

# THE MARTIN INSTITUTE: PRINTS



The Martin institute: PRINTS is a peer-reviewed undergraduate journal that aims to support and promote the scholarship of Stonehill students in the fields of sociology, criminology, and political science, and anthropology.

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*\*Many thanks go to our Faculty Advisor, Associate Professor of Criminology and Director of the Martin institute, Katie Currul-Dykeman*

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# Emotional Learning in Corrections

By: Shannon K. Curran

Shannon is a graduating senior double majoring in Criminology and Psychology, with a minor in Sociology. She has been involved in the *Stonehill Undergraduate Research Experience* as well as working as a Senior Research Assistant for Dr. Ernestus' Psychology Research Lab. Shannon's work at Stonehill has furthered her interests on the impact of psychology and the environment on criminality, women in the criminal justice system, and solutions to improve prisons. In her spare time, she has been involved as a Moreau Honors Orientation Leader and Peer Mentor and a member of Stonehill's women's Ice Hockey and the Ultimate Frisbee team. After graduation, Shannon plans to work at MCI-Framingham as a female services counselor and will eventually pursue a higher degree in forensic psychology.

## What is Emotional Learning?

Emotional learning, also referred to as social and emotional learning (SEL), is the concept of evidence-based policies and programs that help individuals obtain knowledge and skills to understand and manage emotions. Emotional learning assists people in establishing and fostering positive relationships with others, feeling, and expressing empathy, and making responsible decisions (Weissberg, 2019). Through emotional learning, individuals acquire emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence, or emotional literacy, can be divided into four branches: "...the ability to (a) perceive emotion, (b) use emotion to facilitate thought, (c) understand emotions, and (d) manage emotion" (Mayer et al., 2004, p. 199). The order of these branches represents the degree to which the ability is integrated within an individual's personality (Mayer et al., 2004). In emotional learning programs, three major components are commonly categorized: (1) empathy, (2) mindfulness, and (3) self-regulation. Empathy is the ability to comprehend and resonate with others' emotions. Mindfulness is the capacity to develop resilience towards negative stimuli, and self-regulation is the individual's ability to control their emotions (Petrosino et al., 2021).

Research in emotional intelligence has typically followed one of two paths, the trait model and then the learned ability model. The first path is the characteristic model, also known as the trait model, where characteristic emotional intelligence is a person's ability to manage their emotions and it is measured with self-report questionnaires, such as the Bar-On EQ-i (Waleed, 2017). The Bar-On EQ-i was the first commercially

available operational index for the measurement of emotional intelligence. It asks respondents to report on their own level of emotional abilities (Moore, 2005; Waleed, 2017). Another assessment for characteristic emotional intelligence is the Trait Emotional Intelligence Questionnaire. The second path is the intellectual model, also referred to as the learned ability model. Intellectual emotional intelligence identifies intellect as the main factor for fostering the use of emotion and emphasizes the identification of emotions. Intellectual emotional intelligence is evaluated with performance measures, such as the Mayer Salovey– Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) (Waleed, 2017).

The first definitive use of the concept of emotional intelligence was in 1986 by Wayne Payne in his unpublished doctoral dissertation. The next time emotional intelligence was mentioned in American psychology was in 1995 when Daniel Goleman published his book, *Emotional Intelligence*. *Emotional Intelligence* was then republished in 1997, 2005, and 2006 (Waleed, 2017). Goleman’s book caused the concepts of emotional learning and emotional intelligence to gain great popularity. Emotional learning has received an increasing amount of attention, especially in schools, because it teaches individuals how to be more aware and respectful of themselves. This self-evaluation better enables people to show that they respect others and will lead to a demonstration of greater accountability and empathy in daily life. Thus, improving relationships with others (Casarjian et al., 2007; Moore, 2005).

### **Emotional Learning in Schools**

The idea of emotional learning in schools began between 1987 and 1992 when Roger Weissberg, Timothy Shriver, and additional colleagues established the K-12 New Haven School Development (Beaty, 2018). During this time, Roger Weissberg and Maurice Elias also established the William T. Grant Consortium on the School-Based Promotion of Social Competence (Weissberg, 2019). This group of youth-development experts announced an outline for integrating emotional learning in schools. The outline described skills needed for emotional intelligence, such as being able to express, identify, label, and manage emotions, control impulses, delay gratification, and analyze the intensity of feelings. In 1994, the Fetzer Institute gathered researchers, educators, and child activists to develop ideas for helping children to become positive citizens. As a result of this meeting, the term “social and emotional learning” materialized and became the leading phrase for referring to the concept of emotional learning within the field of education. In addition, the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) was established, and it became the leading organization for promoting social and emotional learning in the United States. The mission of CASEL is to provide social and emotional evidence-based programs for all children in preschool through high school. In 1997, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) partnered with CASEL and presented a comprehensive list of strategies in the book, *Social and Emotional Learning: Guidelines for Educators*. This book was the first of its kind and provided a framework to begin to address the missing piece in education

within the United States (Beaty, 2018). CASEL organizes the skills targeted by social and emotional learning “...into five interrelated sets of competencies: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision-making” (Lawson et al., 2019, p. 2). Currently, CASEL’s resources are being used in every state and at least 186 countries (Weissberg, 2019).

Social and emotional learning programs have gained so much popularity because research has found that they are successful at all education levels in improving academic, social, and personal success (Durlak et al., 2011). Durlak et al. (2011) conducted a meta-analysis of 213 school-based, universal social and emotional learning programs involving 270,034 kindergarten through high school students. The researchers found that social and emotional learning programs improved academic performance that reflected an 11-percentile-point gain in achievement (Durlak et al., 2011). Parker et al. (2004a) administered the Emotional Quotient Inventory Youth Version to 667 high school students and found that dimensions of emotional intelligence, such as interpersonal skills, adaptability, and stress management, were strongly associated with academic success. Similar findings occurred when Parker et al. (2004b) administered the Emotional Quotient Inventory Short Version to 372 first-year university students. There once again was a strong association with dimensions of emotional intelligence, such as intrapersonal skills, adaptability, and stress management, with academic success. These results are not surprising when considering that research has found students who do better academically have self-discipline, motivate themselves, manage their stress, use problem-solving skills to overcome obstacles, and make responsible decisions about studying (Durlak et al., 2011). All these factors are taught in social and emotional learning programs.

Social and emotional learning programs yield significant positive effects on attitudes about school, and these feelings have been found to remain statistically significant for six months after intervention (Durlak et al., 2011). Without such programs throughout schooling, students often become less connected to school as they progress from elementary to high school. This lack of connection negatively affects health, academic performance, and behavior. In a national sample of 148,189 sixth to 12<sup>th</sup> graders, only 29% indicated that their school provided an encouraging, caring environment (Benson, 2006). Effects of lack of connection to school can be seen when considering that 40%-60% of high school students indicate that they have become chronically disengaged from school (Klem & Connell, 2004).

Social and emotional learning programs have also been found to help decrease violence, hostility, aggression, and misconduct amongst students (Durlak et al., 2011; Waleed, 2017). Without intervention, aggressive and disruptive behaviors tend to remain stable over time. Aggressive children are more likely to overreact to perceived threats from their peers and are more likely to be rejected by their peers. This leads to the creation of deviant peer groups (Cornell, 2003). Miller-Johnson et al. (1999) found that rejection by peers and aggressive behavior in childhood is a predictor of criminality. In a longitudinal study of urban African

American youth, aggressive behavior and peer rejection were found to be predictive of serious felony assaults, along with other criminal behavior. The study also found that children who respond aggressively in social interactions have difficulty recognizing emotions in others, are less aware of how they are viewed by others and overestimate their own social competence (Miller-Johnson et al., 1999).

## **Emotional Learning in Prison**

### **Importance of Emotional Learning Programs**

If the needs of at-risk children and adolescence are not met while they are in school, they may end up engaging in criminal behavior and eventually become incarcerated. Emotional learning programs have recently gained popularity in correctional institutions due to both the success of school programs, and to address the social and emotional deficits of inmates. Emotional learning programs are essential in prison since the environment often presents several negative factors, such as isolation, inadequate living spaces, deprivations, violence, and exposure to physical, mental, emotional, and sexual exploitations (Petrosino et al., 2021). These aspects can both heighten preexisting psychological distress and provoke new issues, such as anxiety, fear, aggressive behaviors, and stress-related medical problems (Petrosino et al., 2021; Wolff & Caravaca Sánchez, 2019). Additionally, overcrowding in prison often causes overstimulation among inmates, which heightens arousal levels and reactive behaviors. This leads individuals to be more likely to act aggressively and violently (Petrosino et al., 2021). In a study by Animasahun (2010) of 500 Nigerian prisoners, it was discovered that emotional intelligence was the most potent predictor of prison adjustment when comparing emotional intelligence, spiritual intelligence, and intelligence quotient.

Emotional learning programs are particularly important for the incarcerated population because several studies have found that offenders have lower than normed average emotional intelligence scores (Cornell, 2003; Megreya, 2015; Moore, 2005; Waleed, 2017). Offender populations also exhibit lower levels of flexibility, higher rates of impulsivity, and adopt aggressive problem-solving strategies compared to the general population (Waleed, 2017). Those who commit violent crimes often justify their actions because they tend to believe others are belittling or attacking them. Since emotional intelligence includes being able to perceive emotions in oneself and others, violent inmates with lower emotional intelligence can interpret others as threatening, even when they are not challenging them (Cornell, 2003). In addition, many crimes, such as burglary, robbery, and assault, occur because of a lack of self-control and impulsive decision-making (Waleed, 2017). Emotional intelligence levels have been found to decline with crime severity; offenders charged with murder have lower levels of emotional intelligence than those charged with stealing and dealing drugs (Megreya, 2015).



## Main Objectives

The primary objective of emotional learning correctional programs is to present inmates with self-awareness training to address emotional and cognitive blind spots. The focus of these programs is to impact capacities for self-regulation, mindfulness, and empathy. When an inmate has higher levels of self-regulation, they are less likely to engage in antisocial behavior and be impulsive, fearful, aggressive, and hostile (Petrosino et al., 2021). Komarovskaya et al. (2007) found that inmates with less ability to manage impulsive tendencies engaged in higher rates of violence compared to other inmates who exercised greater self-discipline. Mindfulness training includes exercises that allow individuals to be more aware of their emotions and behavior, which improves the chances of being able to choose appropriate behaviors (Petrosino et al., 2021). Mindfulness practices focus on nonjudgmental awareness and acceptance of the present moment (Himelstein, 2011). In a study by Leonard et al. (2013), mindfulness training was given to adolescent inmates over a five-week period. Post-intervention results revealed the training significantly helped inmates regulate their emotions, as compared to a control group that did not receive the training. An 8-week mindfulness-based substance use intervention, studied by Himelstein (2011), was given to 48 incarcerated youth. There were statistically significant reductions in hostility and impulsiveness because of the program. There was also increased self-esteem amongst inmates and increased perceived risk of drug use from pretest to posttest (Himelstein, 2011). The third focus, empathy, allows inmates to better identify and understand the emotions of others. Correlations between increased delinquent behaviors and lower empathy have been found in both juvenile and adult studies. Therefore, the propensity toward overly aggressive behavior may be decreased by increasing inmates' empathy levels (Petrosino et al., 2021). The overall goal of emotional learning programs is to prepare inmates to be better adjusted to the stressors of society and be productive members once they are released (Animasahun, 2010; Petrosino et al., 2021).

