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The Current

The Public Policy Journal
of the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs

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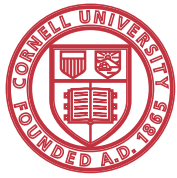

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Mission Statement

As the academic journal of the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA), *The Current* provides a platform for public policy discourse through the work of CIPA fellows and their mentors, with contributions from the public affairs community.

Editors' Notes

Kind readers,

You have before you the spring 2007 edition of *The Current*, and along with it we would like to transmit some measure of our satisfaction and, yes, our relief. This semester has been particularly arduous for our team of editors, and we hope you deem the fruit of our labor worthy of the great effort undertaken.

We are particularly proud of the breadth and depth of the present edition's content, which draws from a broad array of disciplines to ask timely, pointed questions about issues of politics and policy. Original research by CIPA fellows is featured prominently, and includes Kubilay Kavak's probing exploration of alternative energy policy and Charity Tubalado's compelling examination of immigration and national security. The spring 2007 edition also includes contributions from Cornell's department of Development Sociology and George Washington University's School of Public Policy, as well as an engrossing interview with CIPA alumnus and U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III.

At CIPA we pride ourselves on taking a multidisciplinary approach to the study of Public Affairs. The editorial board of *The Current* incorporates our program's philosophy by adopting the broadest possible interpretation of our mission – to produce timely and relevant scholarship about politics and public policy. We hope that you approve.

Sincerely,

Micah Gell-Redman
Senior Managing Editor

"There is no substitute for hard work." Thomas A. Edison

The Current members are proud to present the spring 2007 edition. As the spring weather whispered upon the Cornell campus, we worked diligently to collaborate with Cornell students from other programs to organize a law and public policy conference for the next academic year. We also improved the editorial process of the journal for authors who submitted articles for publication. For this edition, we attempted (and hopefully succeeded) in publishing articles that may be the forefront issues in the 2008 presidential election: energy, immigration, and healthcare.

The finished product of the journal could not have been accomplished without our two new managing editors, who will take over the leadership of the journal. Furthermore, we thank all our members, especially the articles editors for working with the authors during the editorial process. As always, we thank the authors for their hard work in producing scholarly articles. Special thanks to our senior managing editor, Micah Gell-Redman, for his cerebral and detailed mind. We would particularly like to thank Lieutenant Colonel Wilson for taking the time to interview with us despite his busy schedule. We look forward to reading his forthcoming book.

Finally, we would like to thank Professor Lesser for his comments regarding the bottle bill article published in the last edition. We encourage all our readers to submit such letters to the editor so that we can create a two-way dialogue on the issues that we present in our journal.

Sincerely,
Caren Kang

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[Articles]

[Views & Reviews]

Letter to the Editor

Dear Editor,

Thank you for sending this volume [Vol. 10, No. 1, the fall 2006 edition of *The Current*]. I am much interested in the bottle bill issues having participated in a first year review of the New York law back in the mid-1980s. I was though disappointed that the Deitchman article ["A March of Nickels and Dimes for Recycling: A Study of the present 'State' Bottle-Bills"] left out several readily available data points which could help readers understand better the overall effects of container deposit legislation. Examples include:

- proportion of municipal waste accounted for by the beverage containers (not all food packaging which is not the issue).
- the proportion of deposit containers recycled in states with municipal recycling programs which have or do not have deposit laws (The former is higher).
- the energy balance of recycling steel and glass. (Three paragraphs are directed to emphasizing the energy efficiency of recycling aluminum – which is absolutely correct – but nothing is said that recycling glass takes almost as much energy as production from raw materials).

None of this says that bottle bills are necessarily good or bad, but it would allow for more informed debate.

- Bill Lesser
Susan Eckert Lynch Professor of Science and Business, Department Chair
Department of Applied Economics and Management
Cornell University

Ethanol Subsidies on the Verge of Peak Oil:
Green Effort or Pork Barrel?

Kubilay Kavak

ABSTRACT:
This article looks at the upcoming oil problem from the perspectives of supply security and price. It examines whether or not ethanol is a sound, renewable, viable fuel alternative, and then, in the light of these analyses, discusses relevant provisions of the Energy Policy Act of 2005.

