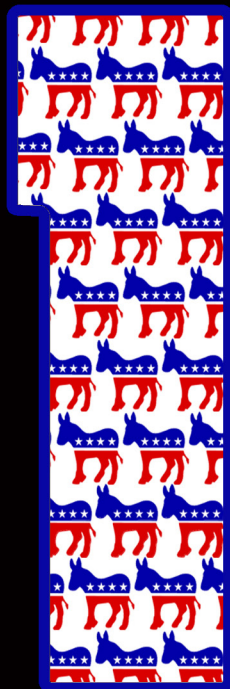
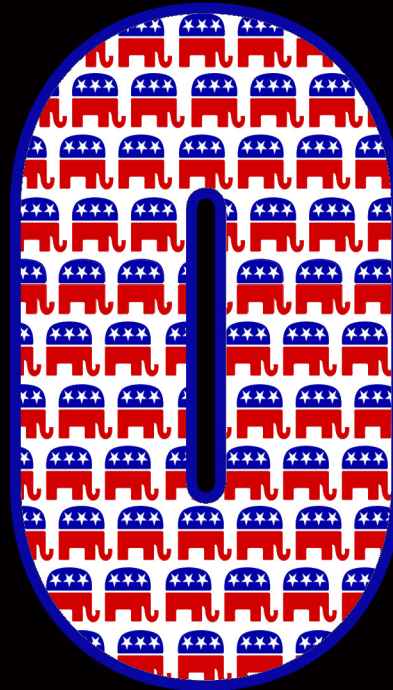
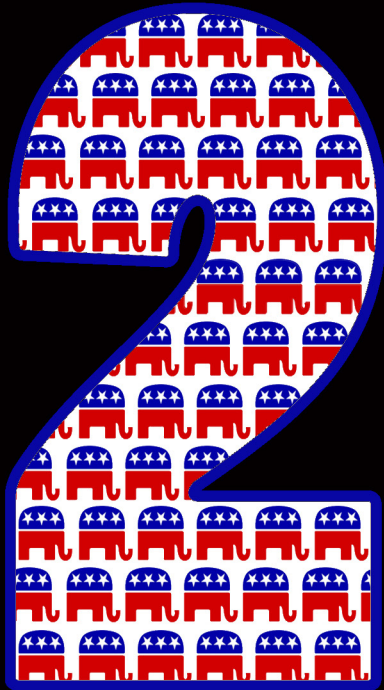


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VANDERBILT: *The New Left?*

Vanderbilt Public Opinion Poll Results

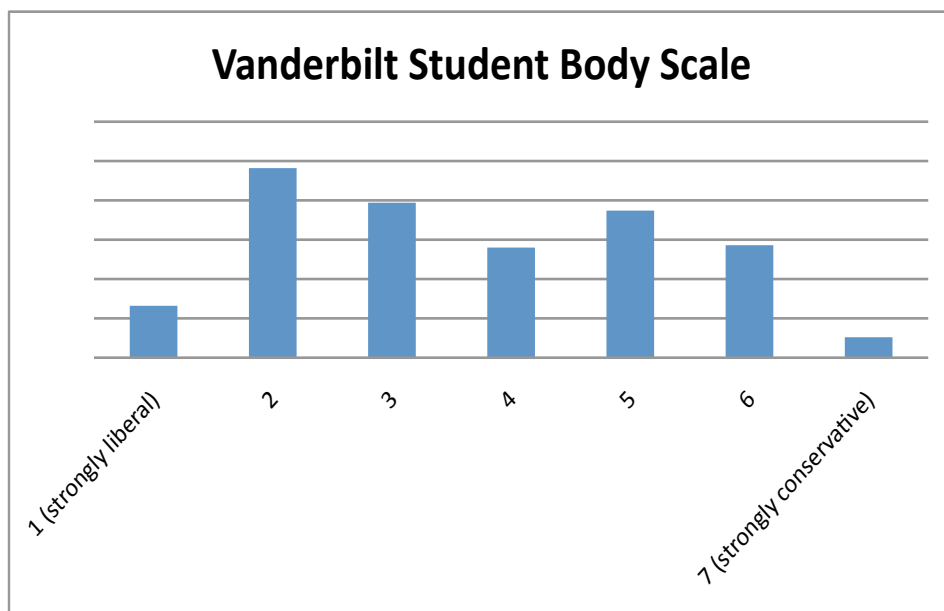
LIBBY MARDEN AND NICHOLAS VANCE

Where do Vanderbilt students really fall on the political spectrum? In this report, we examine how Vanderbilt students identify themselves on a liberal-conservative scale, which major political party they most identify with, which presidential candidate they are most likely to vote for, and what issues are most important in determining their political preferences. Drawing from the data collected in the study, we find that undergraduate students at Vanderbilt predominantly identify as moderately liberal, are more affiliated with the Democratic Party, are more likely to vote for Barack Obama, and give economic conditions, health care, and education the most consideration in the formulation of their political preferences.

Data are from a Vanderbilt Political Review survey conducted in October of 2012. A total of 1,000 undergraduate students were asked a series of four questions pertaining to their political opinions.

Every demographic category (class, greek affiliation, race, etc.) in the sample was similar to reported numbers for the university undergraduate population. The only demographic that was re-weighted due to disproportionate responses was gender, as 59% of respondents in the survey were female while the Vanderbilt population is roughly 50%. To compensate and reapportion for this disparity, each male respondent was weighted for 1.25 and each female respondent for 0.83.

The first question asked was for respondents to place themselves on an ideological scale from 1 to 7, where “1” represents “strongly liberal” and “7” represents “strongly conservative.”



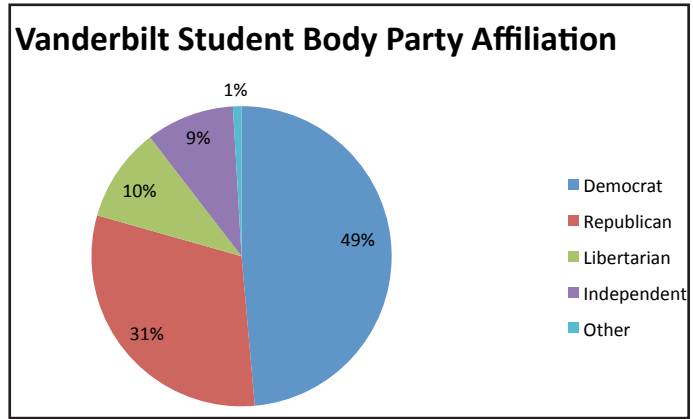
Students who responded as “strongly liberal” (1) to “somewhat liberal” (3) accounted for 50.4% of respondents.

Students who responded as having no strong political ideologies (4) accounted for 14% of respondents.

Students who responded as “somewhat conservative” (5) to “strongly conservative” (7) accounted for 35.6% of respondents.

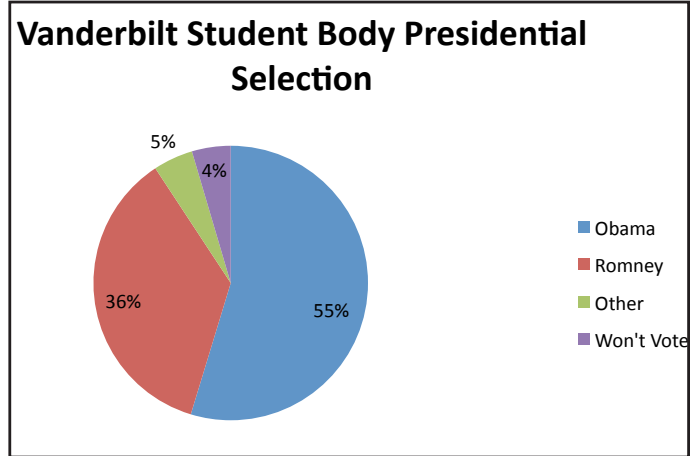
In the second question, participants were asked to respond with Democratic Party, Republican Party, Libertarian Party, Green Party or Other to the question: “Generally speaking, which of the following political parties do you most identify with (even if only weakly)?”

Forty-nine percent of students responded they identified with the Democratic Party. Thirty-one percent of students responded they identified with the Republican Party. Ten percent of students responded they identified with the Libertarian Party. Nine percent of students responded they identified as Independent.

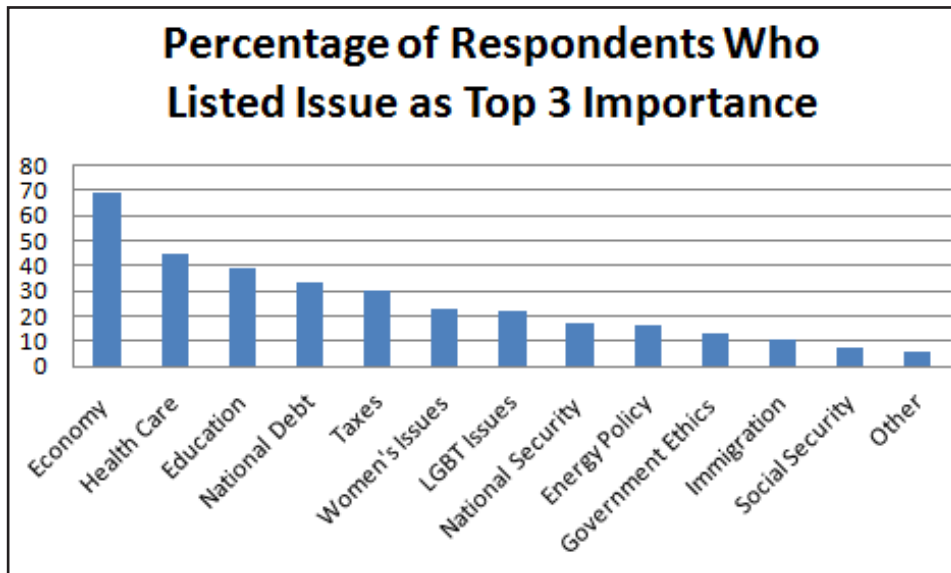


The third question asked participants to respond with Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, or other to the following: “Which of the following candidates are you most likely to vote for in the upcoming presidential election?”

Fifty-five percent of students responded they would vote for President Obama. Thirty-six percent of students responded they would vote for Governor Romney. Nine percent of students responded they would either vote for another candidate or would abstain.