## Successful Programs

In her text, *Houses of Healing: A Prisoner's Guide to Inner Power and Freedom*, Casarjian describes an emotional learning program that is specifically designed for utilization in a prison setting. This self-help book describes how to apply the principles of emotional intelligence to prison and describes how to confront thinking that is central to criminal behavior. Prisoners nationwide who have read the text report increased confidence with tackling future difficulties, feel better able to maintain relationships with family and other inmates, and feel better able to create more positive outcomes inside prison and upon their release. *Houses of Healing: A Prisoner's Guide to Inner Power and Freedom* is now being used as a model for facilitator-led classes and discussion groups throughout the United States. One intervention program based on *Houses of Healing* was

implemented in two medium-security facilities in Massachusetts. The program consisted of participation in a 12-session course that met once a week for two hours. Participants were taught self-awareness, self-regulation, and stress-management techniques. They discussed how to transform anger, resentment, and unhealthy guilt into more constructive responses, and cognitive-behavioral reframing techniques. Participants were given the opportunity to talk through the impact of loss and childhood trauma and practice non-aggressive responses to challenging situations. 70 male inmates participated and took self-report psychological tests upon completion of the intervention. Participants showed a significant decrease in the number of symptoms of depression, hostility, and alexithymia. Measurements also indicated that participants were able to acquire skills of self-regulation and the ability to have constructive responses when faced with negative emotions. Inmates acquired skills of mindfulness, including self-awareness and relaxation techniques. They also came to place more importance on their communities and their interactions with community members (Casarjian et al., 2007).

Another successful intervention was classes offered by the Insight Prison Project in California. The National Council on Crime and Delinquency conducted qualitative, semi-structured interviews and quantitative surveys of 31 participants. One of the courses that were analyzed was the Yoga course. This course intended to foster connection between mind and body to increase self-awareness of one's physical and emotional state. Interviewees expressed a reduction in anxiety, better emotional control, and more rational decision-making. Researchers also collected data on the Violence Prevention course. The goal of this course was to help inmates understand the origins of their anger and develop skills to manage it, rather than acting out in antisocial ways. The philosophy of this course was to correct cognitive distortions, move past criminogenic thought patterns, and unlearn violent tendencies. Inmates who had previously taken the course, co-facilitated the class and mentored participants.

Interviews revealed that individuals gained a better understanding of their anger, had fewer negative impulses, experienced emotional healing, and were better able to bond with others and make rational decisions. A third course The National Council on Crime and Delinquency collected data on was Emotional Literacy. Emotional Literacy is a cognitive-behavioral program that addressed negative conditioned thinking patterns and focused on creating positive behavioral changes. The program worked to build a supportive group to allow for group processing and reciprocal learning. Participants in this course indicated in interviews that they experienced improved decision-making, self-esteem, interpersonal relationships, and greater honesty in and outside of the class. Overall quantitative analysis of the courses found that inmates approached problems in more effective ways, had higher emotional well-being, were more likely to have positive relationships with others, and were less likely to make impulsive decisions (Silva & Hartney, 2012).

A third noteworthy program was psychotherapeutic interventions given to 185 male violent and sexual inmates in a social-therapeutic facility. The treatment aimed to address dynamic risk factors, such as



dysfunctional attitudes and coping methods. The interventions included modules on interpersonal problem-solving, emotional regulation, social skills, and relapse prevention. A crucial aspect of the facility was to ensure a supportive climate that fosters prosocial behavior and encourages the transfer of treatment to day-to-day interactions. The integrative approach encompassed educational and vocational training, work opportunities, psychotherapy, and social work. Upon analysis of data collected through interviews and self-report psychometric measures, Woessner & Schwedler (2014) found medium-sized changes to the risk factors of delinquent attitudes and anxiety in all offenders. Violent offenders showed improvements on measures of self-control, emotional stability, aggressiveness, neuroticism, and anxiety. Sexual abusers improved on the measures of anxiety and neuroticism. A more positive climate within the prison was correlated with positive changes in dynamic risk factors (Woessner & Schwedler, 2014).

### **Emotional Learning and Parole**

The concept of emotional learning for those on parole is just as important to consider as it is for those who are incarcerated. Individuals with low levels of emotional intelligence are more likely to continue having reactive criminal thinking and are at increased risk of reoffending (Waleed, 2017). Smith (2000) distributed the Bar-On EQ-i to 56 parolees from a midwestern city. 55.4% scored lower than the norm for total emotional intelligence, 51.8% scored below average on intrapersonal skills, and 64.3% scored below average on interpersonal skills. Recidivism is not only a concern for the offender, as they will become incarcerated again, but also for those in the community. The U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics estimates that public correction agencies, including prisons, jails, parole, and probation, costs \$80.7 billion per year. This expense falls on taxpayers. Having emotional learning programs that reduce reoffending lessens the amount of money that needs to be allocated to public correction agencies, while also making communities safer with less crime. However, the literature on established programs for parolees is extremely limited. Waleed (2017) conducted open-ended qualitative interviews of six former New York state prisoners who had been living in the community for an average of 3.6 years without reoffending.

Individuals with a history of violent offenses were purposively selected because of the correlation between low levels of emotional intelligence, aggression, and offending. When asked how they avoided reoffending, every participant described teaching themselves how to recognize and comprehend how their thoughts would affect their behaviors and how their behaviors can impact others. This allowed the individuals to become self-aware. Participants also described using strategies such as emotional sensitivity, the ability to postpone gratification, and responsible decision-making. The emotional intelligence components of self-awareness, social awareness, and self-management were described as the most influential in participants' decisional outcomes to desist crime. These participants demonstrate that recidivism can be interrupted when individuals acknowledge and redirect their antisocial thoughts and behaviors (Waleed, 2017). If these

participants were successful through simply teaching themselves, then an established emotional learning programs for parolees would most likely have significant positive results.

Bucklen et al. (2004) conducted surveys of 542 parole violators who returned to incarceration in 12 state correctional institutions in Pennsylvania. Participants indicated that emotional problems contributed to their failure on parole more than any other factor, including drug use, living arrangements, employment, and relationships problems. Participants also said their antisocial attitudes, poor self-control, and poor problem-solving skills contributed to their violations. When asked in a focus group what they would do differently the next time they were released from prison, many of the participants were able to identify their problem but could not determine a strategy to address the problem (Bucklen et al., 2004). The results of this study further support the need for emotional learning programs for those who are under supervision in the community.

A longitudinal, randomized placebo-controlled field experiment by Okonofua et al. (2021) looked at the impact of an empathic supervision training given to 216 probation and parole officers. The officers served in one of the largest cities in the U.S., had an average of 10 years of experience in the department, and supervised approximately 20,478 adults on probation and parole. Research shows that negative perceptions about people on parole or probation, such as expecting them all to re-offend, can hinder the capacity of officers to form and maintain relationships with those they are supervising. Since probation and parole officers are regularly exposed to adults that re-offend, officers are more likely to believe that all those on parole or probation will re-offend. This can be referred to as collective blame, in “...which people will blame all members of an outgroup for the acts of individual members of that group and therefore, expect other members to commit a similar offense” (Okonofua et al., 2021 p. 2). The 30-minute empathetic supervision training officers went through was designed to shift their mindset and highlight their biases and propensity to collectively blame an outgroup individual for the acts of their group. Over the course of 10 months after the training, the officers who were in the treatment group mitigated recidivism by an impressive 13%. This result indicates that the emotional intelligence skills of empathy and self-awareness are critical for those working with offenders (Okonofua et al., 2021).

## **Discussion**

Emotional learning is a concept that continues to show positive results in various domains. Although it is gaining popularity within correctional institutions, work still needs to be done to implement these evidence-based approaches throughout the United States and identify best practices across programs. There are few, if any, drawbacks to emotional learning programs. They almost always produce positive results and are cost-effective since many programs are discussion-based and do not require additional materials. Research should continue to be conducted on emotional learning programs for those on probation and parole. Through my review, I could not find any literature on specific programs for parolees or probationers. This is a problem since

it has been found that using emotional intelligence skills is effective amongst those who do not violate their probation. Expanding programs to those who work in the system should be another consideration for future policy implementation since recidivism can be reduced by simply being more self-aware and empathic.

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# Human Trafficking and the Mann Act

By: Brenna Imperati

Brenna is a graduating senior at Stonehill, with a Criminology major with a minor in Sociology and is a member of the Criminology Honor Society. Her studies and interests have revolved around wrongful convictions in the criminal justice system with a focus on researching and developing solutions to stop them. In addition to wrongful convictions, she has also focused on juveniles in the criminal justice system with an interest in deterring deviancy. After graduation, Brenna hopes to work within the criminology field and expand her knowledge on the criminal justice system.

## Abstract

My focus is to introduce the idea of human trafficking in the United States. This was primarily done through a review of the history of its origins, how this phenomenon has evolved, and further to address ways to combat the issue. In its entirety, human trafficking is a crime that involves force or coercion of a person for labor, sex, or other immoral acts. Individuals who continue to traffic, do it to earn money or labor for little to no cost. Traffickers manipulate the victim using different methods to maintain control and domination over them. A key policy that was created in the 1910s is the Mann Act in which the development of this very act was bleak with no benefits for victims involved with human trafficking. However, with adjustments and additional provisions, the Mann Act has provided more support and further investigation into human trafficking.

## Introduction

Human trafficking is a transnational crime and a human rights issue. The crime can occur at any location, to almost anyone. The traffickers have many different reasons for trafficking. The crime itself involves force or coercion of a person to provide labor, sexual services, or both. Coercion can be subtle or overt, physical, or psychological, as stated from the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice additionally



describes that there is not a single profile of a victim. However, there is a specific type of person that is trafficked more than others. Victims could be anyone regardless of race, color, national origin, disability, religion, age, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, socioeconomic status, education level, or citizenship status (“What is Human Trafficking?” 2020). With this in mind, The Polaris Project writes that females tend to be trafficked more than males (The Typology of Modern Slavery, 2017).

There can be many reasons for that, ranging from the activity they are being taken for or simply the accessibility of women. Depending on the act the traffickers want to be fulfilled, it will result in the type of person trafficked. Polaris Projects report that for illicit activities (drug trafficking, gangs, corruption, money laundering), 61% of those trafficked are male. At the same time, health, and beauty services (nail salons and hair salons), are 91% female (U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline Cases Soar by 25 Percent in 2018, 2019). Human trafficking can happen anywhere and to anyone. Human trafficking deprives people of their rights as humans and takes away their freedom. To fully understand the Mann Act, it is essential to review the history, how and why trafficking is committed, and connect these facts to the theories discussed in the criminal justice field. By examining human trafficking, the Mann Act has a promise of doing good by those subject to the dangers or possibilities of trafficking, but if more provisions are added, it can achieve more.

### **History of Human Trafficking in America**

The known start of slavery is between the 1400s and the 1600s, with Africans trading by the Portuguese. Hundreds of thousands of African men, women, and children were ripped from their homes and sold to different nations to provide manual labor (Smith, 2008). For decades following the 1600s, slavery continued throughout most developed countries. Individuals from less developed countries became victims of trafficking due to not having the resources to fight for themselves nor to resist the development of these practices. Between 1774 and 1804, many states in America worked to abolish slavery. In fact, northern states in the United States had abolished slavery by this time. However, in the 1860s, the British-operated slave trade was one of the largest businesses across the Atlantic, continuing enslavement. The United States had a record of nearly 4 million black slaves in which the Civil War became the turning point for ending slavery (Shah and Adolphe 2019). The ending in 1865, freed southern blacks and created the Thirteenth Amendment. With the creation of the Thirteenth Amendment came the problem of human trafficking in the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment abolishes slavery in the United States; however, it did not and does not stop others from kidnapping people for work.