Present levels of carbon dioxide (CO_2) are higher than they have been at any time in the past 650,000 years.[1] Carbon levels are nearing 380 parts per million (ppm) in the earth's atmosphere and could easily surpass 500 ppm by the year 2050 unless radical steps are taken.[2] One of the most severe consequences of high levels of CO_2 is global warming. Evidence of rising average global temperatures and significant changes in climate conditions have become so publicized in recent years that the voting public is more sensitive to environmental issues than ever before. This sensitivity provides an opportunity for policy makers to implement alternative agendas which were previously politically infeasible.

The major input contributing to carbon emissions is oil, which accounts for 45 percent of global emissions from fossil fuels. Today, nearly half of the world's oil consumption is used for transport.[3] Specifically in the U.S., transportation accounts for two-thirds of oil consumption[4] and is the predominant source of domestic urban air pollution. All future transportation forecasts include steeply increasing demand in developing countries, leading to a continued rise in both oil consumption and CO_2 emissions.[5] Transport is expected to grow faster than any other end-use sector, and the growth in demand in non-OECD countries is expected to be three times higher than in the OECD countries. Oil consumption in transportation has thus become a serious concern due to both increasing dependence on imports and escalating environmental impacts.

As the world's dependence on oil continues to grow, reliable oil supply capacity does not continue to increase at the same pace. Moreover, the security of the oil supply is at risk. Middle Eastern countries produce a significant share of the world's crude oil and own most of its remaining reserves. Political instability in this region, the growing power of radical

political currents, and an increasing tendency toward violence all create an overwhelming potential for immediate price spikes. Given both the current circumstances and the historical precedent of a world oil crisis, oil is unlikely to be a reliable energy source for the future.

As a result, new and alternative fuel and vehicle technologies, which can reduce CO_2 emissions and oil dependency, have been explored for the last two decades. At present, none of these alternatives can be put into action due to the lack of political will, the absence of integrated strategies, and the inelastic response of the transport sector to energy price movements. Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus that the initial steps towards mitigating global warming must include taking measures in the transportation sector. In that context, contemporary alternative polices have been widely discussed and some technological breakthroughs have emerged to reduce oil consumption. Some examples of these policy and technology alternatives include electric cars, hybrid electric vehicles, vehicles using hydrogen-powered fuel cells, vehicle efficiency standards, carbon taxes for downstream users (individual car owners), tax incentives for electric and hybrid vehicles, tightening CAFE standards, and feebate schemes in which purchasers of gas-guzzlers are charged an additional fee. Without a doubt, the alternative that has generated the most contention has been of the use of ethanol as a renewable fuel.

This paper begins by briefly analyzing the problem of oil supplies and price stability and leads to the conclusion that technology and policy innovations as well as resource diversification are necessary to ensure energy security. Given this conclusion, ethanol will then be discussed as a possible fuel alternative, and evaluated in terms of its technical feasibility, economic efficiency, and environmental impact. We can conclude that it is an open question whether or not increased use of ethanol will address the problems presented by the changing world energy structure. After discussing ethanol's potential as a substitute for oil, the Energy Policy Act (EPACT) of 2005 and its articles related to ethanol will be evaluated. While subsidies included in EPACT may give the impression of an environmentally friendly turn, they can just as easily be attributed to the powerful pressure of industry interests within the Bush administration and their pervasive influence over the legislative process.

I. Decreasing Oil Reserves and the Concept of "Peak Oil"

It is difficult to get a clear picture of world oil reserves and prospective supply capacity. Nevertheless, the following section will demonstrate that a broad range of analyses all point to the same conclusion: the world is headed for a supply crunch. This section defines the

estimates of reserves and attempts to give a forecast of future levels of oil consumption and concludes that supply capacity, will at best, be problematic.

While there are no standard definitions for reserve concepts, which can vary between companies and countries, these definitions are generally similar. Reserves are mainly divided into two parts: *discovered reserves* and *undiscovered resources*. Undiscovered resources are geological extrapolations of potential crude oil supplies based on knowledge of geological formations outside existing fields.[6] Discovered reserves are an estimate of future cumulative production from known fields. Discovered reserves are typically disaggregated into proved, probable, and possible reserves.

Proved reserves are known to a high degree of certainty (generally 95%) to exist and be exploitable. They include only "those that can be economically produced and marketed at the present time according to existing technologies and demand."[7] Probable reserves are those that are not yet proven and their certainty degree is assumed to be 50%. These are estimated to have a better than 50% chance of being technically and economically producible.[8] Possible reserves are those that have a significant probability of being commercially exploitable, but which cannot be regarded as probable. These three concepts correspond to the minimum, average, and maximum estimates of a known reserve's capacity.