In the fourth question, respondents were asked to select three issues most important to them in deciding who to vote for in the upcoming presidential election from a list of 12 topics. These categories included economy, health care, government ethics and corruption, taxes, energy policy, education, social security, immigration, national security, policies towards gays and lesbians, women’s issues, and national debt.



By a significant margin, the top issues for respondents were the economy (69%), health care (45%), and education (39%). Following these top three issues, the next important were the national debt (33%), taxes (30%), women’s issues (22%), policies towards gays and lesbians (22%), national security (17%), energy policy (16%), government ethics and corruption (13%), immigration (11%), Social Security (7%), and other (6%).

Demographic Breakdown

	%Democrat	%Republican	%Independent	%Libertarian	%Other
Male	43	30	11	14	2
Female	53	31	11	14	2
Asian	62	9	11	18	0
African-American*	80	5	9	3	3
Hispanic*	53	24	10	10	3
White	43	36	10	11	0
Midwest	43	32	13	9	1
Northeast	54	23	9	12	2
Southeast	45	34	10	10	1
West	55	30	10	5	0
Christian	34	46	11	8	1
Jewish	66	18	8	7	1
Nonreligious	67	9	7	15	2
*<100 respondents					

Greek	40	41	10	8	1
Non-Greek	54	23	10	12	1
College of Arts and Science	50	30	9	10	1
Peabody College	53	29	13	5	0
School of Engineering	42	29	14	13	2

The data show that Vanderbilt's current student body leans slightly to the left, but strong conservative, independent, and libertarian affiliations exist as well. Students were also more likely to affiliate themselves with the Democratic Party and were more likely to vote for President Barack Obama in the 2012 Presidential election. The only demographic categories in which the Republican/conservative percentage was the plurality were Christian and Greek. Students responded they are most concerned with the economy, health care, and education. Potentially due to the recession and students' focus on future employment, social issues were not listed as the top issues as compared to economic concerns.

While these results show Vanderbilt to be slightly liberal, they also show a wide variety of political affiliations and issue importance. Additionally, the concern of political apathy was not fully addressed. Some may consider themselves more liberal or conservative, but the strength of these beliefs were not measured in this study.

The size of the sample (1000 respondents) statistically minimizes potential bias. But as the data were collected via online survey, potential bias could result from the sampling method. However, because the sample size is large, we believe our data to be representative of the Vanderbilt student body.

The VPR Executive Board would like to thank our faculty advisor Professor Joshua Clinton for his assistance in the survey process and results calculation. We would also like to thank everyone who participated in this survey.

For more about the Vanderbilt Political Review Public Opinion Poll and for complete survey results, visit vanderbiltpoliticalreview.com.

Foreign Aid and the American Web

A defense of U.S. financial assistance through USAID

KATIE MILLER

Hassan, a citizen of Baghdad's Al Rabee district, was only five years old when his life was cut short. Due to the village's lack of functional kindergartens—and its lack of safe playgrounds—playing in the streets was the norm for Hassan and his friends. That is, until Hassan was hit by a car in what was ultimately a highly preventable and eye-opening tragedy. The accident was only one of many indicators that something needed to change in Baghdad. While Hassan's fate was not typical, children across Baghdad were struggling in school due to the sheer lack of quality early childhood education. Through cooperation with the U.S. Agency for International Development, or USAID, however, Baghdad community action groups were able to create dozens of new kindergartens and safe playgrounds for young children. Students like Hassan are no longer forced to turn to the streets for entertainment, and with any luck, young children will experience increased success in primary school. Without U.S. foreign aid, this successful turnaround may not have been possible (United States Agency for International Development).

Why, then, is foreign aid not met with one hundred percent support from U.S. citizens, scholars, and politicians alike? If by sharing our relative good fortune with countries and villages in poverty we can help save the lives of young kids like Hassan, what reasons do we have to hold back? Foreign

aid, however, is a significantly more complex issue than it may appear at first glance. For one thing, it does not always seem to work; critics argue that all too often, money is given to corrupt dictators, used unwisely, or spent producing no tangible benefits (Kristof, 2012). Foreign aid, it is argued, is a fruitless endeavor that does more harm than good. Steadfast proponents, on the other hand, point to uplifting success stories across the globe, glossing over the considerable pitfalls associated with foreign assistance (Easterly & Radelet, 2006). While both sides of the debate are guilty of oversimplification, criticisms of foreign aid ultimately illustrate not foreign aid's overall ineffectiveness but rather how aid strategies can be improved. U.S. foreign aid is critical in combating global poverty, and through a few key improvements, will only continue to increase in effectiveness.

Perhaps the biggest deficiency in the argument that foreign aid does more harm than good lies in the very definition of the word "harm." Scholars like William Easterly, an economics professor at New York University, cite the billions of dollars spent on aid—six hundred billion dollars to Africa over the past forty-five years alone (Flintoff, 2007)—of

which much, it seems, is spent padding the pockets of corrupt dictators like Paul Biya of Cameroon (World Bank, 2001). Those living in extreme poverty in countries like Africa are still suffering from the same humanitarian injustices that they were years ago—HIV/AIDS, starvation, and malaria, just to name a few—all because those who desperately need the money are not receiving it (Flintoff, 2007). Additionally, by giving money to regimes that do not promote democracy and fail to monitor concrete results, the U.S. simply strengthens illegitimate regimes and continues to drive these countries further away from democracy. Even when aid is implemented, this "top-down" approach promotes dependency rather than self-



sufficiency (Easterly & Radelet, 2006), leaving the impoverished reliant on government handouts. Collectively, the argument goes, this is proof that foreign aid is harmful—an adjective that implies the countries receiving U.S. foreign aid would be better off without it.

What is disputable about this logic, however, is its implication that those in extreme poverty would actually be better left alone than given U.S. assistance. Yes, it is a known fact in the aid world that those who need the money most do not always see it (Easterly & Radelet, 2006). Additionally, it is true that aid organizations often fail to implement strategies to gauge effectively the results of aid programs, and aid programs often do not utilize the kind of bottom-up design necessary for long-term success (Kristof, 2012). By focusing purely on these failures, it can be easy to deem foreign aid a useless and damaging undertaking—but this outlook fails to acknowledge where aid has and often does succeed. Say, for example, that an aid program pledges to provide one thousand people with a vaccine and due to planning and implementation shortcomings can only give it to ten. By deeming the entire project a fail-

ure, those few whose lives were positively impacted are completely discounted. From an economic, cost-benefit perspective, the project was a waste of money. But from a humanitarian standpoint, the lives of ten impoverished humans were saved. How can that be considered harmful?

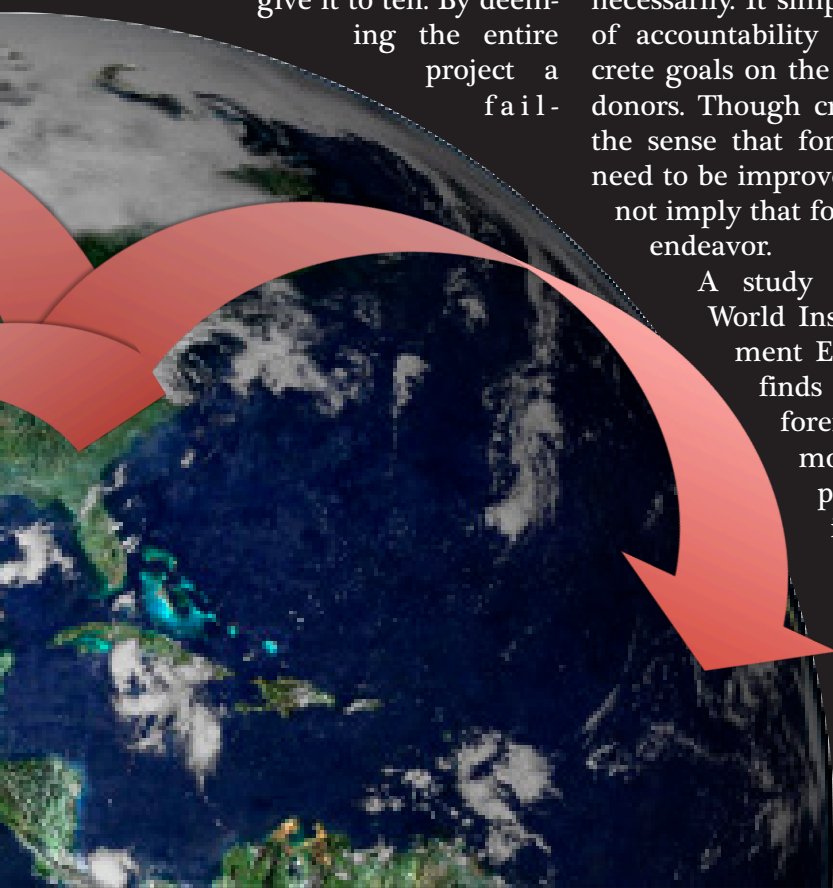
This speaks to another critical flaw in foreign aid strategies that often leads critics to consider foreign aid a failed endeavor: unrealistic (or nonexistent) goals. For example, many foreign aid critics point to the Millennium Development Goals, or MDGs, as proof of foreign aid's uselessness. These goals, established by the United Nations, target a variety of problems that the U.N. hopes to eradicate through foreign aid by 2015. One goal that has been especially disparaged by foreign aid critics states that the proportion of people living on less than one dollar per day will be halved from 1990 to 2015 (United Nations). Most scholars agree that this is simply not achievable, especially in regions of sub-Saharan Africa (Easterly & Radelet, 2006). Does this mean that by 2015, not a single person living in poverty will see their lives improve, or that poverty will actually grow? Not necessarily. It simply speaks to a lack of accountability and realistic, concrete goals on the part of foreign aid donors. Though critics are correct in the sense that foreign aid strategies need to be improved, this reality does not imply that foreign aid is a failed endeavor.

A study published by the World Institute for Development Economics Research finds that, worldwide, foreign aid does promote growth and improve lives—even in those countries ruled by illegitimate regimes (McGillivray, 2006). Granted, the specific results of a given foreign aid program vary widely

from country to country and hinge on a variety of factors (McGillivray, 2006), but essentially, the facts are clear: foreign aid reduces poverty, despite substantial room for improvement in how foreign aid accomplishes its goals (Kristof, 2012). Taken together, this research solidifies the idea that the “fatal” flaws of foreign aid cited by critics are, in reality, weak spots of strategies that are well-intentioned but not always well-executed. While aid has unquestionably improved the well-being of thousands living in poverty and will continue to do so, aid strategies need to be tailored to each individual country, promote objective accountability, and focus on clear, concrete goals. It is only by making these fundamental changes that foreign aid programs can realistically hope to eradicate global poverty—and in doing so, silence naysayers.