Following the abolishment of slavery, the Mann Act of 1910 (also known as the White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910) became an international agreement to decrease prostitution, immorality, and human trafficking (Mann Act., 2020). The focus of the bill is on white women transported for sexual exploitation (Bonilla and Mo 2019). Since this time, human trafficking has become far worse, and more than only white women are

trafficked. While there have been updates to this act, human trafficking has evolved in many ways alongside the ever-developing society. Men have also been subject to human trafficking for labor purposes and different races go through trafficking for a variety of reasons (Busch-Armendariz et al., 2016). In 2000, the passage of the Trafficking Victim Protection Act, “allowed for the legal alignment of labor trafficking with sex for the first time” as it emphasized coercion and the difference of power between the trafficker and the victim (Bonilla and Mo 2019, Caliber 2007). The trafficker having the control over an individual while the victim has not power. This act also marked a turning point for the nation and its approach to identifying trafficking cases.

In 2001, the United States State Department estimated that there were 50,000-100,000 women and girls trafficked each year in the United States. A year following these initial estimates, a major breaking point occurred due to trafficking becoming a felony. There have been many anti-human trafficking policies created since then in hopes of stopping the trafficking of individuals. Federal agencies have also been trained to combat human trafficking in hopes of preventing it when they can. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security is responsible for investigating most cases involving sex and labor trafficking (“U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline Cases Soar by 25 Percent in 2018” 2018).

### **How Trafficking is done**

There are many ways for an individual to be trafficked. Some involve coercion, while others play on the victim's emotions, state of mental well-being, or threats. Threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payment or benefits to a person in control of a victim is how many victims are controlled (Aronowitz, 2009). Traffickers typically threaten the victim and the victims' families to gain complete control and obedience. Thus, traffickers might find their victim on a dating website, an ad, or on the street. They will appear to be friendly and maybe even seem interested in a relationship, whether sexual or simply friendly, with the victim and further prey on victims who are vulnerable and looking for a better life, a new job, or a relationship (“The Canadian Centre to End Human Trafficking”, 2018). Unfortunately, as traffickers focus on vulnerability as a component, runaways and young teens are often the victims of trafficking (Withers, 2017). Understanding this, due to either an unstable home or mental health issues, many young girls are so desperate to find someone to love and take care of them that they fall into the hands of a trafficker (Withers, 2016). Additionally, traffickers aim to establish a relationship or a connection with victim, where, in extreme cases, the trafficker is a family member to the victim.

Human trafficking can be seen as a process, not just one offense. There is an abduction, moving a person to a different country or state or region, and then exploitation, using the person for the sole purpose of the trafficker. Many people might think that human trafficking is random, and the victims happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. However, this is not the case. Most traffickers study their victims and spend

hours in surveillance, some even getting physically close. By being close with their victim, they can use more personal methods “such as tricking, defrauding, manipulating, or threatening victims” (“The Typology of Modern Slavery” 2017). Victims can be lured in with false promises of work, relationships, or money. Another way would be to be physically violent or threaten the victim with violence. Once they have obtained their victims, they use force, fraud, or coercion to maintain control (*The Typology of Modern Slavery* 2017). Those who control victims with force might keep them tied up, monitored, they may also use violence or keep them locked in a specific room. Victims can be controlled through the same method that was used to kidnap them, fraud. Finally, the victim can be physiologically abused as a form of coercion (How do sex and human traffickers get their victims, 2021). The victim may receive threats of violence, harm to their loved ones, or depriving the victim of their belongings, which is a way to isolate and make them feel trapped.

### **Why Traffic?**

Human trafficking aims to exploit people for sexual acts, forced labor, slavery, or in some extreme cases the removal of organs and thus, human trafficking is a market-driven industry. Depending on the location of the traffickers, often determines the reason for trafficking. Analogous to many crimes, “human trafficking is not a naturally occurring phenomenon. It is a choice” (Richmond 2017). People choose to traffic others for their benefit or the benefit of those around them as it is a high reward and a low-risk crime. It is low risk due to the limited government and law enforcement training, lack of awareness by communities, or ineffective and unused laws (Human Trafficking, n.d.). Recent studies have looked at statewide anti-trafficking efforts to discover where they need improvements and where the gaps in services are for the survivors of trafficking. Many of those studying the anti-trafficking efforts have found there needs to be more training, more methods to reconnect survivors with the community, and more survivor-based service (Koegler, Preble, & Tlappek, 2020). Unfortunately, the people who traffic are not likely to get caught; the victims (especially those involved in sex acts) are the ones to be imprisoned. Since the traffickers are not at the risk of being imprisoned, thus, they do not feel afraid of committing the crime. Human trafficking is also a very profitable illegal industry; people can be sold multiple times; drugs can only be sold and used once. Human trafficking is one of the most dynamically growing forms of crime because of great local and international demand, high profits, minimum risk, and often low starting costs.

### **Theory**

When referring to human trafficking there are two groups to look at, the victims and the traffickers. For victims of fraud and trafficking, they may fall into the theory of social structure. They do not have the same opportunities to reach success. They might try to adapt by being innovative. They want money, a good job, and

good life but they do not have the means to do this, Strain Theory. They are also looking for love and family because their home life might not provide them with it (McBane, 2021). This response might lead them to put themselves in danger by working on the streets. Another theory to explain how victims become victims would be the social bond theory. They might not have bonds to keep them out of crime, or the bonds could be linked to dangerous people. Those who enter the wrong crowd can unknowingly surround themselves with violent or risky people. The victims often have low education levels and low socioeconomic levels.

Those who traffic fall into the social learning theory. They, like their victims, might not grow up with the means to achieve their goals. The United Nations reports that traffickers are often from poverty, like their victims (Vienna Forum, 2008). They are looking to earn money but not in a legal way. They might also be surrounded by other people who traffic. They grow up learning the techniques to commit the crime. The National Human Trafficking Resource center identifies that some groups of traffickers are family operations. Those around them might also reinforce positive feedback when they commit the crime correctly. The United Nations additionally found that about half of the traffickers were recruited by someone they are close with.

## **The Mann Act**

The Mann Act, also known as the White-slavery Traffic Act of 1910, has never been repealed even though it only focused on one demographic. Throughout the years, new adjustments have been made to this act to provide it useful to the criminal justice system without discriminatory practices or additions. The Mann Act is a federal law that prohibits the transportation of “any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery or any immoral purpose” (The Mann Act., 2020). The transportation aspect is also limited to across state lines. There could be one female that is being trafficked from one part of the state to another, however, this act is not a violation of the Mann Act. There have since been amendments focusing on child pornography, and the abuse against consensual sex. The act was first passed in 1910 and originally only aimed at prostitution, human trafficking, and immorality. It was passed because there was a belief that immigrant women were brought to America for sexual slavery and immigrant men were luring American girls into prostitution. It was believed that no girl would go into prostitution unless they were drugged or held captive. Today it is understood that women can freely choose to be prostitutes, but in 1900 it was not thought about. Another issue with this bill is that it focused on immigrant men being the ones to trafficking women. This idea left out a large category of American men, white, black, Hispanic, and other races.

In theory, the Mann Act was thought to be beneficial. People were not blaming women for crimes, and they were looking to stop human trafficking. However, the law was misused to punish black men for being in a relationship with white women (*Congress passes Mann Act, aimed at curbing sex trafficking* 2009). Any white woman that was traveling consensually with a man was thought to be a prostitute and was being held against

their will. This idea originated in the belief that black men were the ultimate predator. Black men were labeled and treated differently because of their skin color and became further subjects to discriminatory practices upheld by early federal laws.

The idea of Labeling Theory plays a large role in the creation of the Mann Act. The act was created to protect white women from black men who might be looking to force them into prostitution. Since black men were already labeled as violent and dangerous, this act causes more and more black men to be arrested and prosecuted. Charlie Chaplin and Chuck Berry were prosecuted under this law for bringing unmarried women across the state line (PBS, 2020). Charlie Chaplin, being a white man from England, and Chuck Berry, a black man from America, committed the same act. However, Chaplin was acquitted, and Berry was imprisoned for 20 months.

In 1917, two men were convicted because they and their girlfriends took a weekend trip to another state (*Congress passes Mann Act, aimed at curbing sex trafficking* 2009). After this case, all different types of crimes were being criminalized in connection with this act. A woman traveling from one state to another for work with a man and girls who ran away with another's husbands are just two examples of the problems that rose out of this act. The famous heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, was arrested for bringing a prostitute from Pittsburgh to Chicago. However, the reason for his arrest was due to the public being upset that he married white women. The act was misused to arrest Johnson because he was with a white woman, and back that white woman was thought to only be with black men because the man was holding them captive or using other forms of violence (ESPN.Com, 2018). However, he has recently received a pardon.

## **Policy Recommendations**

The adjustments have made it stricter and have been helpful in fighting human trafficking. One adjustment changed the phrase "any other immoral purpose" to "any sexual activity for which any person can be charged with a criminal offense" (The Mann Act., 2020). Sexual acts that can be charged criminally would be kidnapping, coercion, child prostitution and pornography, and transportation of a minor. While this idea does help narrow down the crimes that can be charged under the Mann Act, it is still only focusing on a few categories. There is a focus on children which is very different from the original release of the act. This act also does not account for the transportation of people for labor purposes.

Many people are trafficked to work. This act completely disregards this group. By changing the wording to specifically focus on sexual acts, the transportation of people for medical reasons is also left out. People are also trafficked for the removal of organs. This event is not done legally and should be included in this act. Today the Mann Act can be invoked if an individual is involved with transporting another for prostitution or any sexual act that can be charged as a crime. Also, one could be in violation of the Mann Act for using the mail

or telephone to arrange a criminal sexual activity. This response leaves out the use of the Internet. Many people are lured with false promises from people on different social media apps and subjects younger individuals, such as teenagers, to the dangers of human trafficking. With these adjustments and other adjustments over the years, the act can be beneficial and helpful in combatting human trafficking.

As mentioned above, there are many aspects of this situation the Mann Act does not discuss. By recommending the addition of many different aspects, and to start using the Mann Act more, human trafficking number can drastically drop. There should be an addition in the form of different bills. First, add more categories about the causes of human trafficking. While sex trafficking is the most common, there are other reasons that are left out of this policy. It needs to include a section on the trafficking of labor, organ removal, and slavery. The crimes are not as common, but they still occur and still fall under the umbrella of human trafficking and cause harm to many communities and individuals. People are moved from one state or country to another for these purposes, yet according to this act, it is not an immoral purpose.

## **Conclusion**

Human trafficking is a form of crime that involves force or coercion for labor or sex acts. By examining human trafficking, the Mann Act has a promise of good, but if more is added, it can reimagine its scope of impact, and aid those impacted by human trafficking. While anyone could be the victim of human trafficking, females are generally trafficked more than males; however, there are forms of human trafficking that has more males than females. It is committed by manipulating or forcing a person into labor or sex acts and can be committed with the intention and desire for sexual acts or free labor. Various acts and bills have been passed throughout the years to combat human trafficking and its scope. While there have been significant changes and many people have been arrested for human trafficking, it is still a problem that needs to be addressed. The Mann Act was originally passed in the 1910s and has since been misused. However, the government has passed bills to limit the abuse and to clarify it. While these changes have improved the Mann Act, there are many adjustments that still need to be made.