On the other hand, there is another concept used by some scholars and oil experts, *potential reserve expansion*, which defines identified reserves expected to be developed in existing fields.[9] In an existing field under production, remaining resources are given by the sum of proved reserves and potential reserve expansion.

One of the reserve estimates based on the U.S. geological surveys is given below in the first block of Table-1.[10] According to the EIA's most recent estimates (the second block of the Table-1), total remaining resources are slightly higher.[11] It is important emphasize that estimates of undiscovered resources are based on statistical models. As such, they are hypothetical and generally viewed as unreliable.

Table-1: Different Reserve Estimates

Category	Known reserves	Potential reserve expansion	Undiscovered resources	Total remaining resources
Amount (billion barrel)	883	682	1,290	2,855
Category	Known reserves	Potential reserve expansion	Undiscovered resources	Total remaining resources
Amount (billion barrel)	1,292.5	730.2	938.9	2,961.6

In the near future, world oil production will reach its *peak* (midpoint production).[12] We can describe this moment as the highest production volume of oil in the history of mankind. After this, oil production will begin its structural decline. Estimates of the peaking date vary widely, a phenomenon that some authors attribute to a number of factors including problems with the quantity and quality of available data.[13]

The fact that the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) members are permitted to export more oil when they report more reserves, may lead us to believe their estimates are exaggerated. To see the clear picture of a country's oil situation, one has to know about the number of existing wells, past production rates, technology used in production, recovery rates, and so on.[14] Since national oil companies in the OPEC do not release detailed statistics for each field that could be used to verify the country's total reserves, the officially announced reserved values are seen as highly suspect. In an article, Campbell and Laherrère speculate that "there is good reason to suspect that when, during the late 1980s, six of the eleven OPEC nations increased their reserve figures by colossal amounts, ranging from 42 to 197 percent; they did so only to boost their export quotas".[15] The authors also noted suspicious jumps between 1980 and 1995 in reserves reported by seven OPEC members whereby nearly 300 billion barrels of oil were added to official reserve tallies even though no new major fields have been discovered.[16]

In a new study, Matthew R. Simmons, president of a specialized energy investment banking firm argues that Saudi Arabia's oil fields are now in decline, that the country will not be able to satisfy the world's thirst for oil in coming years, and that its capacity will not climb much higher than its current capacity of 10 million barrels per day.[17] Saudi Arabia was seen as "the central bank of oil" since its excess production capacity allowed it, when necessary, "to flood the market to drive prices down."[18] Many estimates of future supplies also depend on Saudi Arabia's ability to increase its production capacity.

There are other concerns about the reliability of official statistics as well. Although estimates in the U.S. are regarded as strictly reliable, regulators in most other countries may not enforce particular oil-reserve definitions. For example, the former Soviet countries routinely released wildly optimistic figures in the past. One of the difficulties of estimating the peaking date is the magnitude of undiscovered resources. Although some argue that there may be additional reserves in undetected parts of the world, this is probable. Today, as Campbell and Laherrère underline, "only extremely deep water and polar regions remain to be fully tested, and even their prospects are now reasonably well understood."[19] The other serious concern is how much new technologies can increase the fraction of oil that can be recovered from fields in a basin. It is obvious that advanced technologies can increase the recovery factor, but there

are some doubts about whether their contributions will be significant especially in draining the largest basins of oil.

Because of the difficulties and confusions mentioned, estimates about world oil peaking time vary. A set of latest estimates for peaking projections are shown below[20]:

Table-2: Latest Estimates for Peak Oil

Source of Projection	Projected date	Source of Projection	Projected date
Individual Experts		**Governments**	
A. Bakthiari	2006-2007	Dutch Government (IEA HI copy)	After 2030
M. Simmons	2007-2009	French Government	2020-2030
C. Skrebowski	2007-2010		
K. Deffeyes	2005-2009	**Analyst firms**	
J. Laherrère	2010-2020	IHS Energy*	2011-2020
P. Odell	2060	Douglas Westwood	2010-2020
B. Pickens	2005-2007	Energy Files	2010-2020
M. Lynch	After 2030	PFC Energy	2014-2025
C. Campbell	2010		
S. Al-Husseini	2015	**Energy advisory organisations**	
J. Gilbert	2010	World Energy Council	After 2020
T. Petrie	Before 2010	Energy Research Center Netherlands	2010-2035
		CERA	After 2020
Oil Companies		ASPO	2010
CNOOC	2005-2010	IEA deferred investment scenario	Around 2020
Total	2020-2025	IEA high resource case	After 2030
Shell	After 2025		
BP	We cannot know	**Other Organizations**	
Exxon-Mobil	After 2030	Volvo	2010-2015
		Ford	2005-2010