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Why Cleaner Air Also Means Better Jobs

Guest Essay by Senator Lamar Alexander



Over the years I have learned that cleaner air means better jobs as well as better health for Tennesseans.

That's why this week I will vote to uphold a clean air rule that requires utilities in other states to install the same pollution controls that TVA already is installing on its coal-fired power plants.

TVA alone can't clean up our air. Tennessee is bordered by more states than any other state. We are surrounded by our neighbors' smokestacks. If we want more Nissan and Volkswagen plants, we will have to stop dirty air from blowing into Tennessee.

Here's why: The first thing Nissan did when it came to Tennessee in 1980 was to apply for an air quality

permit for emissions from its paint plant. If Nashville's air had already been too dirty to allow these emissions, Nissan would have gone to Georgia, and auto jobs wouldn't make up one third of Tennessee's manufacturing jobs today.

Every one of Tennessee's major metropolitan areas is struggling to meet standards that govern whether industries can acquire the air quality permits to locate here.

I once asked Sevierville Chamber of Commerce leaders to name their top priority. The answer? Clean air. East Tennesseans know that 9 million tourists come each year to see the Great Smoky Mountains—not the Great Smoggy Mountains. They want those tourist dollars and the jobs they bring to keep coming.

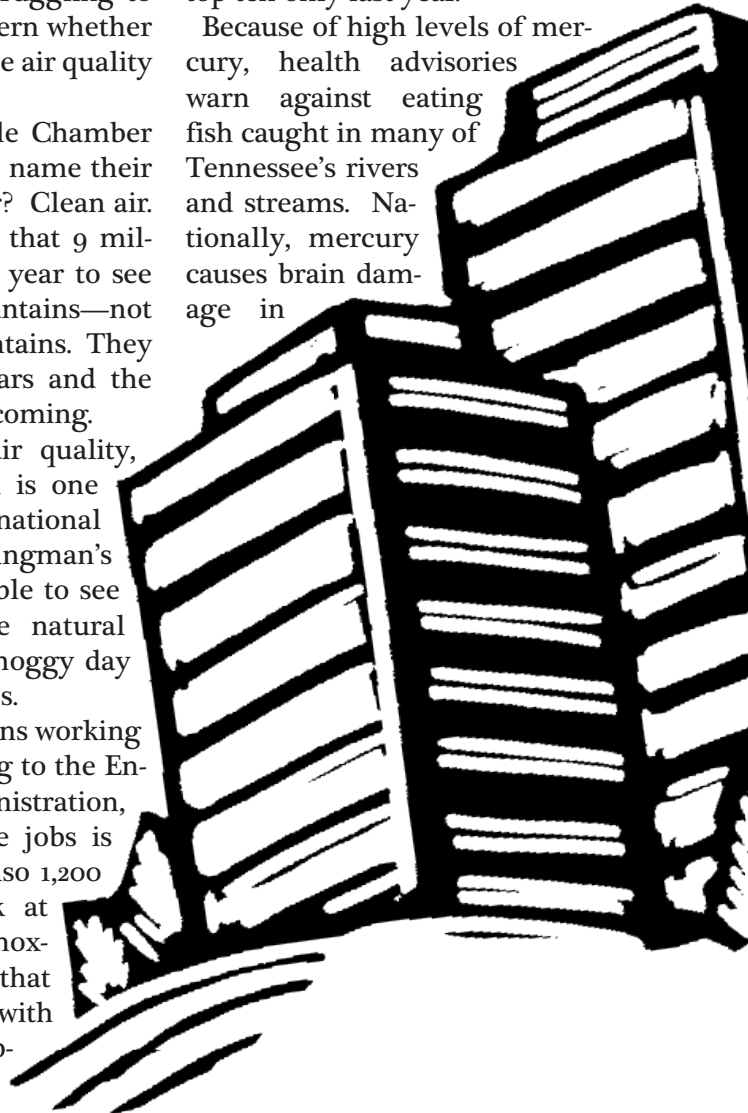
Despite progress in air quality, the Great Smokies still is one of the most polluted national parks. Standing on Clingman's Dome, you should be able to see 100 miles through the natural blue haze. Yet on a smoggy day you can see only 24 miles.

We have 546 Tennesseans working in coal mining according to the Energy Information Administration, and every one of those jobs is important. There are also 1,200 Tennesseans who work at the Alstom plants in Knoxville and Chattanooga that will supply the country with pollution control equip-

ment required by this rule.

Every- one of their jobs is important, too. Of the top five worst U.S. cities for asthma, according to the Asthma and Allergy Foundation of America, three are in Tennessee: Memphis, Chattanooga and Knoxville. Nashville dropped out of the top ten only last year.

Because of high levels of mercury, health advisories warn against eating fish caught in many of Tennessee's rivers and streams. Nationally, mercury causes brain damage in



more than 315,000 children each year, according to the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine. Half of U.S. manmade mercury comes from coal-fired power plants. The new rule requires removing 90 percent of this mercury.

The rule also controls 186 other

particles, a major source of respiratory diseases.

While some have said this rule is anti-coal, I say that it is pro-coal because pollution control equipment guarantees coal a future in our clean energy mix. Longterm, TVA will be able to produce at least one

Agency estimates a 3 percent increase nationwide. Because TVA already has committed to install the pollution controls, its customers will pay this with or without the rule.

To reduce these costs, Sen. Mark Pryor of Arkansas and I will intro-

"Ever since Tennesseans elected me to the United States Senate I have worked to clean up our air, because I know that not doing so jeopardizes our health as well as our opportunity to be one of the nation's leading states for auto jobs and tourism."

hazardous pollutants including arsenic, acid gases and toxic metals. Utilities have known this was coming since 1990 because these pollutants are specifically identified in federal law. An added benefit is that the equipment installed to control these hazardous pollutants also will capture fine

third of its electricity from clean coal plants. The rest will come from even cleaner natural gas and pollution-free nuclear or hydro-power.

This new equipment will add a few dollars a month to residential electric bills. The Environmental Protection

duce legislation to allow six years to comply with the rule, as many utilities have requested. We also will urge President Obama to exercise his authority to allow six years.

Ever since Tennesseans elected me to the United States Senate I have worked to clean up our air, because I know that not doing so jeopardizes our health as well as our opportunity to be one of the nation's leading states for auto jobs and tourism.

Lamar Alexander is the Senior United States Senator from Tennessee. His website is www.alexander.senate.gov



U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL *Time for Reform?*

Issues with and potential reforms to the structure of the United Nations

— KATE HARSH

Although the United Nations was established in 1945 “to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems” (UN 1945, I.1.3), the ability of all permanent United Nations Security Council (UNSC) members to veto any resolution hinders the U.N.’s ability to accomplish its goals. The U.N. was created to solve important international issues, and is the only body with the international means and support to do so. Passing a resolution in the Security Council, however, requires at least nine affirmative votes and zero negative votes from permanent members – and due to different motives and interests, reaching consensus among all P5 members can extraordinarily difficult. Moreover, the ability of a single nation to prevent a resolution from being enacted – even if every other nation in the U.N. supports said resolution – suggests that the UNSC fails to come to decisions that accurately represent the international community. With these points in mind, it is necessary to reform the Security

Council by reducing the power of the P5 nations and increasing that of the General Assembly in order to reduce the UNSC’s influence and better represent the interests and views of the U.N. as a whole.

The United States of America, in particular, has exercised its veto power to block 77 resolutions, and in 54 of these instances, it was the sole Security Council member to do so. The U.K. has independently vetoed a resolution seven times, and France has only done so twice. While it is expected that permanent members of the UNSC will use their veto power to safeguard domestic interests, the U.S.’ use of the veto has gone beyond acceptable delegated power. Of the vetoes that the U.S. has exercised, 36 were used to block resolutions critical of Israel. No other P5 member has abused their veto power to aid another nation to the same extent that the United States has on behalf of Israel. In fact, since 1982, the number of vetoes the U.S. has used to block resolutions pertaining to Israel is greater than the total number of vetoes cast by all of the other P5 members during the same time period for any reason (Global Policy Forum 2009).

Even though groups such as Amnesty International (Amnesty International USA) and Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch 2012) are alarmed by some of Israel’s actions and have suggested Israel to be complicit in some human rights and international law violations, the United States’ willingness to veto resolutions has rendered futile UNSC efforts to reprimand Israel. For example, the U.S. vetoed a widely-supported resolution condemning the Israeli killing of several U.N. employees and the destruction of the World Food Program warehouse, as well as one calling upon Israel to refrain from settlement activities in East Jerusalem (Global Policy Forum 2009). While collective action among nations can be difficult to achieve, the lack of such action becomes a serious issue when the topics at hand involve serious matters of human rights, genocide, and other atrocities.

Perhaps the most straightforward solution to these problems would be to abolish the veto power entirely. According to the U.N. Charter, the United



Nations “is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members” (UN 1945, I.2.1). The only real way to achieve sovereign equality among all members, arguably, is to abolish the veto power; after all, the veto power gives certain nations a tremendous diplomatic advantage. Unfortunately, this reform is unlikely to ever be accomplished; any amendments to the U.N. Charter must be ratified by two-thirds of the member states of the UN, including all the permanent members of the Security Council (UN 1945, XVIII.109.2). The permanent members have all indicated their unwillingness to relinquish their veto power (Center for UN Reform 2009), and as such, the veto power

“No other P5 member has abused their veto power to aid another nation to the same extent that the United States has on behalf of Israel.”

is likely to remain a permanent fixture of the international relations landscape.

A more realistic reform would be to create a system of checks and balances within the United Nations such that the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and France do not hold such absolute power-

er. When the U.N. was founded in 1945, there were 51 total members. Since that time, membership in General Assembly has grown to 193 and the power structure in the world has shifted, yet the Security Council remains mostly unchanged. In order to “achieve international co-operation in solving international problems” (I.1.3), the structure of the U.N. must be more reflective of the actual global community. An effective way to accomplish this broader representation would be to increase the authority of the General Assembly, in which every member state of the U.N. is represented. If the General Assembly had the authority to override a lone Security Council veto by a two-thirds vote, many of the issues the United Nations has faced regarding Israel could have been avoided. In this case, P5 members would still be able to use the veto power in order to protect their own interests. If the interests of one P5 country interfere with those of the vast majority of the states in the U.N., however, it only makes sense for the veto to be subject to override by the General Assembly.