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## On Modesty in Muslim Culture: A Cross-Examination of Lila Abu-Lughod's Ethnography

By: Cheyenne Zinnkosko

Cheyenne is a graduating senior with a double major in Sociology and Anthropology with a minor in Spanish. She has been actively involved with the CWAA as a writing and Spanish tutor as well as a member of the Advocates for a Brighter Stonehill Leadership Program. Her interests range from traveling to academic research into anthropology, to which she completed the *Student Undergraduate Research Experience* on genetic ancestry testing. After graduation, Cheyenne plans to train as a paralegal and eventually attend graduate school with an interest in sociocultural anthropological studies and on public sociology for research into social justice.

Ethnographic work into different cultures across the world creates windows of opportunities for the discussion of cultural norms and traditions. This includes examining the various works, studies, and discussions surrounding Middle Eastern cultures and various cultural norms that are upheld. Here, the question lies, is how modesty, as a cultural norm, specifically addressed by anthropologists and how, as an integral aspect of honor in Muslim society, upheld. Considering this, my discussion will investigate how discourse surrounding modesty in Muslim cultures is addressed in the texts provided by anthropologists Richard Antoun, Nadia Abu-Zahra, and Lila Abu-Lughod, author of *Veiled Sentiments*, an ethnographic study of honor, modesty, and poetry within the Bedouin community found in the Western Desert of Egypt. Further, Abu-Lughod's examination underscores the presentation of emotions in connection to power and hierarchy dynamics within this community. Meanwhile, Richard Antoun presented his ethnographic works as an additional inquiry into similar communities to the Bedouins to further understand power dynamics among gender and expressions of veiling and emotion.

Primarily, works by Antoun and Abu-Zahra will be used to contrast their different anthropological perspectives will also examining how both authors understand modesty through different methods of data collecting. Abu-Lughod's work in *Veiled Sentiments* will underscore the discussion around Antoun and Abu-Zahra and will provide additional insight to modesty in Muslim culture through her studies of the Bedouin

peoples specifically. The voices of these anthropologists will create a synthesis to properly depict modesty from multiple perspectives and uncover the ways modesty is both defined and enforced in Muslim cultures. Here, we will begin with Antoun's work with his interpretations of modesty presented in linguistic norms and traditions of Muslim societies.

By beginning with Antoun's work with studying Muslim cultures, I aim to address how he studied this culture via modesty specifically, and his analyses. In his work, Antoun addresses modesty utilizing the prior ethnographic works of other anthropologists as a basis while using his interpretations of modesty in both the Quran and a specific village in Jordan. Here, Antoun's goal was to develop a synthesis that would provide a concise interpretation of the norms and beliefs surrounding modesty in Muslim culture in a broader context through the lens of a single Muslim village (Antoun 1968, 672). His interpretations garnered criticism as I will discuss but are nonetheless an insight into Muslim modesty.

Firstly, it is important to note that Antoun characterizes modesty in numerous aspects, with references to the "coverage for various parts of the body," and character traits that lead to associations with "institutions [of] customs and beliefs" on a wider contextual level, also known as the modesty code to Antoun (Antoun 1968, 672). Antoun investigates linguistic aspects of modesty within idiomatic expressions and discourse found in Muslim culture. Here, Antoun provides literary definitions of Arabic words such as '*mahashim*,' '*haya*,' and '*farj*' which outline the significance of protecting female genitalia and character traits (via covering and behavioral norms) and assign these conceptions partly to more animalistic qualities (Antoun 1968, 679). For example, Antoun uses the term '*haya*' to directly refer to the bashfulness of a woman while also noting its use in describing the vulva of female animals (Antoun 1968, 679).

Now, what this does for Antoun's argument on literary and linguistic uses of describing modesty, is that it creates an additional facet for understanding its applications. While modesty is typically addressed in the physical presentation of women through veiling and clothing, it has, in these terms, developed the notion that the behavioral and ethical standards of modesty directly correlate to the physiology of a woman (Antoun 1968, 679). This creates a double meaning in which the ethical standards that women constitute and behave in are tied to the protection of their genitalia as well (Antoun 1968, 680). Here we see Antoun note this and how his interpretation linguistic uses refer to both the consideration of ethical and physiological characteristics of a woman and connect further to the honor code developed in Muslim society (Antoun 1968, 680). In respect to this, Antoun cultivates his argument to further describe the notion that in protecting a female's genitalia, a woman should therefore be entirely protected through both the modesty and honor codes in which men can offer legal and economic protection as long women participate in the norms of the modesty code (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1084). Across his argument concerning linguistic descriptions of modesty, Antoun eventually delves into the use of clothing to protect and enforce one's modesty and honor.

Dissimilar to Antoun and his use of linguistic interpretations, anthropologist Abu-Zahra uses Antoun's work as a basis for her insight into modesty in Muslim culture. By using Antoun, Abu-Zahra develops a platform for providing her understanding of modesty linguistically while supporting her evidence via previous ethnographic work and prior research into Muslim culture in countries such as Tunisia and Egypt. Here, she wants to address the misinterpretations made by Antoun and build upon her argument for how modesty is encapsulated in Muslim cultures through identifying ethical standards of both men and women (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1080). Firstly, in tandem with the presentation of modesty linguistically in Antoun's discussion, Abu-Zahra identifies the terms Antoun uses, underscoring that the use of terms such as '*haya*' provide no structural evidence to suggest its use in referring to the physiological characteristics of a woman. This underscores the idea that it is "methodically questionable to draw conclusions" about the sexual idiomatic and linguistic terms in Muslim culture (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1080 & 1081).

In this respect, Abu-Zahra turns her attention to describe how terms such as '*haya*' or '*mahashim*' and other linguistic terms used to denote women and men in different respects, demonstrate that the images of women cannot be seen independently of men in Muslim culture (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1086). What Abu-Zahra understands is that idiomatic sayings that are discussed in Antoun's work, do not stand outside of the realm of addressing men concerning modesty and the modesty code, rather that the relationship between modesty and gender is complimentary and to understand modesty is to address both men and women in a similar light (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1085-1086). Both men and women are subject to specific standards of behavior and ethical considerations of the honor code in Muslim society, in which behaving according to these standards, enables modesty to be considered as a core aspect to the social systems implemented. Following this, Abu-Zahra proceeds to identify several linguistic technicalities that provide no evidence in Antoun's argument and eventually directs her focus to depict modesty through the observation of behavior in Muslim culture.

Moving away from Antoun's interpretations, Abu-Zahra delves into the behavioral norms of women in Muslim societies and the ethical considerations that go into what is described as a 'good' woman. Through her observations, Abu-Zahra cultivates a new perspective into modesty and identifying what constitutes a 'good' woman and how it relates to modesty via behavioral conformity and presentation of one-self. Here, she describes how a woman is considered 'good' if she "behave[s] in a manly fashion" where there is pride in women who behave seriously, like a soldier, and are not flirtatious (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1084). This both protects the honor and modesty of a woman and demonstrates her respect for and conformity to these moral systems in place.

Modesty in this regard, to Abu-Zahra, is more so defined and characterized by the ethical behavior a woman constitutes and acts upon, and the "social attributes of the male" are the ideal attributes or behaviors a woman should follow (Abu-Zahra 1970, 1084). Thus, it is important to consider how modesty outside of



linguistical applications and the physical presentations (of both men and women) are considered in ethical and behavioral norms. Modesty, according to Abu-Zahra, is reflected in identifying these patterns of behavior and characterizations in various interactions. This idea follows in the last anthropologist of interest, Abu-Lughod, and her similar interpretation of modesty through the honor and moral codes of Bedouin society.

Our final voice, Abu-Lughod, presents a final piece in developing a cohesive understanding of modesty, using her work in *Veiled Sentiments* and with the Bedouins to reflect modesty in numerous aspects. Primarily, Abu-Lughod addresses the modesty code by identifying the role of gender in enforcing specific behaviors and norms that overall create the modesty code in Bedouin society. For example, Abu-Lughod delves into the standards of constitutes a 'good woman, like what Abu-Zahra did, where the ethical attributes of a woman rely on the ideal attributes of a man and act as the "most male woman" (Abu-Lughod 1986, 143). Here, this is understood in the respect that women do not go beyond the gender-specific norms assigned through the modesty and honor codes, in which a woman must follow specific cultural norms that involve upholding their morality. This morality and virtue are upheld by behavior that denotes respectability towards the opposite gender and more importantly, the social order system that is in place (Abu-Lughod 1986, 143, 150).

According to Abu-Lughod, this is typically observed in a woman's ability to respect and obey her husband alongside male kin and going insofar as to minimize any attention drawn to her. This is either done through various formal acts of behavior including "refraining from talking, eating and laughing," in which acting in any of these ways is considered immodest (Abu-Lughod 1986, 153). Abu-Lughod takes this a step further in which this form of behavior is subject to criticism from other women in this society and can be considered "shameless flirtation" if done in the company of men (Abu-Lughod 1986, 153). Modesty relies on this type of behavior as well as physical presentation, where "makeup is frowned upon" and veiling "communicates deference" in defining terms of "sexuality or chastity" (Abu-Lughod 1986, 153, 161). To explain further, Abu-Lughod uncovers veiling, as a form of modesty and even chastity, is primarily for men and the respectability of it, where young women begin veiling "only at marriage" and eventually "as they pass menopause" (Abu-Lughod 1986, 161).

Within this argument of detailing the production of modesty through behavior and presentation, she outlines that by acting within the modesty code, men and women subject themselves to the conformities of modesty and uphold specific ideals of social order by doing so (Abu-Lughod 1986, 134). Thus, modesty, in a broader contextual aspect, is centered around the justification of supporting the social system of Bedouin society and reducing threats to this system through behavioral norms and customs (Abu-Lughod 1986, 150). This aspect is in tandem with Abu-Lughod's discussion surrounding sexuality and denial of romantic interest in Bedouin culture, but as she notes, sexuality is an integral pillar of society that is described via the modesty code. Though, Abu-Lughod understands the complexity of modesty, and how it should be understood via different



aspects, such as sexuality and even the honor code. The evidence Abu-Lughod develops presents modesty from varying perspectives, ultimately demonstrating the extent to which larger societal customs and norms are upheld in Bedouin society.

In this discussion of modesty within Muslim culture and societies, each anthropologist provides numerous claims for how modesty is upheld alongside how it is presented via different cultural norms and traditions. Both Antoun and Abu-Zahra drew upon the works of other anthropologists to support their claims, with Abu-Zahra using Antoun as a basis for her interpretations, and each supports their interpretations with evidence uncovered. Abu-Zahra creates an interesting contrast from Antoun's interpretations of modesty and highlights the importance of examining information from various perspectives. Finally, Abu-Lughod's work with the Bedouins demonstrates the larger contextual importance of modesty in Muslim culture, through the applications of participant observation. These discussions emphasize the complexity of cultural norms and traditions that exist within different societies and the importance of acknowledging them.

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## Eliminating Cash Bail in Massachusetts By: Kaitlin Kornachuk

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### Abstract

An alleged offender is assigned cash bail by a judge that must be paid to be released before their court appearance. Historically, cash bail came about as a way for an offender to not have to rely on a surety to get released before trial and the amount was determined by crime severity. Cash bail is often set a lot higher than a person's ability to pay meaning they must stay in pretrial detention. Cash bail needs to be eliminated in Massachusetts because it is classist, racist and does not help address the root causes of crime. A new structure using a Risk Assessment System (RAS) to determine release eligibility as well as release supervision would be much more effective at reducing recidivism and protecting communities. This system would make it so class and race would not be a factor in determining pretrial release. The RAS system allows offenders to maintain social bonds, learn skills, and have access to resources that could eliminate strain all while still ensuring their court appearance.