As Table-2 makes clear, many of the estimates agree that the projected date for peak oil is not far away. According to many of the estimates, the danger is at the door and we are on the verge of an oil crisis. Our own calculations also reveal that all of today's proved reserves and potential reserve expansions are likely to be depleted before 2050.[21] Even if new exploration and extraction techniques are available to find and exploit undiscovered resources in the future, all forecasts indicate that the price of generating oil will increase at a significant rate.

II. Oil Prices and Supply Risk

Sustainability of oil is at risk not only because of the supply problem, but also due to price considerations. We can argue that oil prices

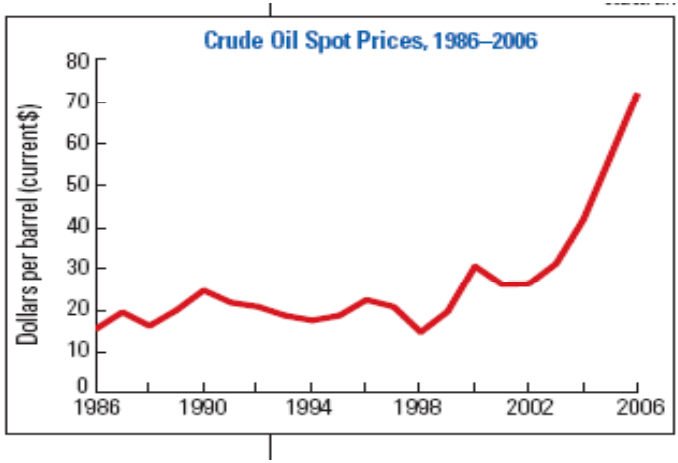
continue to increase even as new reserves are discovered. The main reason for this is political rather than technical: political disorder and instability in the major oil exporting countries may become a permanent condition. To correctly understand the changes in price structures, it is necessary to evaluate recent changes.

The price range framework for oil, which was created in 1986, is called the "target price zone". This framework resulted in stable crude oil prices and reliable supply so that oil prices stayed in the range of $15-$20 between 1986 and 1997. Chapman and Khanna note that, "all 12 years are within 75 cents of the first target range, except the 1990 price when Iraq invaded Kuwait."[22] During that period, while OPEC tried to maintain this target zone regime, the movement of oil prices was mainly manipulated by OPEC's substantial interventions.

In 1998, a combination of factors caused a reduction in oil prices to nearly $12. Among these factors, Campbell cites unseasonably warm weather, Asian economic recession, the collapse of the rouble, misleading over-estimation of supply by the International Energy Agency (IEA), which misled OPEC, and turning of Iraq to contribute to oil supply.[23] The price collapse, however, was short-lived. In 2000, depletion pressures emerged again and oil prices skyrocketed. According to BP statistics[24], the spot crude prices of Brent[25] increased from 17.97 to 28.50 $/bbl (barrel), and prices of Dubai oil increased from 17.25 to 26.20 $/bbl.

For the first time since the early 1980s, oil prices have stayed above OPEC's target price zone for an extended period. Consequently, OPEC arranged a "new price range of $23-$30 . . . [which was] equivalent to the old range adjusted for inflation."[26] In 2001, 2002 and 2003, crude oil prices stayed in this new range, but in 2004, prices once again exceeded the ceiling of the range. In 2005, prices exceeded $50/barrel.[27] The following figure[28] summarizes how crude oil spot prices changed between 1986 and 2006 and how dramatic changes occurred after 1998.

Figure-1: Oil Price Changes



Oil prices have increased dramatically since 2004 due to the rapidly growing energy demand of emerging economies, an increase in expenditures on oil exploration, and other similar factors. Nevertheless, the primary reason that oil prices have increased is political rather than economic. This political influence is so forceful that one can readily assert that oil prices will continue to increase even if other major factors (transportation, supply, demand, taxes, refining capacity, etc.) remain unchanged.

