the benefits of public financing as: Promoting More Contested and Competitive Elections, Fostering Diversity in the Electoral Process, and Encouraging Voter-Centered Campaigns (Goldberg, 2002. p. 7).

Whether or not taxpayers should be responsible for paying the massively expensive costs of political campaigns is an issue that is easily debated because of its numerous variables.

America must ultimately has to decide is if it is worth it for taxpayers to aid funding, or do the special interest groups outweigh everybody else by themselves. This research aims to explain the reasoning behind those who are in favor and those who are against public funding. All of the research in favor seems to focus on the same basic points. Those reasons include taxation with representation, reduced corruption, and more competitive elections.

The people opposed also seem to focus on recurring themes: public financing is a waste of money and it ultimately forces Americans to financially support candidates they are not in favor of. Although political campaigns can be expensive, they are one hundred percent necessary. After viewing some of the successful campaigns that have occurred in this country on extremely low budgets, it is easy to see why Americans argue over the manner in which campaigns are funded.

### **Research Methodology**

The purpose of this analysis was to explore the pros and cons of public funding for campaigns. Also, this study was designed to explain why public funding was initially created. Campaigns are very costly, especially presidential campaigns. Fees for traveling, conventions, rallies, and fundraisers are through the roof, and somebody is forced to pay for it. These

expenses and their allocations are where public funding comes into play. Vast amounts of money are taken from employed Americans and used by politicians to run a campaign, which may be unnecessary and unconstitutional.

Tim Scott ran a successful campaign on his personal savings alone, and he is not the only person in the United States to have ever done so. Of course there are two sides to every argument, and this debate is no exception. The “little guys” in America want to be fairly represented and cared for. Many of these people fear that when candidates accept millions of corporate dollars throughout an election year, that when he/she is elected they will answer to the corporations first. However, both alternatives must be properly examined in order to discover which style of funding both agrees with the constitution and properly represents the people.

Research Question: Whether taxpayers should financially support political campaigns.

This chapter describes the research design; the role of the researcher; the data collection; analysis and interpretation procedures; and the limitations that arose from the methodology selected for this investigation.

### **Research Design**

This analysis explored the opinions of people who were either opposed, or in favor of public funding for political campaigns. The research also attempted to reveal what caused public financing to be created. Basically, the Watergate Scandal that took place in the 1970s played a huge role in the creation of public funding. Many people believed that interest groups were contributing so much money to the candidate they supported that it was corrupt and unfair. Public campaign funding was created soon afterwards. However, many Americans are opposed to this method of political funding for several reasons. One of these reasons is the fact that their hard earned money could be used to strengthen the campaign of a candidate they do not support.

Many experts believe public funding is a complete waste of money. Countless politicians have been elected to office after personally funding their own campaigns. Barack Obama and Mitt Romney both chose not to receive public funds in the most recent election.

The researcher is qualified for conducting experiments in the areas pertaining to public funding. The researcher has an expertise in the election process and the variables that compose a solid campaign. He also has expertise in this area because he has been studying political science for the past four years at Savannah State University. Also, the researcher has watched numerous news programs and talk shows concerning the campaign process. The researcher also attended a debate in 2005 between Mayor Deke Copenhaver of Augusta, Georgia and his running mate.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

The majority of the research collected for this study came from scholarly articles and political websites. The researcher did, however, use some online opinion papers that were written on this subject. Since the topic is an argument that has evidence supporting both sides, the researcher found it necessary to refer to some of the opinions of American taxpayers. A blog on President Barack Obama was referenced in order to fairly represent the opinions of some of the American people. Columns on political websites such as U.S.News.com and scholarly articles from professors at NYU were used in order to gain information on the subject.

After conducting research and referring to various sources the researcher was able to determine why public funding was created, and also that there is ample evidence to support either side of the argument. Many political figures were elected without the assistance of public funds, and national conventions have lost relevance with every passing election. This makes people feel that they should not have to support campaigns in a financial manner. People who tend to be more liberal think that this method of funding helps reduce the role of interest groups

and eliminates corrupt practices throughout election years. These people also believe that public funding is constitutional because it supports the concept that politicians represent the people. Regardless of the stance one takes on the subject, there are several legitimate reasons one can use to support his or her point of view.