Reform of the U.N. Security Council is challenging topic, but ultimately, one that demands our attention. The United Nations, for all its arguable failures and shortcomings, has been an overwhelmingly

successful undertaking in international politics. It has helped end regional conflicts through negotiating peace settlements on 172 occasions (Timmons 2009), and this ability of nations with such diverse interests, ideologies, and agendas to peacefully and diplomatically work together is commendable. The absolute power of the UNSC’s permanent members, however, is preventing the U.N. from accomplishing its goals and doing even more good in the world. By enacting the proper reforms and using the General Assembly to limit the Security Council, the United Nations can finally reach its full potential.

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Hands-on Public Schooling

What Private Interest Means for Education

RYAN HIGGINS

As fractures in the American educational system have come to prominence in recent years, an increasing number of Americans have tried to get involved in its improvement. This involvement has ranged from individuals donating their time in schools to corporations making sizable monetary donations to school districts—and everything in between. Yet, with the presence of these outside interests, the independence of the American educational system has been

breached. It is thus obligatory that leaders and citizens identify the ways in which private interests should play a role in education to decide its future in America.

In an oft-cited example, Geoffrey Canada's esteemed Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ), private money and services play a very prominent role in the cradle-to-college poverty reduction and empowerment program. HCZ spends about \$3,500 in private funding per child on educational services in addition to provided state funds (Osterman 2010). This does not include

special programs, like free doctor and dentist visits, or prizes, like trips to Disney World or the Galapagos Islands. Expectedly, the Board of Directors is filled with prominent billionaires and executives, including the President of Goldman Sachs. Such partnerships guarantee the consistent influx of private donations to support and expand HCZ.

This begs the question of whether these donations are simply for benevolence, or whether the donors have something to gain. There are numerous charitable causes in the world, yet education in particular seems to have come into importance for many corporations and private donors. Benevolence aside, many speculate that this is because education affects everyone. Students educated today will one day be employed by many of these corporations, explaining the investment in education. Similarly, these corporations have a vested interest in keeping America's economy growing, for it affects their profits—thus, the investment in education.

Many prominent (and perhaps cynical) pundits speculate that these corporations are involving themselves in education for more political reasons. Some view this expansion into education, especially into charter schools, as an attempt to undermine unions

or affect government policy (Faux 2012). This political demonstration is hardly different from donating money to institutions with

which one shares values, yet it begins to use a supposedly non-partisan educational system as a tool for political gain.

Others argue that firms, especially investment firms, are partici-



participating in educational reform with the hope that education will soon become a very profitable sector of the economy. They envision leasing schools their buildings, operating successful charter schools, and profiting from governmental investment in education (Faux 2012). Arguably, these entrepreneurs are positioning themselves to take advantage of the future profits of an increasingly priva-

number of Microsoft products into the daily lives of students. For instance, instead of buying textbooks, the school opted for every student to have a PC and use a Microsoft-designed portal to access texts (Stansbury 2009).

Despite the best hopes of the Microsoft and SDP officials, the High School of the Future failed to foster dramatic gains. The school continues to severely underperform when compared to the school district average (The School District of Philadelphia 2012). Faculty and administrator turnover has been a significant issue, as the school had four principals in its first three years alone (Stansbury 2009). Yet Microsoft has been able to successfully encourage students to use their products and has developed new online education portals that can be marketed to other

schools. It is hard to say if Microsoft has profited itself from its investment in the High School of the Future, but it has certainly been a successful product-testing facility for them. The private money has served private interests while failing to create noteworthy improvements for the students—the ones truly supposed to benefit from the money.

Individuals are similarly using the education system to exercise political opinions. In the extreme example of Texas, the politicized State Board of Education amended a curriculum proposed by scholars and educators by mandating that students will “evaluate efforts by global organizations to undermine U.S. sovereignty” among other biased standards (“Politicized Curriculum in Texas”). Board members are thereby able to insert their personal opinions into the curricula to be taught in all Texas schools, which is no different than corporations using schools for their own economic benefit. Rather than allowing students to mature with relatively unbiased information, private interests force opinions upon students, much as corporate sponsorship can affect students’ future purchases.

For many years, the educational system has been a non-partisan entity designed to give all American children an equal shot at a quality education and in turn, at a future. Through the insertion of private monies and personal opinions into this system, students are robbed of that opportunity. Education becomes bias-producing and can be manipulated into a tool for profit instead of an opportunity to create well-educated citizens. America needs to consider the costs and benefits of accepting private money and allowing private interests to involve themselves in schools; their consequences on the nation and its students will be significant and long-lasting.

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tized education system.

More than simply supporting public schools through donations, some corporations have gone as far as to establish schools under their own names, built to incorporate their products into the classroom. Most famously, Microsoft built the High School of the Future with the School District of Philadelphia, which aimed to reduce the achievement gap and to permit impoverished students to get a high quality education. This school integrated a



America's abusive relationship

The de-evolution of U.S.- Pakistani relations

—MICHAEL ZOOROB

Journalist Fareed Zakaria describes the relationship between Pakistan and the United States as one of “friends without benefits.” Zakaria, however, misses the mark. Pakistan’s regime, if not its people, surely benefits from the more than \$20 billion the United States has poured into the country since 9/11, directed largely towards its military (Epstein 2012). Meanwhile, America’s foreign policy towards Pakistan has failed to achieve its goals by almost every metric.

Though military assistance was intended to empower Pakistan to root out the terrorist groups on its western frontier, the country continues to play a double game: fighting some terror groups while sponsoring others to advance its end-game leverage in Afghanistan. Pakistan has succeeded in using American aid money to widely and continually subvert America’s interests. With few exceptions, aid has enriched Pakistani elites and enabled corruption at all levels of society without materially improving the lives of

the Pakistani people.

Both parties have found ways to justify the abusive relationship’s perpetuation. Pakistan barely satisfies the United States by echoing the rhetoric of the “War on Terror” and doing just enough in its fight against terrorism to appear committed. Meanwhile the Obama Administration insists that U.S. assistance continue despite the failure of the policy, fearing catastrophe if Pakistan severs ties.

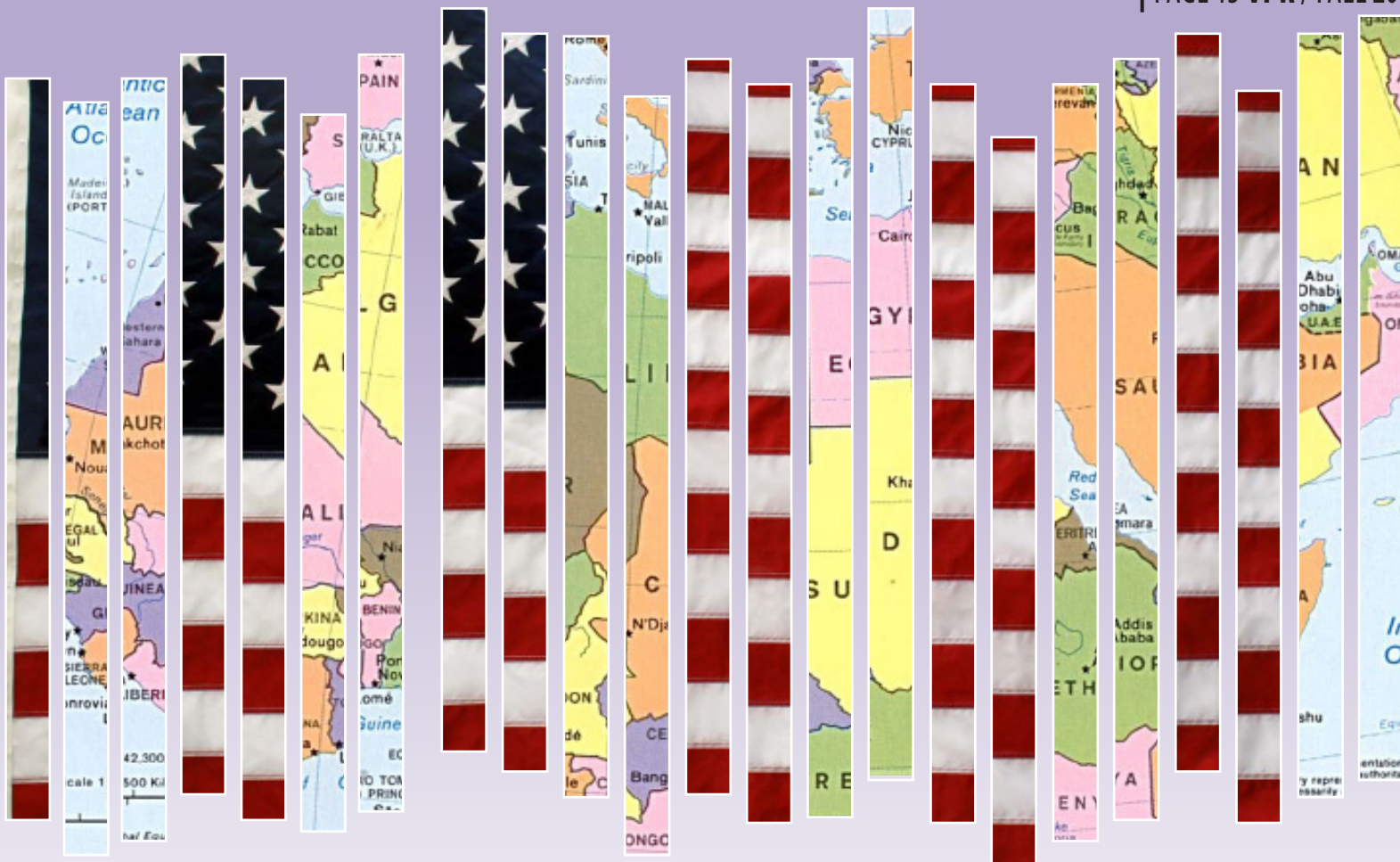
Since Pakistani leaders have vastly different interests than leaders in the United States, American military objectives have largely been ignored. Professor of International Studies Stephen Krenser of Stanford University (2012) noted that, “Pakistan’s fundamental goal is to defend itself against its rival, India. Islamabad deliberately uses nuclear proliferation, terrorism, and its prickly relationship with the United States to achieve this objective.” Pakistan sees India as its primary national security threat. As a result, Pakistan uses American aid money to buy military equipment to strengthen its position against India, an American ally. A report by the Belfer Center of Harvard