### Introduction

Cash bail is assigned after the initial arrest when the judge assigns a defendant a monetary amount, they can pay that will let them avoid pre-trial detention. In Massachusetts there are two types of bail a person can be released on: cash bail and personal recognizance (Bail, Mass.gov). The latter is releasing a defendant based on their promise that they will show up to their court appearance. Massachusetts judges use many factors in

deciding bail such as if they are a flight risk, their criminal history, if they are employed and if they have family from the area (Learn how bail is set, Mass.gov). These judges have a lot of discretion in determining who makes bail and how high the bail is set. Furthermore, in Massachusetts bail is not seen as a form of punishment but rather a way to ensure the defendant will show up for their court proceeding (Bail, Mass.gov). However, there is extensive research on pretrial detention that suggests even though it is not considered a formal punishment, it has devastating impacts on offenders' lives. For this reason, many states are looking to move away from cash bail.

Massachusetts still employs a cash bail system and unlike a lot of other states it is not planning on moving away from it. The Massachusetts Senate Minority leader Bruce Tarr views cash bail as critical, stating "We need an enforceable mechanism to ensure that people appear in court at the necessary times and that there's a consequence for not doing that..." (Wade, 2020). He, however, fails to address how disproportionate pretrial detention, caused by cash bail, impacts indigent and minority people. Senator Tarr is only considering how cash bail should hypothetically work in an unbiased way rather than the reality of it, which is very messy when it comes to judicial discretion. In theory cash bail should work but, unless a person is rich and preferably white being able to avoid the lengthy amount of time awaiting trial in incarceration is an unknown. There are alternatives to cash bail that also prioritize the alleged offender going to court but provides support and help to reduce their chances of recidivism along the way.

Cash bail is inherently classist because it allows only the wealthy to avoid pretrial detention. Staying in jail should not be based on if someone has the finances to pay bail versus if they do not. There is extensive research on how pretrial detention makes a person more likely to be convicted and more desperate to make plea deals even when they are innocent. This sets up a system in which impoverished people are at a major disadvantage. Cash bail is also racist; minorities experience pretrial detention at much higher rates than white people do, causing the biggest criminal processing disparity between black and white offenders in the criminal justice system (Donnelly & MacDonald, 2018). When facing pre-trial detention, offenders lose access to their social bonds such as friends, family, and their organizations. Hirschi's social control theory from 1969 suggests that these social bonds prevent an individual from committing crime (Wu et al., 2021). Therefore, taking them away completely from someone who has already allegedly committed a crime will potentially increase recidivism.

Additionally, this time wasted in pretrial detention, before a person is even found guilty, takes them away from their education and employment. School and work are typically major strains for people and under Merton's strain theory of criminology, many people commit crimes because of their inability to obtain societal success including commonly accepted goals like education and employment. Therefore, pretrial detention would only accentuate these strains, making the accused more likely to recidivate upon release. Finally, cash

bail allows those who can afford to pay bail the luxury of being released but does not monitor or supervise them. This means that the only real threat, if they do not show up, is bail forfeiture and if someone is rich, they may not have a reason enough to show up to court (Dekrey, 2020). In conclusion, cash bail is a corrupt system with overwhelming discretion that is still used in Massachusetts and urgently needs to be eliminated. Replacing cash bail is critical for the equity of all people, to prevent future recidivism, and for the implementation of a monitoring system that ensures court appearance of individuals without the use of collateral.

## History

The bail system started out based completely on personnel surety, which is basically the promise a person would show up and pay, there was no securing of collateral to ensure this (Dekrey, 2020). Then a new type of surety came about, and they were responsible, respected community members that offenders could be released from custody to. The surety would be the person responsible for making the accused show up to court and it was their reputation on the line. An issue arose in the early 1800s when there were more people being convicted of crimes than there were “responsible” people to vouch for them and take responsibility for them (Dekrey, 2020). Hence, a new system had to be employed, which ended up being cash bail. Initially the bail system was very black and white; either someone’s crimes were too serious for them to be released or they would be released if their crimes were minor. Due to the lack of available sureties, however, people who only committed minor crimes had to remain in custody before trial. Cash bail allowed these people to not have to rely on another person to take responsibility for them but rather allowed them to, in theory, get out of pretrial detention for minor crimes by posting bail. The system however started to focus less and less on the seriousness of a person's crime but rather their ability to pay bail determining who would be released (Dekrey, 2020). This is a large part of the root of the modern cash bail problem.

After the inception of cash bail, the goals, and criteria for determining cash bail have changed a few times. The initial goal was to ensure court appearance but in the 1940s this began to shift. Judges now started to use an individual's flight risk as well as other substantive evidence to determine bail (Gasek, 2020). Initially this was done unofficially but it became legal in the Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure rule 46 (*Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure*, 2020). This gave judges a massive amount of discretion allowing them to look at the characteristics of the offender and the evidence against them (Gasek, 2020). Pretrial incarceration rates started to drastically increase after this and resulted in the first Bail Reform Act which was passed in 1966. This act made it so judges should more heavily weigh whether someone is going to be a risk to the community again if released before trial (Gasek, 2020). The ruling of *United States v. Salerno* determined community safety can outweigh a person's liberty (Gasek, 2020). This reform act also allowed judges to “...preventively detained defendants pretrial where they found bail would not ‘reasonably assure [a defendant’s] appearance...’” (Gasek,

2020, p.7). Additionally, the Bail Reform Act of 1966 made it so "...a person's financial status [would no longer be] a reason for denying pretrial release..." (Smith et al., 2020, p.50), meaning, release on personal recognisance could prevent pretrial detention. However, a judge still uses their discretion in determining if that would be an option. The goal of cash bail in the 1980s was to keep dangerous offenders off the streets before their trials. The Bail Reform Act of 1984 really emphasized this when it allowed officials discretion to consider someone's dangerousness. Ultimately, what started out to make sure non dangerous offenders did not have to be incarcerated, pretrial has turned into a very subjective system with an overwhelming amount of judicial discretion.

When discussing the history of cash bail, especially regarding Massachusetts, it is important to address the 2017 case *Commonwealth v Brangan*. In 2014, a young man named Jamal Brangan was arrested for robbing a bank. At the time of this alleged offense, he was already on probation for child rape as well as other charges. Considering his probation violation, his bail was set to either \$20,000 cash or \$500,000 surety, which in modern times is a loan that is given to offenders so that they can afford to post bail (Criminal Law, 2018). Because Brangan was considered by the judge to be a danger to the community, his bail was set high resulting in him not posting bail and spending a year in pretrial detention (Criminal Law, 2018). He was convicted by a grand jury for the robbery but had an arraignment hearing where his bail was set even higher at \$50,000 cash and \$500,000 surety. Brangan went on to appeal after applying many times for bail reduction. The Supreme Judicial Court took the case and ruled some very crucial things regarding cash bail. The first was it prohibited unjustified high bail amounts for indigent or impoverished people (Criminal Law, 2018). Secondly, most importantly, a judge should consider if the defendant can pay bail, but it is not required that the bail amount is something that that defendant can afford (Criminal Law, 2018). This case did make it so that in Massachusetts judges that make bail too high for a defendant to afford must formally give the reasoning (*Brangan v. Commonwealth*, 2017). This case essentially reaffirmed the judge's right to discretion in making bail amounts with a few added steps for them. The Massachusetts Bail Fund has been monitoring the bail determinations post Brangan ruling and found that judges just focus on the fact that setting bail too high for a defendant to pay is not prohibited and thus high cash bail is still very much an issue (Leonard, 2018).

## **Current Issues & Research**

One of the most prominent issues regarding cash bail is that it is an inherently classist system. Only if someone has money can they afford to avoid pretrial detention. When detained the presumed offender cannot work so they are losing money. Cash bail often leads to a problem with plea bargaining because many people in pretrial detention will concede to plea bargains to be released. (Mansoor 2019). Cash bail is designed for the rich to avoid jail time. Pretrial detention does not just take time away from someone's life because they are in



detention, it also has massive impacts on sentencing. In a study analyzing nonfelony cases in New York City in 2003-2004, it was found those who could not afford bail and stayed in jail for pretrial detention were convicted in 92% of their cases, compared to those who could afford to pay which were convicted in only 50% (Mansoor 2019). In 2017, an elderly man named Bill Peyser brought a gun to confront his rowdy neighbors, they had not even opened the door nor interacted with him when his firearm accidentally discharged in the hallway. Suddenly, Peyser is being charged with attempted murder and was held on \$625,000 bail which he could not afford. This resulted in him being in pretrial detention for half of a year until security footage was watched and he was found innocent (Shackford 2018). Similarly, in 2010 Kalief Browder was arrested by police on suspicion of stealing a backpack which led to a \$3,000 dollar bail. Once again, in an all too familiar situation, Browder's family could not pay the bail, so he ended up spending over a thousand days detained at Rikers Island before being found innocent (Mansoor 2019). Their stories, and those of thousands of others reflect that cash bail does not work to keep dangerous people off the streets but rather poor people. If Peyser and Browder had the money to pay their bails, then they would not have to have their lives completely uprooted and faced punishment before trial.

Just like cash bail targets poor people, it also targets minorities. Since minorities are overrepresented in all aspects of the criminal justice system due largely to disproportionate minority contact (DMC) more minorities experience the subjectivity of cash bail. In a study done by Donnelly and MacDonald they found that bail and pretrial detention accounted for much of the disparities between black and white people during sentencing. They found "Pretrial conditions contribute to 43.5% of explainable Black-White disparity in convictions and 37.2% of the disparity in guilty pleas" (Donnelly & MacDonald 2018 p. 780). Bail is supposedly based on dangerousness, community safety, and the likelihood to recidivate as factors. Therefore, black people, particularly men, are already at a disadvantage because they are stereotyped to be criminals. Psychological research shows that Americans associate "blackness" with crime (Mays et al. 2013). This, coupled with the fact pretrial detention leads to a more likely chance of being convicted, makes it so minorities, especially black people, are disproportionately given high bails and ultimately convicted.

Aside from being classist and racist cash bail, and with it, pretrial detention, only accentuates the stressors or causes of why people initially offend. Hirschi's Social Control theory asserts that because of the social bonds or controls people have with society they do not want to offend for risk of losing these things which they hold important (Wu et al., 2021). According to Hirschi "...the strength of a person's bonds to conventional social institutions determines whether that person will behave prosocially or antisocially" (Wu et al., 2021, p. 52). When someone cannot afford their cash bail and are forced to stay in pretrial detention, they are separated from their families, friends, employment, and all the other connections in their lives that act as social controls. Thus, if someone offends, the isolation that cash bail causes many people can create a higher

likelihood of recidivism. During this period of pretrial detention, accused offenders slowly lose their connections, thus they may lose the very things that would keep them from offending. Furthermore, a detained offender's loss of social bonds dually impacts their families, particularly children. When a parent is detained, before even having a trial, they not only feel the loss to their outside connections, but their children do also as well. "...youth's attachment to parents is considered a paramount factor for successful development in numerous areas of adolescent functioning, including drinking and smoking in various global contexts. Some areas influenced by parent-youth relationships include delinquent and aggressive behavior..." (Han et al., 2016, p. 343). Therefore, the ineffectiveness of cash bail can create a higher chance of offending, not only for the accused, but also their children. These accused people have not even been found guilty yet.