The largest limitation of this research is that there are so many opinions on this particular subject. Although it may sound like a contradiction, the numerous stances on this topic make it very difficult to discover which information is legitimate and which information is not. Although the scholarly articles have been very helpful, the most useful source thus far has been the concrete examples of politicians funding their own campaigns and winning their respective elections. These stories are not opinion; they are fact. Therefore, the researcher can determine that they are reliable sources. So in conclusion, the largest hindrance is sifting through the numerous opinions on this topic.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

This study attempts to discover whether or not people who are above the age of 18 in the United States are against, or in favor of public campaign financing. This has been a topic of much debate over the past four decades in America. There are many people who are very passionate about this issue and have sufficient evidence to support their beliefs. Even the U.S. Constitution has been referenced by experts and political analysts who have respected opinions on the matter.

Political funding is something that plays a huge role in the American democratic process. The way candidates promote themselves is based primarily on how large their funds are. Some people believe that these funds should be fueled by the taxpayers in an attempt to eliminate

corruption from corporate donors. Others believe that there is no logical way to justify public funding.

“The idea of having the taxpayers pick up the tab for campaigns is so outrageous it’s hard to believe anyone really favors it. You’d think that even the watered-down notion of a free society most people accept today would include the freedom to abstain from contributing to candidates. Thomas Jefferson said compelling a person to support a cause he disagrees with is ‘sinful and tyrannical.’ I can’t even imagine a rebuttal. Being forced to give money to politicians one despises is the kind of thing that would have driven the Founders to revolution had taxation alone not done the trick”-Sheldon Richman (Richman, 2010. p.1)

Mr. Richman, much like Brian Balfour, referenced a quote by Thomas Jefferson in order to express his discontent for public funding. The difference between the two, however, is that Richman feels that in a “free society” American citizens should be allowed to refuse to fund campaigns. Balfour focused more on the concept of taxpayer money aiding a candidate they do not support. This research will also attempt to reveal whether or not adults in the United States are even aware of what public funding for elections is and how it works.

### **Data Analysis**

The data acquired should provide the researcher with further knowledge on the opinions of Americans over the age of 18 in regards to the way political campaigns should be financially supported in response to the research question of whether taxpayers should financially support political campaigns. This section of the research will describe actual findings from the survey. These are real people with real responses. The people in this survey are both males and females over the age of 18.

Male	55.81% 24
Female	44.19% 19
Total	43

*Figure 1. What is your gender?*

Figure 1 demonstrates that of the 43 people, it is somewhat evenly distributed. However, there are slightly more men (55.81%) who replied. This leads into another question aimed at identifying the specific demographic of the people responding to the survey.

18 to 24	67.44% 29
25 to 34	18.60% 8
35 to 44	2.33% 1
45 to 54	9.30% 4
55 to 64	0% 0
65 to 74	0% 0
75 or older	2.33% 1
Total	43

*Figure 2. What is your age?*

Figure 2 received a much more lop-sided response, as the vast majority (67.44%) of the people in this sample is between the ages of 18 to 24. It was also determined that 86.04% of the people answering were between the ages of 18 and 34. Therefore, the acquired information is primarily from young adults.

Yes	69.77%	30
No	27.91%	12
retired	2.33%	1
Total		43

*Figure 3. Are you currently employed?*

Figure 3 demonstrates a one-sided response, as almost 70% of the people involved with this experiment are employed. This data shows that the research question directly applies to the taxpayers who answered this survey. However, there is still another aspect of this research that has not been mentioned yet. It deals directly with voting. Further research must determine whether or not the people involved with the survey are registered voters.

Yes	86.05%	37
No	13.95%	6
Total		43

*Figure 4. Are you registered to vote?*

Figure 4 represents the people who completed the survey are members of an appropriate demographic for this research. The majority of the people represent young, employed, taxpayers, and voters.