University (Ibrahim 2008, 21-22) stated that U.S. aid to Pakistan had been treated to “corruption of the highest level”, with “the vast majority of our aid going toward the purchase of major weapons systems such as aircraft, anti-ship equipment, and antimissile capabilities” that have no use for fighting terrorism but are instead used to compete with India. Meanwhile, Pakistan’s troops lack basic counter-terrorism equipment like night vision goggles. Ultimately, the Belfer Center estimates that about 70 percent of American aid to Pakistan has been illegitimately spent. But it gets worse - Pakistan has likely used American assistance to expand its illegal nuclear weapons program (Ibrahim 2008, 27). In doing so, Pakistan has used the money of American taxpayers to defy America’s own interests. These egregious levels of corruption warrant revision in America’s outlook towards Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan and the U.S. have conflicting ambitions in the War in Afghanistan that render American security assistance counterproductive. Two thousand American servicemen have perished in pursuit of a stable Afghanistan with a central authority in Kabul. As Matt Waldman (2010) of Harvard University has documented, Pakistan’s intelligence forces directly subvert this effort through funding, training, and arming terrorist groups like the Taliban and the Haqqani Network – the very groups the United States is at war with in Afghanistan. By doing so, Pakistan will boost its influence in Afghanistan following NATO withdrawal and increase its strategic leverage against India. The Christian Science Monitor notes that the Haqqani Network, which is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Americans in Afghanistan, plans every major attack



Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates (left) talks with Pakistani Army Chief Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani at G.H.Q Headquarter in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. //<http://www.defense.gov/>



with help from Pakistan's intelligence services, known as the ISI (Gopal 2009). Jefferey Goldberg (2011) of *The Atlantic* explains the folly of American aid to Pakistan: "The U.S. funds the ISI; the ISI funds the Haqqani network; and the Haqqani network kills American soldiers."

Moreover, Human Rights Watch (2012) reported that American assistance has enabled Pakistani authorities to commit gross human rights abuses throughout Pakistan, but especially in the restive province of Balochistan. The consequences of these atrocities – in which America is complicit – are staggering. Journalist and foreign policy analyst Michael Hughes (2011) writes in the *Huffington Post* that the Pakistani state has misused billions of dollars in U.S. military aid, including F-16s and Cobra helicopters, to oppress the Baloch people; over 10,000 Baloch have either been killed or imprisoned.

One stated goal of American development assistance is the creation of positive American sentiment amongst Pakistanis. This has failed too; Pew Research Center polling data (2012) reveals that just 12% of Pakistanis view the United States favorably, while more

than three quarters view the United States as an enemy. A large reason for this involves where the \$10 billion in development aid has been distributed (Epstein 2012). According to *The Center for Global Development* (Birdsall 2011), American assistance has overwhelmingly enriched local elites and led to widespread corruption without alleviating the suffering of the Pakistani people. This has undermined public opinion of the United States further by associating its aid with nepotism and incompetence; the U.S. has, for example, funded the construction of hospitals reliant on electricity in areas that are not connected to the energy grid (Ibrahim 2008). Hence, *The Center for Global Development* (Birdsall 2011, 32) suggests that suspending development aid until it can be properly distributed "will benefit both the Pakistani reform process and the ultimate effectiveness of U.S. aid."

The foreign policy establishment should accept reality and end America's fantasy partnership with Pakistan. Pakistan's military-dominated regime abuses its relationship with the United States to strengthen its own interests and control of the country. In the pro-

cess, American interests, ideals, and taxpayers suffer, while the Pakistani people receive limited benefit. Proponents of aid fear that Pakistan will painfully retaliate if the United States cuts aid. This logic prolongs our suffering; healing from the abusive relationship can only begin once ties are severed.

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a professor's PERSPECTIVE

VPR interviews Prof.
Vanderbilt YouGov
his predictions

Interview Condu
by Harrison Et

VPR: Could you explain the Vanderbilt YouGov project?

JG: The Vanderbilt YouGov ad rating project is an effort to provide systematic data and evidence of what the public thinks about political ads. There's a big effort to evaluate these ads— [whether] they [are] misleading or true—if these fact checks go on. And basically most assessments of the ads are kind of an elite game where journalists or academics or pundits make an assessment of them. And they make claims that may or may not be accurate. "This ad is unfair" or "the public will be angry about this ad." Well all that's fair and good, but we actually now have the ability to show people ads through Internet surveys, let them see the ads, and then let them respond to them. So in some ways we're democratizing the process by letting a sample of 600 Americans—a representative sample—so you have the right number of Latinos, women, all the kinds of demographic characteristics you want. We also have an oversample of 200 pure independents, which are kind of the equivalent of swing voters, so that we can

tell about what the public is thinking and whether their reaction is one way or another.

VPR: Does negative advertisement better inform the public?

JG: If you look at the content of a typical negative ad versus the content of a typical positive ad, there are certain things that negative ads do better. Negative ads are more likely to be about issues at the presidential level. They're more likely to be specifically presented—that is, there's not going to be some general claim; it's actually going to be something specific. [They] tend to be about the most important issues, if you trust Gallop and other indications of what are the most important issues. And finally there's documentation. Those are four things that normative theorists say should be in a campaign; we want issue-based, specific, evidence-driven campaigns. It seems like a reasonable thing. The irony is if you really want that, you really are a fan of negative ads; you just don't know it.

VPR: Do you think that SuperPACs have had a significant influence on ad-making, or to some extent on the parties' messages?

JG I don't; I think they've wasted a huge amount of money. They quality of the ads is surprisingly bad. The messages don't seem all that different from what the candidates are running [in their ads]. It's almost as if SuperPACs—because we don't think of them as SuperPACs, we call them Romney's SuperPAC or Obama's SuperPAC—that the name almost gives them a kind of quasi-accountability. I suspect that we'll see SuperPACs having much more influence in the future because they're kind of disorganized right now. One of the things that Fred Davis said [when he spoke at the First Amendment Center] I thought was really smart, and he said a bunch of things that were fun. One of them was that SuperPACs hadn't really coordinated...were inefficient, [and] hadn't done really good ads, but he thought [that] by [2016] they would get their acts together.



Professor John Geer about the
 TV ad rating project and
 for the 2012 election.

Conducted in October 2012
 by Sufei Wu



John G. Geer

*Vanderbilt University
 Distinguished Professor and
 Chair of Political Science;
 Co-Director, CSDI and
 Vanderbilt Poll*

VPR: Do you think if Governor Romney loses the election there will be a change in the GOP? Do you think people will shift to the right?

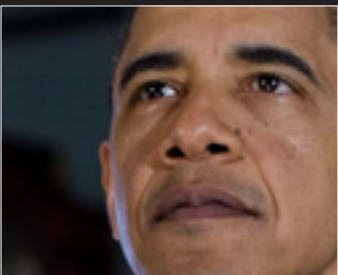
JG: Oh, I think the Tea Party will come back full force because then they will feel vindicated; moderation does not win! So that's the big problem that the Republicans face, so the irony is that Romney could lose—which if you have a quarter you bet on Obama, but not much more—but I think if Romney loses, not only does the economy get better, but the Republicans will probably be so angry that they'll nominate someone crazy and Democrats dominate politics, on the presidential level, for another eight years or so. But you don't know, right now the political science models tell me that Obama is going to win [and] I've been thinking Romney's going to win for a while, just because his argument is easier to make... I've interacted with him twice—he is fundamentally not ideological. He's a business guy, he wants to solve things, he wants to fix them, that's what he wants to do. I don't think he gives a damn about

who you sleep with; I don't think he cares about these social issues. I think guns, fine. [K]ind of probably a quasi-libertarian perspective on that. He just believes [that] he has a business model, and he thinks this is the way to run government. I'm not sure that's right, but it's where he's natural, and the fact that he didn't have to play this kind of [role]... see what people didn't think about in the debates, and I hadn't thought about it at the time either, is that in the Republican primaries he had to face other social conservatives in an audience that wanted him to be really conservative, so he had to be something that he really wasn't. [However] in these debates he can go to the center and he's just happy as a clam! He's good at it! And I hadn't thought this through until this time; he's a better candidate. It's not just the practice for the debates. He's in a space that's just more comfortable, and he went toe-to-toe with Obama, and it's not easy to go toe-to-toe with the President of the United States. It's not easy, and he did it. I've been saying for a long time, if he wins, people should go to sleep at night

and be just fine, same with Obama. I think these guys are surprisingly similar. I mean there will be differences, but not as many as people think.

VPR: One more question about the effect of the media's role in propagating these ads. You've mentioned how there has been a sharp spike in the media and ads...

JG: Particularly negative ads, and so if you want free coverage of an ad you've got to go negative because people don't cover positive ads, so they've inverted the incentives. And the irony is the news media is trying to vet these ads and trying to protect us from negativity, and ironically they've led to it. And that's been a three year campaign on my part to get journalists to think about that, and still they're reluctant because, of course, it's an indictment on them. Peter Overby of NPR, [I] thought I had him in 2010 to write this story, and he said, "Basically you're asking me to write a story about why I'm an idiot," and I said, "Not if you're the first one to say it!"



THE PRICE OF TN

Guest Essay by Tennessee Democratic Party Chairman Chip Forrester



"For some voters, these burdensome barriers to the ballot box will be just enough to rob them of their constitutional right."

Tennessee voters are more likely to be struck by lightning than to have their vote stolen at the ballot box.

Millions of citizens cast ballots in Tennessee elections; more than 6 million votes have been tallied in the three previous statewide elections in Tennessee alone.

Still, state Election Coordinator Mark Goins told the Chattanooga Times Free Press he can point to only one, possibly two, instances of someone being convicted of impersonating someone else when trying to vote.

One — "possibly two" — cases out of a number far greater than 6 million.

By any measure, Tennessee elections are a success story. Over the years, our electoral process has virtually guaranteed your right to be a voter and have your vote counted.