Cash bail would also only accentuate the need to recidivate when analyzing strain theory as the root cause of crime. Merton, when explaining strain theory, describes the concept of innovation, which ultimately means a person that wants to obtain the goals that society has "chosen" are important, like financial stability, but they do not accept or do not have the normalized means to get them (Featherstone and Deflem, 2003). A lot of people, due to strain, also commit crimes because they are pushed to do so and have no other option. If someone steals because they cannot afford to put food on the table, then having them detained and unable to work only prevents them from being able to earn money; the normalized means to get financial stability. "According to Merton, this differentiation and its consequences are not randomly distributed across society. The class structure operates in such a way that "The greatest pressures towards deviation are exerted upon the lower strata" (Featherstone and Deflem, 2003, p. 480). Hence, cash bail, which is already very classist, will unequally impact those who offend because of strain theory. Pretrial detention makes it, so offenders lose time and experience to work making it more likely for them to commit crimes when they are released. Therefore, pretrial detention would not make the community safer, instead it has the potential to eventually make it more at risk for crimes.

Finally, cash bail is problematic because it makes it so those who can afford to post bail and are released are not supervised at all. These people are normally just as likely to be guilty of the crime they are being charged with as those who cannot afford to make bail. Therefore, just because they are wealthy, they can walk around on the street. In Cass County, North Dakota, under their cash bail system, which is no longer employed, and like most cash bail systems in the United States, those who made bail were "...told to show up for court and not commit any crimes while on release, but there's no mechanism in place to actually ensure compliance" (Dekrey, 2020, p. 252). This pretrial detention or no supervision, makes cash bail a very all or nothing system. If cash bail was really aimed at protecting communities and ensuring court appearance it would have a program supervising those who were released and giving them access to resources that could help them.

## Policy Recommendations

Cash bail needs to be eliminated and a system that aims to protect the community, prevent recidivism, and gets the offender to their court appearance needs to be implemented. This system will use the risk assessment systems (RAS) to determine if the alleged offender is too much of a threat to be let back out on to the streets. A persons finances will no longer be a factor in determining release. The RAS system would use a series of questions answered by looking at the offenders history, homelife, and employment as well as meetings with the alleged offender to evaluate mental health to determine if they would be released. For example, the RAS system in Kentucky asks questions such as “whether [the] defendant constitutes a flight risk, is unlikely to appear for trial, or is likely to be a danger to the public if released” (Raymer, 2020, p. 521). Kentucky’s system has recently been adopted by other states, but still faces backlash as it still gives judges a lot of discretion (Raymer, 2020). Therefore, under this new system for Massachusetts, a licensed social worker, and a licensed psychologist in conjunction with a police officer will review the crime(s) a person committed as well as their overall mental health. They will determine if the person will be released or not, with the goal of figuring out a person’s root cause of committing the crime. If a person is committing a crime because they do not have food to put on the table or they do not have good role models in their life that can help them, they are likely not threats to the community. These actions do not stem from a malicious place, and they should be addressed by other productive means rather than detention.

California is one state that no longer utilizes cash bail and uses RAS, however, there has been some pushback or concern that RAS will just have the same racial and wealth biases that the current cash bail system has (Gasek, 2020). Thus, to combat this, the new Massachusetts system will have one Bias Detention Eradication Unit per county. This units whole goal will be to review the people who, in the first step are found to need pretrial detention, by the police officer, social worker, and psychologist. This unit will consist primarily of minority social workers, psychologists, and criminologists. Those offenders determined to be too much of a risk to themselves and the community that remained in pretrial detention will not just be forgotten about. They will have access to counselors and will automatically be required to see a therapist at least twice a week. These offenders will also be provided with job skill workshops and visits from relatives. This will hopefully allow them, if they get released, to maintain their social bonds and have the skills necessary to get legitimate work.

Additionally, this new system which releases most people before their court appearance is not going to let them be unsupervised like cash bail would have. This part is modeled after the Community Supervision Unit (CSU) system in Cass County, North Dakota. Under their system the offender would be released back into the community but “They’d help him find housing, employment, and other services as needed. They’d also check to make sure he remained law abiding and attended court” (Dekrey, 2020, p. 253). Thus, a person could maintain

their social bonds while simultaneously getting help with accessing finances, therefore, reducing their strain. Both things could ultimately prevent a person from recidivating. The CSU system in Cass County has already been implemented and has had positive results. They had 347 participants released under the community supervision unit and had a 78% success rate (Dekrey, 2020). The roughly twenty percent of people who failed in this program failed, not because they were committing new crimes, but for behavioral issues. Therefore, their release still did not endanger the community (Dekrey, 2020). In comparison the same study found that under release from the cash bail system people successfully showed up for court 61% of the time and the other roughly 40% failed due to committing new crimes and failed court appearances (Dekrey, 2020). Thus, it is proven that a hands-on approach that works with alleged offenders is more effective in protecting communities and ensuring court appearance.

The new system will also have a very large emphasis on providing the released offenders access to therapists that specialize in drug addiction, neglect, different traumas including sexual assault, alcohol abuse, etc. This way people would have access to resources that they may otherwise not have. People could also be ordered to go to these therapists or counselors as part of their release. Finally, released offenders would also be given a “supervisor”, which would be more of a mentor, that would be there for them through the whole process but also would make sure that they were staying on track. If a person was released, but ordered to go to alcohol counseling, the supervisor would make sure they were going. This whole release process makes it so people that are committing crimes can be helped by trying to solve the root cause of why they committed these crimes. Instead of cash bail just letting the wealthy go, this new RAS system will let most people go, but provide them with resources and help to get them on the right track.

## **Conclusions**

In conclusion, cash bail is a corrupt system with overwhelming discretion that is still used in Massachusetts and urgently needs to be eliminated. Replacing cash bail is critical for the equity of all people, to prevent future recidivism, and for the implementation of a monitoring system that ensures court appearance of individuals without the use of collateral. Helping individuals obtain mental health counseling, employment, and financial resources, as well as a mentor, will ultimately make communities a safer place. Using the Community Supervision Unit system in Cass County, North Dakota as a model, it has been proven that a hands-on approach that provides these resources and opportunities to released offenders is more successful than cash bail at having them show up to their court appearance. The use of an RAS coupled with a Bias Detention Eradication Unit will ensure pretrial detention is not based on race and class, and will not target certain groups of people, specifically poor minorities. This new system is centered around helping people, not punishing them, while simultaneously keeping communities safer, ensuring court appearance, and preventing recidivism.

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## Endangered and Vulnerable Languages: Kashubian

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Kashubian is a native Slavic ethnolect, or a language of social communication, used by an ethnic-cultural group in Poland known as the Kashubs. Kashubs reside in the region of Poland called Kashubia, or Kaszuby, located west of lower Vistula and the Bay of Gdańsk, and surrounded by the Baltic Sea from the north and the river Brda in the south. The area is in the larger region of Pomorze Gdańskie, or Gdańsk Pomerania. Similarly, to Poles, the Kashubs are Catholics who practice their religion in traditional ways (Zieniukowa 2015). Unlike many other ethnic groups, the Kashubs live in daily contact with members of the dominant culture in Poland, and the Kashubian language is officially recognized as Poland's only regional language.

The Kashubs are believed to have initially settled in Pomerania as a Slavic tribe in the early medieval period – originally the only group to populate the area of West Pomerania. However, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Kashubs came to be considered second-class citizens due to German colonization and later the Christianization of West Pomerania. After being subjected to Germanization, the Kashubian population shifted to East Pomerania, which was affiliated with the Kingdom of Poland and could provide them with protection from German colonizers. The capital of East Pomerania at the time was the city of Gdańsk, which is where most Kashubs still live today (Szkuta 2020).

The Reformation period of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had a great impact on West Pomerania, which was converted to Protestantism and became German soon after; however, it made slower progress in East Pomerania, which became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While Protestantism became popular among the nobility, including those of Kashubian-Polish descent, and in towns with high German populations, the Counter-



Reformation successfully reinstated Catholicism in most areas of East Pomerania. A significant number of Kashubian nobility identified themselves with Poland due to their active involvement in Polish politics – some were even granted the positions and titles of Polish senators and governors. However, even with their close ties to Poland and Polish culture, the Kashubs attempted to preserve their individual culture and keep it distinctive from that of the rest of the Commonwealth (Szkuta 2020).

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth ceased to exist as an independent country at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century following its partitions between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The lands of East Pomerania were seized by the King of Prussia, who had already ruled in West Pomerania since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and thus, the entirety of Pomerania became part of the Kingdom of Prussia. Protestantism became the official religion and played a significant role in the Germanization of native Kashubs and Poles. The economic and social reforms carried out in Pomerania by the Prussian authorities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a negative impact on the Kashubian culture, language, and overall identity. The Kingdom of Prussia was hostile toward Slavs – Kashubs or Poles – and favored local Germans. Only the Kashubs who gave in to Germanization were granted privileges (Szkuta 2020).

After World War I, the majority of Kashubia was incorporated into the newly formed Polish Republic. However, the Polish authorities treated the local Kashubian population with suspicion, being uncertain of their nationality. During World War II, the Kashubs, similarly to Jews and Poles, were subject to the extermination policy of the Nazis. Many Kashubs were killed, while some were forced into concentration camps; others resettled. An often-overlooked suffering of the Kashubs during World War II came in the form of the treatment that they received from the Red Army in 1945, because Soviet soldiers could not distinguish Kashubs from Germans; several Kashubs tragically lost their lives due to a simple case of misunderstanding, which could have been easily avoided (Szkuta 2020).

Following World War II, the Kashubs continued to suffer from discrimination, this time from the Polish authorities, who suspected the Kashubian population of having pro-German sentiments and only tolerated them for their cultivation of folk art. The events of Polish October in 1956, which officially ended the Stalinism era in Poland, led to the foundation of the Kashubian Association, whose aim is to develop the national, civic, and cultural awareness of Kashubs around the world. However, the association's activities were diminished soon afterwards, as the Communist regime once again gathered strength in Poland. Nevertheless, the Kashubs preserved their culture and ethnic uniqueness despite the authorities' hostile attitudes until the fall of communism in 1989. Since then, they have been free to practice their culture as they desire and to foster their unique identity. As of the 2011 census, over 230,000 people in Poland identify as Kashubs (Szkuta 2020).

The Kashubian language, while recognized as its own regional language by the Polish parliament since 2005, has long coexisted with the Polish language, with the two supplementing each other in daily social life in Kashubia for centuries. For communicating in a more formal setting, the Kashubs have used Polish since the

16<sup>th</sup> century. In the period of Germanization, one of the ways the Kashubs resisted – other than retaining and constantly communicating in their own native dialects – was through their efforts to retain Polish as the official language in schools and churches, even though authorities were seeking to eliminate the language from those environments. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Kashubian became a written language thanks to the efforts of Florian Ceynowa, an educated Kashubian doctor and folklorist, and Hieronim Derdowski, who is considered the father of Kashubian literature (Zieniukowa 2015). Florian Ceynowa wrote the first ever grammar book of the Kashubian language titled *Xqżeczka dlo Kaszebov* and published in Gdańsk in 1850. Ceynowa was also the editor of the first journal in Kashubian: *Skorb Kaszëbskoslovjnskje movë*, which translates to *Treasure of the Kashubian-Slavonic language* (Szkuta 2020). However, even with the freedom to cultivate their own culture and language, few Kashubs identify as solely Kashubian; most use the Kashubian language at home but claim a dual Polish-Kashubian identity (Dembinska 2012).