What are these political factors affecting oil prices? The ongoing clashes in Iraq; ambitions of Iran to be a nuclear power; authoritarian and generally oppressive administrations of other countries in the region; severe income inequality and the deep influences of radical currents within the region; terrorist attacks on petroleum refineries, installations, and pipelines; the aggressive attitude of Israel and its discord with Arab countries; lasting tension in Lebanon and Palestine; and sectarian quarrels are all fundamental factors that increase the political instability in the Middle East, the world's most important oil exporting region.

The Middle East had a 30.8% share of crude oil production in 2005.[29] This region owns 76% of known oil reserves and 70% of additional reserves, obtainable by potential reserve expansions. As Bentley points out, "the sum of conventional oil production from all countries in the world, except the five main Middle-East suppliers, is near the maximum set by physical resource limits." [30] If they decide to lower the supply, the difference between the supply capacity and demand capacity would not be met by other oil exporting countries.

On the other hand, the U.S. (the world's major oil consumer) is viewed by increasing numbers of the region's political moderates as one of the basic causes of the chaos in the Middle East. The U.S. imported 577 Mt (million tons) of crude oil in 2004 out of a global total of 2,235 Mt.[31] This means that the U.S. imported approximately one quarter of the tradeable crude oil in 2004. As President Bush said in his 2006 State of the Union address, the country is "addicted to oil." If current trends continue, America will depend on imports for 70 percent of its oil by 2025.[32] This increases the likelihood of U.S. activities in the region, intervention in regional politics and the sale of arms. The following statement helps us to understand this complex equation in the region: "The world's largest arm exporters are also the largest oil importers, whereas the countries with the largest remaining and identified crude oil resources are the largest recipients of these arms."[33] These political factors will continue to change oil prices in the future. More importantly, global conventional oil supply will continue to be at risk due to the political instability in the major oil supplying region.

The picture we have drawn till now accounts for the studies for oil-alternatives. Remembering the huge share of transportation in

oil consumption leads us to understand why so much effort has been exerted in this area. Without a doubt, one of the most widely discussed fuel alternatives is ethanol. In the next section, we will analyze the viability of ethanol.

III. Ethanol as an Alternative Fuel: Is it a Viable Option for New Transportation Policies?

Given the decline in world oil supply and the uncertainty in oil prices, we can argue that oil-dependent transportation policies are neither sustainable nor desirable. It is clear that the world, and especially the U.S., needs new alternative technologies to reduce emissions and oil dependency. Some studies suggest alternatives to eliminate, or at least to reduce oil dependency, but these are at best impractical.

Although many different choices have been discussed[34] for reducing oil dependency, this paper focuses on renewable alternative fuels (biofuels). In terms of renewable alternative fuels[35], two sources are important: biodiesel, derived primarily from soybeans, and ethanol, distilled mostly from corn grain in the U.S. and sugar cane in Brazil. These fuels, so-called biofuels, are essentially a means of converting the sun's energy into liquid form through photosynthesis. They are referred to as renewable since growing plants each year is possible,.

It is obvious that biofuels have a potential to reduce some environmental problems related to transportation, but they can exacerbate others if they are not developed carefully. Depending on the feedstock used and how it is grown and processed, biofuels can negatively affect soil and water quality, local ecosystems, and consequently the global climate. For example, producing biofuels from low-yielding crops and therefore using heavy inputs of fossil fuel energy can result in as much greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions as oil or other petroleum fuels.[36]

One of the major concerns about biofuels is their net energy balance, which is determined by taking the difference between the energy used to produce one liter of biofuel and the energy obtained by burning one liter of this biofuel. Some scholars argue that ethanol's energy balance is either negative or slightly positive. We will return this controversy shortly.

Conventional biofuels are limited by their land requirements: producing half of the U.S. automotive fuel from corn-based ethanol, for example, would require 80 percent of the country's cropland. In addition to this basic limitation, as Connor and Minguez argue, there are some ethical concerns taking into consideration food supply and world population:

> It requires production equivalent to 0.5 ton of grain to feed one person for one year, a value sufficiently large to allow some production to be used as seed for the next crop, some to be fed to animals, and some land to be diverted to fruit and vegetable crops. Compare this value with that for a car running 20,000 km/year at an efficient consumption of 7 liters/100 km. The required 1,400 liters of ethanol would be produced from 3.5 ton grain (2.48 kg grain/liter), requiring an agricultural production seven times the dietary requirement for one person.[37]

In light of these considerations, we now discuss the efficiency and probable impacts of ethanol in terms of transportation and energy policies. Since biodiesel, the other major biofuel, is used on a far smaller scale and is not as popular as ethanol yet, it is not considered in what follows.