Few systems of any kind could boast such high rates of success, yet for years Republicans have trumpeted claims of rampant voter fraud

Though every effort — local or national — to demonstrate widespread fraud at the ballot box has failed to produce evidence that such fraud exists, Republicans persist in such claims for cynical and partisan reasons: The assertion of "voter fraud" is the perfect bogeyman for those who want to enact photo ID laws like the one we've seen passed in Tennessee.

The reality is that photo ID laws result in unnecessary costs and disenfranchisement of the elderly, the young, the poor and minorities — individuals who are least likely to have government identification or to be able to afford to get it.

No one wants to see the system abused, but the problem with combating "voter fraud" with photo ID requirements is that these laws exclude and deter people who are otherwise legal voters.

Whether you're in favor of voter ID laws or opposed, it should be just as disturbing to think someone could abuse the system as it is to think that someone could be excluded from it.

In Chattanooga and elsewhere in Tennessee, we've already seen the real effects of the voter ID law. The plight of Hamilton County's Mrs. Dorothy Cooper, a 96-year-old African-American woman who has voted without issue for seven decades until the new voter ID law, has received national attention.

Mrs. Cooper's story directly disproves the Republican argument that all law-abiding voters have a photo ID.

In fact, according to the Department of Safety, there are around 675,000 voting-age Tennesseans — about one in 1 — who are just like Mrs. Cooper and lacking the picture ID now needed to vote.

To be a voter on Election Day, a majority of these citizens must obtain a photo ID from a driver service center.

So why don't they just get one? Good question. Republicans have volunteered you to pay the bill.

A cost analysis of voter ID implementation costs in other states puts the estimated price tag for Tennessee taxpayers between \$8 million and \$24 mil-

ID

quotes

Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD)



"These laws are the new Jim Crow laws of our times."

VOTER ID LAWS

lion over the next four years. Republicans have decided to spend limited state resources chasing mythical claims of voter fraud rather than investing tax dollars back into our communities, creating jobs and improving education.

Even with taxpayers subsidizing the program, there are still unnecessary costs and hurdles for those who want to obtain a government-issued voter ID.

First, a whopping 53 of 95 Tennessee counties have no driver's license center, meaning some rural residents will have to travel as far as 60 miles to get a proper ID — a significant burden for the working poor, the elderly and disabled voters.

Second, news reports from Memphis indicate that some voters have spent as much as four hours waiting in long lines to get an ID — only to be turned away on trivial technicalities, like Mrs. Cooper was, for not having enough documentation.

For some voters, these burdensome barriers to the ballot box will be just enough to rob them of their constitutional right.

Efforts by some local officials have been made to ease the burden on voters — such as the plan by the City of Memphis to issue photos on their library cards in order to offer voters another avenue to receive the identification needed to vote.

The State successfully challenged this action, stating the law did not allow for this option. In a ruling that stopped Memphis from issuing photo ID earlier this year, Judge Aleta Trauger said that it was “nonsensical that someone who holds an expired hunter's license from another state qualifies but yet someone who holds a Memphis library card does not.”

Additionally, college students are particularly discriminated against with these laws. Despite allowing for staff and faculty of a state college to use their employee ID to vote, the legislature deliberately excluded student ID from the list of acceptable identification — with the clear intention of keep-

ID
quotes
Mitch McConnell
(R-KY)



“Voter fraud is not imaginary: federal prosecutors recently convicted or accepted guilty pleas from 11 people seeking to defraud elections in Breathitt County (Ky).”

ing this often Democratic-leaning group away from the polls.

The debate we should be having is how to encourage more participation in our elections — not less. At the Democratic Party, we are committed to making sure every law-abiding Tennessean who wants to be a voter can be without barriers. And while we are working to help all voters comply with the laws, we will continue to push for reforms and possible elimination of this discriminatory and unnecessary law.

Chip Forrester is the chairman of the Tennessee Democratic Party and an executive committee member of the Democratic National Committee. He may be reached by email at chip@tndp.org.



How much longer will Largest economy?

In 2011, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) released a report concluding that China's Gross Domestic Product—a measure of the total value of goods and services produced within a country—will surpass that of the United States by 2016 (Gardner, 2011). The IMF is far from alone in predicting this outcome; Jim O'Neill, Chairman of Goldman Sachs' Asset Management division, has suggested China's GDP could ex-

ceed that of the U.S. by 2027 (Ahmed, 2011). Without serious changes in policy, the U.S. may very quickly see itself lose its preeminent spot on the economic stage.

At the moment, however, the U.S. still holds a commanding lead as the world's largest economy with an annual GDP of \$15 trillion that is significantly above China's GDP of \$7 trillion (IMF, 2012). Nonetheless, China's economy has been growing at an incredible rate. In 2010, for example, China's GDP rose by 10%, while the U.S.'s only grew 2.6% (Di Leo, 2010). Indeed, China's economy appears to be growing only more influential. In

2011, The Economist outlined numerous markets in which China has already surpassed the U.S., including steel consumption, exports, and manufacturing outputs. China's economy is expected to surpass the U.S. economy in a number of other measures in the coming years; perhaps most notably, The Economist expects consumer spending in China to exceed consumer spending in the U.S. by 2023. (The Economist, 2011). Undoubtedly, China has proven its status as an economic force to be reckoned with, and one that very realistically has the potential to take America's crown as the largest international economy.

Even domestically, however, there are plenty of reasons for apprehension regarding sustainable economic success in the U.S. economy. Consider, for example, the lack of bipartisanship in Congress on major fiscal and budget-

ary issues. In 2011, Standard & Poor's, one of the "Big 3" international credit rating agencies, downgraded U.S. credit for the first time in seventy years. After witnessing a furious debate over raising the national debt ceiling that was resolved at the last possible moment, the agency explicitly noted its concern with Congress's ability to handle economic policy issues in the long term. In its official statement, Standard & Poors stated that the issue of "raising the statutory debt ceiling...or on reaching an agreement on raising revenues...will remain a contentious and fitful process" (Standard & Poor's, 2011) and that "the fiscal consolidation plan that Congress and the Administration agreed to...falls short of... what is necessary to stabilize the general government debt burden" (Standard & Poor's, 2011). Put simply, Congress's inability to resolve vital economic debates in a responsible and complete fashion was such a cause for concern that the agency felt a downgrade was appropriate.

Yet even though using the debt ceiling as a political bargaining chip was a dangerous situation with real repercussions, Congress still has not learned its lesson. This year, the U.S. is facing a similar situation with the so-called "fiscal cliff." Without consolidated effort on Congress's part to reach a bipartisan fiscal policy agreement by December 31st, 2012, Bush-era tax cuts for all income levels will expire, and significant mandatory spending cuts will be initiated across the federal government. The negative effects of such an outcome cannot be overstated: the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has suggested failure to address the fiscal cliff by the end of the



the U.S. be the world's

China's economy is set to eclipse the economy of the United States, but what does this mean for us? ————— ALEX TORRES

year would result in the U.S. economy shrinking by 1.3% annually, erasing much of the progress made in recovery from the financial crisis of 2008-2009 (Calmes, 2012). By using crucial fiscal and budgetary issues as political bargaining chips, Congress is risking further credit downgrades and decreased economic growth—two situations that would only accelerate the speed at which the U.S. recedes from economic dominance.

“...China has proven its status as an economic force to be reckoned with, and one that very realistically has the potential to take America's crown as the largest international economy.”

Another important factor to consider is the potential change in the status of the U.S. dollar as the world's reserve currency. Currently, the U.S. dollar is held in large amounts by governments across the world given the frequency of its use in international markets and its perceived stability. It is largely for this reason, according to Barry Eichengreen of the Wall Street Journal, that nearly 85% of international currency trades are for U.S. dollars (2011). Nonetheless, there is reason to think that the dollar's status as the world reserve currency may be in jeopardy. In 2010, the United Nations Economic and Social Council released a report suggesting that the dollar be abandoned as the

world's reserve currency. The report noted that “the dollar has proved not to be a stable store of value” and that reserves “must not be based on a single currency...but instead, should permit the emission of international liquidity” (United Nations, 2010, xxii). The U.N. is not alone in its suggestion; many world leaders have called for an overhaul of the international reserve currency system as well. In 2009, Zhou Xiaochuan, governor of China's central bank, suggested the creation of “an international reserve currency that is disconnected from individual nations and is able to remain stable in the long run” (Xiaochuan, 2009). Though the long-term likelihood and potential timeline of such changes in international reserve policy are not clear, a loss in the U.S. dollar's status would be a significant detriment to the U.S. as a whole. Indeed, the large demand of U.S. dollars in international currency markets lets the U.S. government borrow at lower levels of interest than it otherwise would be able to and also reduces the cost of many goods and services to American consumers, governments, and businesses given that fewer monetary resources are used for currency exchanges.

It is important to remember that, at least for now, the U.S. still has a stronger economy than China. In addition to a larger GDP, the U.S. also has higher purchasing power parity, higher consumer spending, and a higher average standard of living. Unprecedented growth in China's economy, issues of Congressional gridlock, and calls for removal of the dollar as the world's reserve currency, however, put in jeopardy the status of the U.S. as the world's largest and most influential economy. As such, significant changes in policy and behavior are necessary. In particular, U.S. legislators and policymakers need to examine not just how their actions affect the country domestically but internationally as well. Moreover, the status of the U.S. dollar as the

world's reserve currency must be preserved to the greatest extent possible. The rise of China's economy is not to be taken lightly; with the right course of action, however, the U.S. can maintain its status as the world's largest and most prosperous economy.

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The Religious

The Religious Left as progressive activist group is not new to the national political scene. Throughout American history, religious language has been employed to bring about progressive social reforms. Notable examples include the abolitionist movement in antebellum America, the Social Gospel movement in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and the civil rights movements of the 1960s. Democrats now have the opportunity to create a resurgence of the organized Religious Left by “reinjecting religion” (Lerner 2006, 3) into their platform, largely due to three factors: the continuing importance of faith in politics, disillusionment with the Religious Right, and the changing demographics of the Democratic Party.

Numbers alone suggest that religious beliefs influence political affiliation. Ninety-five percent of the electorate believes in God or a universal spirit, while only 20 percent are unaffiliated with a specific religion (“Nones’ on the Rise” 2012). Michael Lerner, a Jewish Rabbi and self-professed member of the Religious Left, believes Americans are perpetually “searching for meaning in a despiritualized world” (Lerner 2006, 3) and that the electorate was drawn to the Religious Right because it was the only voice “willing to challenge [that] despiritualization of daily life.” While only 7 percent currently identify with the “religious left” political movement specifically, many more—32 percent—identify as “liberal or progressive Christians” (Lambert 2008, 222). By shedding its

reputation as champion of secular values, the Democratic Party could capitalize on the strong religious current in American life and become a religious alternative to the Republican Party.