The survival of the Kashubian language is, perhaps, its most intriguing aspect; in fact, the survival of the Kashubian culture overall is fascinating. With the plethora of obstacles that the Kashubian people faced for over a thousand years, it is nothing short of a miracle that not only have they preserved their unique identity, but they also succeeded in having it recognized by formal parties – and it did not come easily. After the collapse of communism in 1989, recognition of the Kashubian language's status was crucial; Kashubian literature was promoted, Kashubian media was developed, the New Testament was translated to Kashubian, dictionaries were published, and religious services were performed in Kashubian. In 1996, Kashubian was standardized so that it could be taught as a second language in schools and in 2003, it was granted the international code CBS, mainly used in libraries and archives (Dembinska 2012). The Kashubs' initiatives were “deliberate, intentional, programmatic, planned and institutionally supported by regional associations and scholarly institutions” (Dembinska 2012). The main aim was to Perhaps most interestingly, in their efforts to elevate the status of their language, the Kashubs never delivered any statements against or even to the Polish state; if their language and culture were allowed to exist and develop, the Kashubs seemed to be satisfied (Dembinska 2012).

The most important institutional representative of the Kashubs is the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (ZKP), which had already existed under communism. The ZKP contributed significantly to the development and popularization of the Kashubian culture and language during the 1990s, and it also functions in the political sphere. The ZKP's strategy is to participate broadly in civil activities and political life – they participate in municipal and parliamentary elections and issue their viewpoints on a wide range of regional problems (Dembinska 2012). The ZKP is not ethnically exclusive and presents itself as “encompassing the interests of the whole Pomeranian region, and not being exclusively for the Kashubs” (Dembinska 2012). Furthermore, the ZKP managed to successfully develop the Kashubian culture, despite the lack of official recognition or legal provisions.

Despite many Kashubian people's best efforts over the centuries, the Kashubian language was not officially recognized by the state until 2005. On January 6, 2005, the Polish Parliament signed the Polish Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Languages, which qualified Kashubian as a regional language. From that moment on, the Kashubian language has enjoyed the official status of the only regional language in Poland, as opposed to a dialect or "corrupt variant of Polish," which had been common terms for Kashubian previously. In a manifesto titled Strategy for the Protection and Development of the Kashubian Language and Culture, published in 2006, the Kashubs declared that "the Kashubian lineage constitutes the foundation for the identity of the Kashubs" (Olko et al. 2020). Now, 17 years later, the Kashubian language is taught in both public and private schools in Kashubia, and there are even bilingual road signs in the region. However, it is still unusual to hear the language being spoken in public outside of the domains of classrooms, especially among young speakers (Olko et al. 2020).

A study conducted by Olko et al. (2020) via an anonymous survey evaluated the current aspects of the Kashubian language and its perceptions as a minority language. The survey revealed that to this day, most Kashubs mainly learn the ethnic language from their parents. Over 90% of respondents reported speaking Polish with authorities and health services, while 44% speak more Kashubian than Polish with their grandparents and 28% with their parents. Evidently, Kashubian is still reserved for the domestic sphere, while Polish reigns over the public sphere. When it comes to language attitudes, 40% of respondents say that they actively avoid speaking Kashubian in the presence of Poles at work, at parties and in public spaces such as public transportation. Additionally, up to 14% of respondents reported regularly experiencing discrimination, and even mistreatment and violence, related to the use of Kashubian; mockery was reported by 29% of participants. Moreover, up to 61% of respondents revealed that at some point in their lives, they had been discouraged from speaking Kashubian.

While Kashubian may now enjoy the legal protection of its status as an official regional language, the struggles of the Kashubs in retaining their language and allowing it to grow enough to have made it to this point in history cannot be understated. Even today, after centuries of persecution, Kashubs still experience discrimination due to the language that they choose to speak. Discrimination against a language is discrimination against culture and identity; and after the many atrocities in history that have resulted from such prejudice throughout history, it cannot be allowed continue. One of the most crucial steps that can be taken to ensure the preservation of the Kashubian language and culture for future generations is to invalidate the stigma attached to it (Vandel 2004). And while changing the attitudes that have existed for centuries is a daunting task, with time and the right initiative, it is certainly possible.

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# Decline of New England Mill Towns & Their Societal Disruptions

## By: Evan Turgeon

Evan is a sophomore double majoring in Criminology and Psychology with a minor in Communication. At Stonehill, even has spent his time as the President of the Criminology Club and as a member of the Student Alumni Association where he's involved in Stonehill's Club Rugby Team his free time. His courses have furthered his interests in juvenile delinquency, the juvenile justice system, and how issues within broader communities are formed. Thus, Evan wishes to continue to his education to further understand how to make a positive impact on juveniles and form solutions to issues found in the justice system. He is still thinking about his career path.

### Abstract

My research will identify why the mill towns in New England failed along with why these cities struggle to revitalize today. Considering this, mill towns ultimately failed due to a lack in advancement of technology, unions, and the politics of the area. Further changes in transportation and costs to maintain mills were additional factors in their demise. The failure of mill towns led to the development of societal repercussions through the deterioration of infrastructure in the cities, the subpar standards of the educational system, and an increase in crime.

### Introduction

In New England there are impoverished cities, also called mill towns, that were once known as the center of industry. Through a series of events the industries left the cities and put a strain on the society that is even seen today. This paper will investigate why there was economic decline in the mill towns and continual distress in the society. The justification of the investigation is to identify the cause of the issue and will assist with the formulating of solutions. The literature on the desolation of mill towns in New England similarly pinpoints the same conclusions as advancement in technology, unions, and politics, and finding ways to reduce cost, change in transportation, and lack of diversity in industry. Furthermore, I will present my findings of the present condition of specifically, Woonsocket, a famous mill town, along with a discussion of the conditions impacted by the fall of the textile industry. This paper will address the history of mill towns along with the current state of mill towns in contemporary society.

## Literature Review

To understand the factories and consequences that impacted and resulted in the downfall of mill towns one needs to look back to the very beginning and the creation of the first mill villages. Samuel Slater was the individual who brought his textile factory designs and immigrated to New England to start his industrial revolution in the United States. To power these mills, they relied on rivers for hydropower. Across New England swift and powerful rivers, such as the Blackstone River, made machinery function. To supply his mills with a labor force he enticed poor farmers in the northern region to live in his mill villages. Here they were given wages with inexpensive housing. The mills owned essentially everything in the town including the stores, schools, and churches. The workers were dependent on the mills and their owners for their survival because their lives were intertwined with the owners not only economically but also socially.

The success of these mills led to overproduction of their product that exceeded the demand and eventually led to a drop in the price of products. To remain profitable, they lowered wages and looked for cheaper materials and labor. The introduction of the steam engine also signals a decline in the mill town. Owners no longer operated along these powerful rivers as a source of energy. They could now operate wherever they choose to yield a profit. Eventually, decisions were made to relocate to the South for a cheaper labor force along with being closer to the raw material. This was the beginning of the decline of the textile industry in New England.

Mill owners who stayed in New England had to find a new source of cheap labor. Labor through the employment of children, immigrants and other minority or vulnerable communities as it was a cheaper alternative for labor and essentially served as a bottomless barrel of cheap labor. Primarily, children were the largest percentage of workers, as 55% of the state mill's workers were children by 1830. Furthermore, the 1910 census revealed that only 48% of Rhode Island children attended school on a systematic basis (Davis, 1986). With the number of children attending work and the number children attending school it can be interpreted that many children were not going to school and were going to work in replacement of school. This is concerning because it can be assumed their educational development and level was severely impacted.

Along with a large labor force being children, the work environment was poor. Safety was non-existent and severe injuries were incurred, working hours increased to 48 hours and wages were cut. To combat these conditions workers slowly unionized. The first major union was the United Textile Workers (U.T.W) who conducted Rhode Island's deadliest strike. "The Great Textile Strike of 1934", starting in Woonsocket and spread across the nation. Unions in New England progressively changed the lives of the laborers by demanding better hours, better pay and better conditions. As unions grew, more laws were passed to protect its workers, including in 1938, federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which abolished child labor, and further, eliminating a



huge portion of the work force. Ultimately this was another nail in the coffin for the textile industry in New England.

Another factor that impacted the industry especially in Woonsocket was transportation. Railroads were a lifeline to the mills by providing material and moving finishing goods, along with people to shop and visit the city. Trains were an important way of bringing outside income into the city. At their peak, Woonsocket had trains from the Providence and Worcester railroad coming in and out of the city 26 times a day and gradually went to once a day.

## **Results**

With the closing of mills not only was it a loss of jobs but more importantly a drop in commercial property revenue. To keep running the city lawmakers were forced to increase the property tax on individual homes to keep the community afloat. It was a short-term solution that was unable to assist with the upkeep of the infrastructure, such as roads, public buildings, and the water and sewer systems. The great exodus of the textile industry triggered another flight that would have a far-reaching impact on their futures. Workers were unable to find gainful employment in and looked to other cities and even other regions of the country. Middle class families tired of poor housing, deteriorating social services, rise in crime rates, and lack of job opportunities pushed them to leave their mill towns.

Historically, there was a great deterioration of the city's infrastructure. Buildings had been neglected and could not meet the demands placed on them. Public schools were old and substandard, some being older than 70 years. The water section needed attention as stated in a 1952 Rhode Island Water Resources Commission reported, "For a number of years, the supply has been in an almost emergency condition as far as quality and safe yield are concerned. Water supply development has not kept pace with engineering recommendations" (Fortin, 1988). The City's sewerage system was also in dire condition. To reverse this the city proposed issuing bonds to correct these infrastructure problems and to gain economic prosperity. This only worked to a degree, it was able to fix some of the infrastructure issues, but it didn't bring hopeful economic prosperity. Another attempt at revitalizing the city was called "The Gateway Urban Renewal Project", it was well planned with the backing of the federal government. When presented in the polls the voters rejected.

Currently, the city of Woonsocket attempts to attract business through low-rate interest loans for small businesses and it has also qualified for the U.S. Treasury's "Federal Qualified Opportunity Zone Program". The U.S. Treasury is offering the program under the "Federal Tax Cuts and Jobs Act of 2017". This looked to stimulate widespread economic revitalization and spur economic growth throughout municipalities nationwide through attracting businesses to move into the "Qualified Opportunity Zone". This program offers tax incentives to private investors who invest in the "Qualified Opportunity Zone" real estate or businesses. This is

valid for ten years. Its endorsement acknowledges the vast scope and viable potential of Woonsocket business landscape (woonsocketri.org, 2018).

In Woonsocket, when the mills left and along with their commercial revenue the city's fallback was the taxpayers due to the mill's economic dominance on Woonsocket. Due to this it was raised to a burdensome financial increase as seen in 1960, the tax rate was boosted \$1.60 per thousand dollars evaluation, to a record \$32 (Crowley, 1988). By the end of the decade, the rate was up to \$51 per thousand (Crowley, 1988). As a result of past economic decline in Woonsocket, current citizens still suffer from its effect as the poverty is high. For example, the poverty rate in Woonsocket today is 24.4%, which is one out of every 4.1 residents and continues to be a rampant issue for the town (Welfareinfo, 2021). In Rhode Island the poverty rate is 13.4%, which makes Woonsocket dramatically higher than the average percentage of residents below the poverty line (Welfareinfo, 2021). The median income in Woonsocket is \$36,420 a year which approximates to \$3,035 a month, and the median rent in Woonsocket is \$821 a month. To meet the needs of the families affordable housing is available to them Woonsocket offers 2,840 low-income apartments, 2,388 housing units with rental assistance, 328 subsidized apartments that do not get direct assistance but remain affordable, and 61.66% of the housing units are occupied by renters. The percentage of renters overburdened is 45.1%. Citizens that are overburdened are members of a household who pay more than thirty percent of their gross income. (Affordablehousingonline, 2021).