Yes	6.98%	3
No	95.35%	40
Total		43

*Figure 5. Should taxpayers be forced to financially support political campaigns?*

In Figure 5, of the 43 people who answered this question, only three believe that taxpayers should financially support campaigns. This response leads to the research question of whether politicians should fund their own campaigns.

Yes	90.70%	39
No	9.30%	4
Total		43

*Figure 6.* Do you believe politicians should fund their own campaigns?

Given the data in Figure 5, the information in Figure 6 is no surprise, as the people who chose to answer these questions were of very similar age and social status. This conclusion is why the answers to the last two questions were landslide decisions.

Although the sample size is relatively small, the information is still very valuable. The data reveals that most of the people in the United States who vote and pay taxes are against public campaign financing. It seems as if these people are in favor of Tim Scott's method of running a campaign, which is for politicians to financially support themselves. A person can be opposed to public funding for elections without believing that candidates should pay for their own campaigns.

### **Summary Conclusion and Recommendation**

There are several different methods for funding political campaigns in the United States of America. All of them have their respective pros and cons and have been debated for decades. The way in which campaigns are paid for is very relevant and affects many of Americans every year. It is even more relevant now because of the growing costs for running a successful campaign, especially for the position of president.

There are three different forms of campaign funding that are usually discussed. Of those three, two of them are very controversial. Experts believe that taxpayers can fund campaigns, politicians can receive donations primarily from special interest groups and corporations, or the candidates can pay for everything themselves.

Public funding was created in the 1970s in an attempt by the government to eliminate corruption and directly connect American citizens to the election process. Although some feel that this system has worked for the most part, others believe that it has caused more corruption than there was beforehand. This is for several reasons. Many Americans feel that it is a waste of the taxpayer's money, or that it goes against the Constitution to require citizens to financially support a candidate or group that they dislike.

Candidates run their races very competitively. They travel extensively, giving countless speeches, throwing expensive conventions, and conducting numerous rallies. This campaign process takes place over the course of an entire year. Deciding upon the best method for campaign funding is something that will never be a unanimous decision, but it is something that is frequently discussed, and can ultimately influence the entire world. The focus of this study was the pros and cons of public funding for political campaigns with further examination of public financing, in order to have a successful campaign.

In this perspective, campaign funding was investigated in the United States. The opinions of many politicians on the matter were also revealed in this research. Likewise, data was also collected from 43 U.S. citizens over the age of 18. This data expressed people's various opinions on how campaigns should be paid for. Although political analysts seem to be divided evenly on the matter, the people who responded to the survey seem to detest public financing.

There are vast amounts of evidence that support every method of campaign funding, which is why it is such a controversial topic.

Based on the findings of this research, it is the researcher's recommendation that more be written on the Watergate Scandal's influence on the current campaign financing system. After exploring several credible sources, Watergate was only briefly mentioned on regards to this topic. It is also recommended that more elected officials fund their own campaigns and share their respective stories.

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Appendix A: List of Acronyms

D.C.	District of Columbia
FECA	Federal Election Campaign Act
NYU	New York University
U.S.	United States

Appendix B: Survey Questions

1. What is your gender?
2. What is your age?
3. Are you currently employed?
4. Are you registered to vote?
5. Are you aware of public funding for political campaigns?
6. Should taxpayers be forced to financially support political campaigns?
7. Do you believe politicians should fund their own campaigns?

Appendix C: Political Campaign Funding: Distribution of Taxpayer Dollars and Corporate Contributions in an Election Year (2012-Present)

Donors	Democratic	Republican	Total
Las Vegas Sands Corp.	0%	100%	\$11,738,600
The Goldman Sachs Group, Inc	29%	71%	\$4,769,994
Comcast Corporation	64%	36%	\$2,504,219
AT&T, Inc.	35%	65%	\$2,504,219
Dreamworks Animations SKG Inc.	99%	1%	\$2,370,150

*Reference:* Hess, Alexander F.M and McIntyre, Douglas A. (2012). 10 companies making the biggest political donations: 24/7 Wall St.