The Republican Party has only helped the Left by embracing the socially conservative platform favored by Christian evangelicals and alienating many religious moderates. The Democratic Party has the opportunity to appeal to a more diverse audience that includes moderate Protestants, Muslims—who overwhelmingly voted for Obama in 2008 (“Obama and Islam” 2008)—Catholics, Jews, and “spiritual but not religious” voters who are turned off by the Republicans’ growing conservatism. As the Religious Right continues to loudly direct the religious conversation on social issues, more people are seeing “too much” talk of religion from their political leaders (“More See ‘Too Much’ Religious Talk by Politicians” 2012), suggesting the demand for a party that respects the separation of church and state. The Democratic Party could fill both needs as an inclusive coalition of spiritual and secular voters. The desire for enriching and meaningful politics that Michael Lerner addresses in his book, *The Left Hand of God*, has not disappeared; the politics of the Religious Right have simply failed to satisfy this desire. These exclusive and divisive politics have driven many from the Republican Party (Sobel 2012). Thus, “a progressive movement or a Democratic Party that speaks to these desires in a genuine and spiritually

deep way could win the popular support it needs to incorporate values of peace, social justice, ecological sanity, and human rights” (Lerner 2006, 3). Although these values are already fundamental to the Democratic platform, Democrats tend to present them in spiritually hollow language.

The changing demographics of the Democratic Party and the electorate at large pres-



LEFT

How the often neglected Religious Left could become a powerful tool for the Democratic Party

NATALIE PATE

ent a unique opportunity to capitalize on this spiritual-political gap. Blacks and Hispanics, historically two deeply religious groups, are two growing core constituencies in the Democratic Party, increasing from 30 percent in 2009 to 37 percent in 2010 (Blow 2010). Additionally, a new young, religious constituency within the Millennial generation has surfaced, representing 28 percent of 18-

to 29-year olds (“Survey

of Young Americans’ Attitudes Toward Politics and Public Service: 21st Edition” 2012). They reflect the country’s changing demographics—less than half are white—and 87 percent of them say religion plays an important part in their lives. They express concern for the moral direction of the country but are not overwhelmingly conservative despite their religiosity—only 43 percent believe homosexuality is wrong, and they overwhelmingly support an active federal government. The Democratic Party could capitalize on this demographic evolution, promoting progressive policies while maintaining itself as the inclusive, pluralistic party—with a strong religious backbone to match that of the Religious Right.

Jim Wallis, a leading figure of the Religious Left, suggests in his book *God’s Politics*, “the best response to bad religion is better religion, not secularism” (Lizza 2005). If Democrats want to tap into the religious power of the electorate, they must provide the spiritually fulfilling politics voters have not yet found and change the perception that morality is exclusive to religion—and that religion is exclusive to conservative Christians. This mentality could help the Religious Left close the stark divide on two main issues: gay rights and women’s health. While religious zealots will not be convinced that homosexuality is acceptable, asserting that equal rights should be granted to all God’s children could sway moderates. Democrats should also make room for those Democrats who are committed to a woman’s

right to choose but still have strong moral concerns about abortion, especially regarding late-term abortions and parental consent. Much progress can be made simply by showing that there is room to compromise within the party (Lizza 2005). Democrats can also inject religious motivations and ethical language into their major platform issues, including big business regulation to ensure economic justice and equal opportunity, protecting the environment, the importance of social welfare and caring for the poor, immigration and the imperative to keep families together, and focusing on a peace-first approach to foreign policy—all while asserting their dedication to maintaining the separation of church and state. By framing the issues through a lens of broad moral principles, Democrats neither have to exclude religious voters nor secular voters.

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Ann & Michelle

HANNAH GODFREY

Although the focus of presidential elections rests principally on the candidates, over 50 percent of American voters claim that a candidate's wife is an important factor in casting their vote (Newport). Since the 1960s, political wives have increasingly acted as surrogate campaigners for their husbands, dramatically expanding the potential reach of campaigns and raising the profiles of first ladies.

Susan MacManus and Andrew Quecan (2008), of the University of South Florida, argue that the importance of political wives has increased due to the development of women as a vital voting bloc in American elections. Wives of candidates are therefore seen as a vital link to female voters and a means of narrowing the gender gap, which has been apparent in presidential elections since 1980. As MacManus and Quecan show in their study of the 2004 election, Republican and Democratic campaigns make use of political wives in different ways, reflecting their respective party platforms. They argue that Laura Bush and Lynne Cheney in the final weeks of the campaign held more joint appearances with their husbands in order to appeal to a more traditionalist political base, while the Democratic candidates' wives campaigned more independently, representing a partnership along the lines of a co-presidency (334). The 2012 presidential race demonstrated the continuing importance of the candidates' wives to their respective campaigns, with Michelle Obama and Ann Romney both described as important weapons.

The convention speeches are an interesting means by which to contrast the approach taken by the two women on the campaign trail. Ann Romney was utilized from the beginning as "humanizing" her husband, who had often been criticized for appearing aloof and disinterested. As one commentator described it, "without Ann, Mitt can appear all wealth and no warmth" (Jones). Her role, then, was to present him as a family man; in her speech in Tampa, she made frequent references to their life together, their meeting at a high school dance, and their children. Ann's speech highlighted her strength of promoting her husband's character while leaving policy to the campaign. This traditional approach to campaigning perhaps reflected the Romney campaign's desire to present a conservative face to a candidate who had been criticized by some on the right for being too liberal. Michelle Obama, on the other hand, had been used throughout the 2012 campaign as a surrogate campaigner for the President, leading her own rallies and delivering a rousing and emotional convention speech. This active role is similar to other wives of previous incumbent presidents, such as Rosalynn Carter. Her address, like Ann Romney's, was heavily laden with references to her relationship with her husband but also provided concrete examples of how President Obama's history and values shape his policies. Great emphasis was placed, for example, on the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, which Michelle Obama presented through a story of the President's grandmother's experiences of sexual discrimination at work.

The roles of Ann Romney and Michelle Obama in the 2012 presidential race can be characterized, therefore, by the personal and the political. Ann Romney sought to present the caring, human side of her husband while Michelle took a more overtly political role in advocating the President's policies. Although it is impossible to quantify the impact of political wives on election results, they appeared to hold a degree of influence over voters. With women's issues becoming increasingly salient in contemporary political discourse, candidates' wives are ever more politicized as representatives for female voters.

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The VEEP effect

HANNAH JARMOLOWSKI

Despite the speculation and excitement surrounding the choice of vice presidential candidates each election cycle, it is unclear whether running mate selection significantly impacts a campaign. Examining whether running mates in 2008 successfully fulfilled their expected purposes can demonstrate the effect of vice presidential running mates and provide clues for the vice presidential candidate selection process and posturing in 2012.

In selecting Alaskan Governor Sarah Palin, the McCain campaign was hoping she would meet four goals in the election: restore McCain's "maverick" credentials, entice women voters to vote Republican, separate the campaign from the unpopular presidency of George W. Bush, and energize the Republican base in a way that McCain could not (Brox and Cassels 2009, 352). The Palin selection initially shifted female support from Obama to McCain. However, over the course of the campaign, her favorability among women fell substantially; Obama eventually won the female vote by seven percent (Brox and Cassels 2009, 354). Republicans viewed Palin very favorably, yet only 17% of moderates liked her enough to favor the Republican ticket over the Democratic ticket. (Brox and Cassels 2009, 356; Knuckey 2012, 284). Ultimately, Palin was only successful in energizing the Republican base.

Obama's strategic selection of Joseph Biden compensated for some of Obama's lack of expertise in foreign policy and general Washington experience. Biden was first elected to the United States Senate in 1972 and served several times as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Initial Gallup polls following Obama's selection of Biden indicated that Biden was unlikely to hurt the ticket (Saad 2008). In exit polls, 66% of voters saw Biden as qualified, compared to only 38% who saw Palin as qualified (CNN 2008). Additionally, with regard to foreign policy, 59% of voters who named Iraq as the number one issue in the election voted for Obama, indicating that Biden may have given the ticket a boost with his foreign policy experience (CNN 2008).

In the 2012 election cycle, Obama kept Biden on the ticket, while Romney selected Congressman Paul Ryan of Wisconsin to be his running mate. Congressman Ryan brought policy expertise and solid conservative Republican credentials to the ticket—which many within the Republican Party believe Romney lacked. While Ryan's selection was likely made with the mistakes of the 2008 Palin selection in mind—resulting in a need for a vice presidential candidate

with a stronger policy background—Romney, like McCain, may have missed out on the opportunity to gain some moderate votes as a result of his running mate selection. Despite Palin's seemingly significant negative contribution to McCain's campaign, no running mate choice has been viewed in the polls as negatively as the Ryan choice since Dan Quayle in 1992 (Carnia 2012). In the end, it appeared that Ryan's placement on the ticket was a wash; despite some speculation (Douthat 2012) that the Wisconsin Congressman could put his home state in play for the GOP, President Obama went on to by almost seven percentage points and Democrat Tammy Baldwin defeated former Governor Tommy Thompson in a hotly contested U.S. Senate race that was instrumental in preserving Democratic control of Washington's most prestigious legislative body.

Presidential candidates select their running mates as an extension of their overarching campaign strategy. Palin and Ryan energized the Republican base and strengthened the nominee's conservative credentials, while Biden lent more experience to the Obama ticket. Following the failure of the Palin pick, Romney chose a controversial yet experienced candidate who would serve the core purpose of exciting the base. As the 2008 and 2012 elections have most recently demonstrated, whether using the Bush model of energizing the base or the Clinton model of reaching out to moderate voters, the campaigns of the past and present use their vice presidential selection as a means of winning votes, and ultimately, the White House.