The education system in Woonsocket was also impacted by the exodus, with the mills leaving ruined the economy of Woonsocket. With this impaired economy it can be attributed to the next generations substandard academic performance. Many sources revealed that Woonsocket ranked in the bottom 50% of the state and nationally they are ranked 37.48/100 (USNews, 2020). They also placed in the bottom 50% for their overall test scores in math and reading. Only 12% were proficient in math compared to the state average of 30%. Reading and language art tests similarly showed low rankings with only 33% being considered proficient while the rest of the state averages was 40%. Out of the students only 15% participated in AP classes. Woonsocket has a significant graduation rate of 78% and again well below the state median of 86%. In further research, in the class of 2021 they lost 122 students out of the four years of enrollment. From freshman year they went from 465 students to 343, and of the student body 71% are economically disadvantaged. This can be reflected in the school lunch program in Woonsocket in which 63% are eligible for free lunch and in the state, it is 41% (publicschoolreview, 2021).

When the poverty goes up, so does the crime rate. Today the crime rate in Woonsocket nationally is 26 crimes per one-thousand residents, continually the crime rate in the city is higher than 95% of Rhode Island's cities and towns for all sizes. According to its crime index it is ranked at 19 out of 100 for safety and it is

recognized to be safer than 19% of U.S. cities. The crime per square mile in Woonsocket is 139 while nationally 28.3 and Rhode Island being 38 (NeighborhoodScout, 2021).

Woonsocket is one of the highest offenders in crime and the other two cities that have committed more crime are Pawtucket and the capital city of Providence committing the most. Although these cities have committed more crime than Woonsocket, they also have a significantly larger population. To truly determine which city is more dangerous you need to calculate the number of crimes and then divided that by the population in the city, and with that answer you then multiply by 100,000. Three areas of crime that would make Woonsocket the highest after doing the math would rape, aggravated assault, and burglary. Rape in Woonsocket per 100,000 residents was 107.89, Pawtucket at 65.38, and Providence at 60.5. Aggravated Assault in Woonsocket per 100,000 residents was 350.06, Pawtucket at 299.06, and Providence at 250.88. Burglary in Woonsocket per 100,000 residents was 611.41, Pawtucket at 464.56, and Providence at 516.74 (UCR, 2018). With determining the crime rate per 100,000 residents it gives an accurate picture of which city is more violent.

Violent crimes and property crimes are major issues for the city, for the chances of someone becoming a victim of the crimes is 1-38. To analyze this issue, you need to examine them separately to further illuminate the crime in the city. Violent crimes are categorized to be rape, murder, armed robbery, and aggravated assault, including assault with a deadly weapon. The violent crime rate per 1,000 residents in Woonsocket is 5.68, nationally it is 4, and in Rhode Island it is 2.21. The chances of being a victim of a violent crime in the city is 1-176 and, in the state, it is 1-452. Property Crime is categorized to be motor vehicle theft, arson, larceny, and burglary. The property crime rate per 1,000 residents in Woonsocket is 20.74, nationally it is 21, and in Rhode Island it is 15.34. The chances of becoming a victim of a property crime are 1 and 48 in Woonsocket, and 1-65 in the state (NeighborhoodScout, 2021).

## **Discussion**

Due to the textile industry leaving it economically hurt the city and its people. Due to the mills leaving it forced citizens to take the burden of paying for the city's needs. The focus became trying to pay for basic needs and keeping the city's debt at bay. While their focus was on the debt, they failed to recognize the upkeep and modernization of basic resources. This forced the city to put large expenses into fixing and modernizing these areas. Woonsocket's citizens were burdened financially, and some faced a lack of job opportunity. From this people either stayed and struggled or they left to find work in other areas of the state or country. Throughout the years Woonsocket has struggled to find more and new industries to stay in the city. Along with not creating new jobs its education system standards have become unacceptable. With many of its students either failing to make state and national standards. Along with its dissatisfactory performance levels a large portion of the student body fails to graduate either by not passing or dropping out. Following the drop in its education level the crime

rate in Woonsocket is concerning. The crime in the city is sometimes significantly higher in ratings in Rhode Island and nationally.

The failure of the textile industry in New England has had an impact on many aspects of the present day. It has burdened the taxpayers and weakened the infrastructure of the city. From the years of poverty, it has progressively lowered the performance level of the students in the city. The accumulation of years of poverty has impacted the city both economically as well as the educational system. With citizens being economically restricted and poor educational prosperity can be the leading cause to the high levels of crime in the city. The reason for an increase could be connected to the idea that people feel alienated from their society. That the government has failed them, so why have trust in the system? The people of Woonsocket may feel restricted in their progress and their way to be freed is to lash out through criminal activities. The years of crime in the city can also be an underlying reason for the poor performance in the school system. The students may be going home to families that have a pessimistic mindset and may not value the city's educational system. With mills leaving it had put the city in economic disparity for many years and through the years it has impacted the social system of the city. Through the failure of the school system and the increase in crime, Woonsocket struggles today to find a solution to boost its economic and social structures.

## **Conclusion**

Mill towns became very successful and provided a new structure for living for its residents. It reshaped the culture, the social structure, and the economy. With the failure of the mills, it would break the whole structure of the society. The failure of the mills is credited to the lack in development and investment of technology that became popular during the decline of the mills, including the introduction of the steam engine. factors such as the advancement of technology through the introduction of the steam engine that allowed factories to be built anywhere. Another factor would be the need to reduce prices because of the growing competitive market. To stay profitable, they need to reduce wages and find ways to make the raw material cheaper. The textile industry slowly and steadily moved to the South which saw the closing of the mills. Cities struggled and continue to struggle to attract new industry and to revitalize their economies. The impact of the mills leaving left many people without work and put a financial burden on the citizens. Due to the poverty brought upon the city for multiple generations it has negatively impacted the social image of the cities. Education standards and infrastructure have gone down in these cities along with an increase in crime.

The foreshadowing of the failure of mill towns was seen as early as 1857, the editor of *The Woonsocket Patriot*, Samuel Foss, noted: "The village needs more industrial trades... It is all cotton and wool. These are well enough in their way, but it is a misfortune for a town or village to be engaged in one interest, for when that interest is down and dull, all else is in the same predicament. Woonsocket needs machine shops, boot

manufacturers, jewelry manufacturers, and other industrial businesses” (Fortin, 1988). The biggest failure of the city of Woonsocket was that they didn’t have a diverse selection of industry and heavily relied on the textile industry. Woonsocket even today still struggles with this issue. With housing the world headquarters of CVS and its thousands of employees, Woonsocket is potentially becoming reliant on this industry. Their challenge remains the same in finding new industry to come to the city.

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## *A Martin Institute Event: Arresting Whitey: The Life and Work of FBI Agents Tommy MacDonald and Phil Torsney*

*By: Cheyenne Zinnkosko & Martyna  
Malecka*

Originating from the heart of Massachusetts, James “Whitey” Bulger rose to notoriety and became a violent mob boss wanted for 19 murders, bank robbery, and for the empire he built in Boston. Following 1994, Whitey went on the run from the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) for 16 years, evading law enforcement, amounting a \$2 million reward for his capture, and becoming one of the most wanted criminals in FBI history. Now retired FBI agents Phil Torsney and Tommy MacDonald were agents assigned to the FBI’s Boston Division in 2009 to aid in the investigation and eventual arrest of Whitey in 2011. Graciously, the *Martin Institute* held an event where both Torsney and MacDonald were present to discuss their careers in law enforcement and details of the Whitey case for students to observe.

Whitey Bulger had an extensive criminal history even before he was on FBI’s Most Wanted; in his adolescence, he was actively involved in serious street crime, including rape, assault, robbery, and theft. In 1947, at the age of 18, Bulger was charged with unarmed robbery. Over the next couple of years, he was charged with multiple other crimes, including rape, grand larceny, and armed robbery. Following the multitude of crimes, he was incarcerated in various institutions before eventually being released in 1963. In the mid-1960s, Bulger continued to be involved in serious crime in Boston’s underworld. Then, in 1975, Bulger secretly met with FBI Agent John Connolly and became an FBI informant and successfully eliminated his criminal rivals, the Angiulo family. Thanks to his cooperation and manipulation of FBI agents, Bulger also became less of a target for law enforcement. When describing the events, Agent Torsney said, “That’s one of the reasons we needed to catch this guy; not just because of the victims.... [but] for the legitimacy of the FBI.” On January 5, 1995, Bulger was indicted on extortion charges. As soon as he learned of the indictment and his impending arrest, he fled with his wife Theresa Stanley. Bulger and Stanley spent the next several weeks traveling to cities all over the country, including New York City and Los Angeles. After traveling to Florida, they made their way

back to Boston, where Bulger dropped Stanley off in a parking lot and later met with his girlfriend, Catherine Greig. Bulger and Greig would end up being on the run together until the very end.

According to Agent Tornsey, “One of the things that makes Bulger so hard to catch... is his trade craft.” Fugitives usually tend to stay in one country, often not even leaving their towns; Bulger, however, traveled internationally while on the run. Using fake IDs and alternate identities, Bulger successfully traveled to Ireland, England, and Italy, and drove from San Francisco to Chicago once back in the United States. On August 19, 1999, James “Whitey” Bulger was officially added to FBI’s Most Wanted list. In 2009, Agents MacDonald and Tornsey were put together on a temporary duty investigation team, with their sole mission being the capture of Bulger. During the investigation, MacDonald and Tornsey retraced every step of the previous investigations, personally speaking with every contact, associate, and witness. In 2009, they interviewed Kevin Weeks, one of Bulger’s right-hand men from his time as Boston’s kingpin. Weeks revealed that Bulger had once nearly choked his girlfriend to death, which led the agents to believe that he might have killed her while they were on the run. The agents had also discovered that Greig had likely gotten breast implants in the past and, with the help of subpoenas for inpatients and outpatient procedures, they obtained the serial number of Greig’s implants, along with new photos of much better quality than anything they had before. On June 20, 2011, the FBI released a public service announcement, promising a \$100,000 reward for a valid tip on Greig and a \$2 million reward for Bulger. Within less than 48 hours of the PSA, Bulger and Greig were arrested in Santa Monica, California.

The agents themselves had the experience and knowledge to work on this case – MacDonald has served as a special agent in New York City, Boston, and Portland, Maine where he was assigned to the violent crime unit in the New York Police Department. Following the Whitey case from 2009 to 2011, MacDonald was transferred to Portland where he was involved in the Rico Gang investigations and an additional investigation into serial pedophile Robert Juver. On the other side of this, Torsney was involved with a multiagency violent crime task force in Cleveland, Ohio where he was eventually assigned to the Boston Field Office and as an agent for the Whitey Casey. In the conclusion of the Whitey case, Torsney worked as a special agent for Afghanistan Reconstruction and investigated crimes against children. MacDonald and Torsney concluded their discussions of the Whitey case with questions from the students who attended, furthering any previous points made. Both agents worked extensively in the field, with the experience and knowledge needed to capture criminals such as Whitey, and further, demonstrate the capability of law enforcement.

At the end, Torsney and MacDonald provided extensive insight for students to learn the inner workings of broader cases, such as Whitey, and further understand the processes for catching a criminal. Working in law enforcement requires innovation, to think outside of box as “you never know what will take you there,” as the agents said. Take the chance, innovate, and see where it will get you.