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Demographic destiny: The path to 2016

A look at the changing demographics of America

—KEVIN SCHOELZEL

In 1962, the United States' population was approximately 180 million, John F. Kennedy was the president, the Civil Rights Movement was heating up in the South, and the Cuban Missile Crisis had the United States on the brink of nuclear war with the Soviets (Pearson Education 2012). In short, America was a very different place than it is today. Over the course of the last fifty years, the population has swelled to over 330 million people. During that period, many minorities and young voters have been brought into the political fray through the expansion of suffrage, drastically reorganizing American democracy. In 2062, the population of the United States is projected to be over 430 million (Wynn). There is no saying what specific events may direct America over the next 50 years; however, demographic shifts in the electorate will affect politics. Three trends in

the population will have large consequences for the future of America: the aging Baby Boomers, the total fertility rate, and the growing Hispanic population. By studying these trends, one can begin to piece together what the United States will look like, and potentially vote like, in 2062.

The Baby Boomers

The Baby Boomer generation has greatly influenced modern American society. Now as the Boomers grow older, America faces new challenges concerning their retirement and raising healthcare costs. The percentage of Americans over 65 is expected to leap from 13% to over 20% of the total population by 2040. This rate of aging in the United States will be much smaller relative to other developed nations, but it still poses significant policy issues (Kotkin 2010, 1).

Since there will be a larger elderly population, and older constituencies historically tend to be more political-ly active, Americans can expect poli-

ticians to continue to cater positions that are attractive to this large and sensitive voting block (Love 2004, 2). Specifically, politicians seeking votes will emphasize their commitment to issues that are of interest to the elderly such as healthcare and human services. According to a 2004 AARP report, Baby Boomers typically have "slightly less conservative" stances on economic and social issues than their parents, the GI generation (Love 2004, 5). However, the study noted that approximately 40% of the Baby Boomers reported they were growing more conservative with age (Love 2004, 5). If the Baby Boomers voting behavior is like the GI Generation, Baby Boomers will become both more conservative and more protective of social programs like Social Security and Medicare (Love 2004, 3). Thus, this constituency will be partial to both political parties. Democrats will seek to win the group over with promises of better entitlements. Conversely, Republicans will try to entice the Baby Boomers with the party's economic and conservative philosophies.

by the NUMB3RS
Population in the United States

2.1
THE OPTIMAL FERTILITY RATE IN A GIVEN COUNTRY

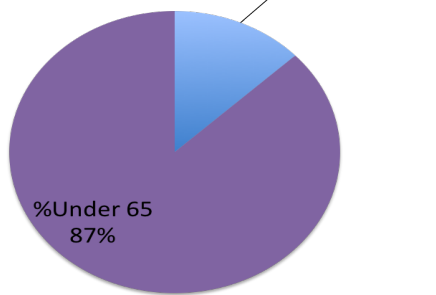
430
THE PROJECTED POPULATION (IN MILLIONS) BY THE YEAR 2062

20
THE PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION THAT IS EXPECTED TO BE OVER 65 BY 2040

47
HOW MANY YEARS IT WILL TAKE FOR MINORITIES TO BECOME THE NEW MAJORITY IN THE U.S.

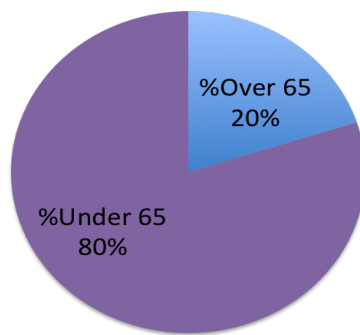
40
THE PERCENT OF BABY BOOMERS WHO CLAIM THEY ARE GROWING MORE CONSERVATIVE WITH AGE

2012 Population



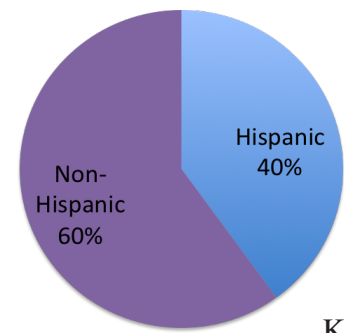
Kotkin 2010

2040 Population



Kotkin 2010

2050 population of children under 5



Kotkin 2012

Total Fertility Rate

Arguably the most important figure in understanding a population's future is the total fertility rate. The total fertility rate refers to the average number of births per woman. According to The World Factbook, it is, "a more direct measure of the level of fertility than the crude birth rate... [and] shows the potential for population change in the country" (CIA 2012). Optimally, a country wants to have a fertility rate of 2.1 births per female. America's total fertility rate currently floats around that figure and is supported largely by immigrant populations who tend to have more children (Kotkin 2010). As long as the population of the United States continues to grow, social welfare programs should be sustainable. However, if the American population takes a sharp tick downwards, the population pyramid scheme will become too top heavy. The demographic imbalance could manifest into forms of generational class warfare.

Hispanics

Since America's conception, immigrants have come to the United States seeking the opportunities of the American dream. Recently, the largest influx of newcomers has come from Latin America. By 2060, Caucasian Americans are projected to no longer be the majority. In 2012, minorities accounted for over 50% of new births in the United States, indicating a turn in America's ethnic

composition (Tavernise 2012). The Hispanic portion of the population is a significant contributor to the growth of the overall minority population in the United States. In a 2010 Smithsonian Magazine article, it was noted that "25 percent of children under age 5 are Hispanic; by 2050, that percentage will be almost 40 percent" (Kotkin 2010, 2). When these children grow up, their votes will be some of the defining characteristics of the American political patchwork.

In the future, Hispanics will have an increasingly strong voice in the direction of national issues and policy as Democrats and Republicans compete for their support. At this fall's conventions, both parties sought to highlight their commitment to the Hispanic community and showcase some of their parties' Hispanic leaders. Senator Marco Rubio was given one of the prime talking slots at the Republican National Convention in his home state of Florida. Likewise, the Castro twins Joaquin and Julian made appearances at the Democratic National Convention in North Carolina. Politicians know what a decisive constituent the Hispanic vote will become and neither party wants to lose out on these votes.

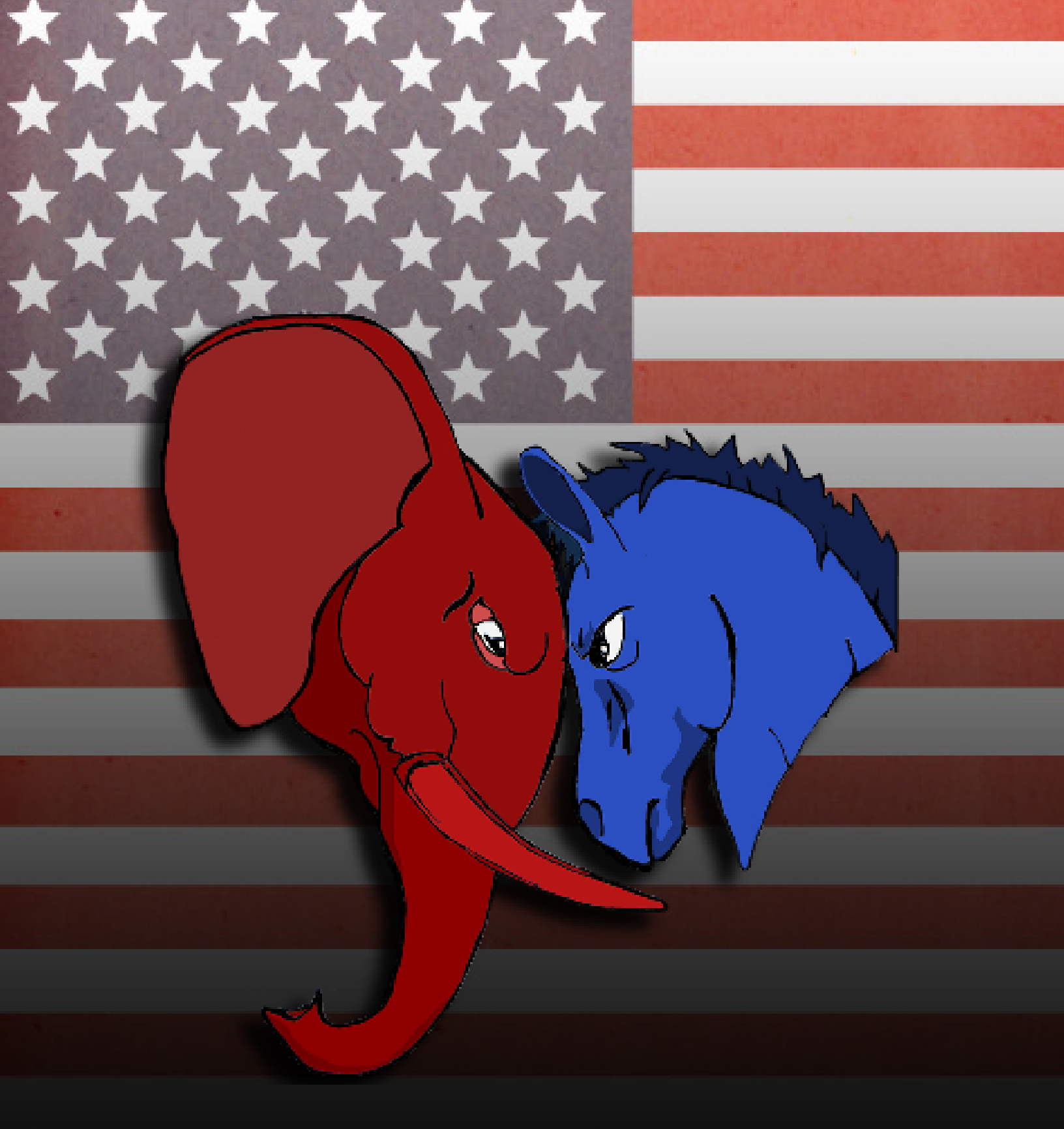
There is a great deal of debate concerning if minority groups will exhibit the same block voting behavior that they have in the past once America enters a majority-minority status (Hajnal and Lee 2012). In past elections, the Hispanic population has shown plurality in their voting behavior. Many Cuban Americans tend to vote Republican, while other Hispanics vote Democrat. In 2008,

Hispanic voters split 2 to 1 for Obama (Lopez, 2010). The voting patterns of this constituency will reshape American politics. For example, if Texas turns blue as a result of a vocal Hispanic block, Republicans will lose a key stronghold, and presidential elections will be drastically different.

In conclusion, the confluence of these short, medium, and long-term effects will shape the American political landscape. Understanding the changes in the electorate today, extrapolated over the next fifty years, will provide a political roadmap to 2062.

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