Ethanol is ethyl alcohol, a grain alcohol mixed with gasoline and sold in a blend called gasohol. Certain crops, such as corn and sugar cane, are fermented to make ethanol. Other feedstock includes sorghum, brewery wastes, and cheese whey. There are mainly two types of ethanol fuel used in transportation: E10 (10% ethanol and 90% unleaded gasoline) and E85 (85% ethanol and 15% unleaded gasoline). E10 is approved for use in any make or model of vehicle sold in the U.S. In 2005, about one-third of America's gasoline was blended with ethanol, most in this 10% variety.[38] E85 is an alternative fuel for use in flex-fuel vehicles (FFVs).[39]

There are currently nearly 5 million FFVs on America's roads today.[40] Most cars and SUVs on the road can run on blends of up to 10% ethanol, and motor vehicle manufacturers already produce vehicles designed to run on much higher ethanol blends. Ford, DaimlerChrysler, and GM are among the automobile companies that sell flexible-fuel cars, trucks, and minivans that can use gasoline and ethanol blends ranging from pure gasoline up to 85 percent ethanol (E85).[41] In 2005, about 2% of U.S. gasoline consumption (92,96 million barrels, approximately four billion gallons) was met by ethanol.[42]

Many see ethanol as a source that can help reduce GHG emissions, while some also believe that it can help reduce oil dependency. However, there are some counter arguments against the efficacy and efficiency of ethanol, and they can be summarized under three subtitles: (i) sustainability, (ii) energy return, and (iii) GHGs reduction. What follows is a discussion of these arguments, an introduction of a new scientific concept known as cellulosic ethanol, and an evaluation of the future of ethanol.

III.A. Sustainability

Using corn, a human food resource, for ethanol production, raises major ethical issues. According to the WHO, "freedom from hunger and malnutrition is a basic human right and their alleviation is a fundamental prerequisite for human and national development."[43] Today, there are billions of people in the world who suffer from malnutrition. Additionally,the expanding world population is likely to complicate the food security problem:

> The current food shortages throughout the world call attention to the importance of continuing the U.S. exports of corn and other grains for human food. Cereal grains make up 80% of the food of the people worldwide. During the past 10 years, U.S. corn and other grain exports have nearly tripled.[44]

Under these circumstances, the use of corn as an energy source rather than a source of nutrition may not be perceived as ethical. Moreover, if all corn production was devoted to the production of ethanol, it would meet at most 20% of current fuel consumption. According to Hagens, Costanza, and Mulder, "The entire state of Iowa, if planted in corn, would yield approximately five days of gasoline alternative."[45] In 2005, about 12 percent of the U.S.'s corn crop (covering 11 million acres of farmland) was used to produce ethanol[46] and yielded ethanol was around just 2% of total fuel consumption.

It is also important to consider the problems of soil erosion and water pollution due to excessive use of fertilizers and herbicides. A total of about 13 liters of wastewater must be removed for 1 liter of ethanol produced. Crops grown for biofuels generally, and corn specifically are the most land- and water-intensive of the renewable energy sources. According to Deluca, year-round corn crops cause long-term soil degradation, and this type of degradation cannot be repaired by fertilization.[47]

Pimentel and Patzek also argue that the environmental cost of corn growing is very high:

> U.S. corn production causes more total soil erosion that any other U.S. crop. In addition, corn production uses more herbicides and insecticides than any other crop produced in the U.S. thereby causing more water pollution than any other crop. Further, corn production uses more nitrogen fertilizer than any crop produced and therefore is a major contributor to groundwater and river water pollution.[48]

All the factors stated above coerce us to think about the sustainability of ethanol, especially derived from corn. In today's world, in which environmental degradation is widely diffused, finding sustainable solutions is of great importance. Therefore, any policy option devised as an environmental friendly alternative should include ecologically sound activities. Besides, meeting transportation needs should never impede upon or endanger meeting nutritional needs, which is one of the basic human rights. In this regard, doubts about the sustainability of ethanol can be perceived as reasonable.

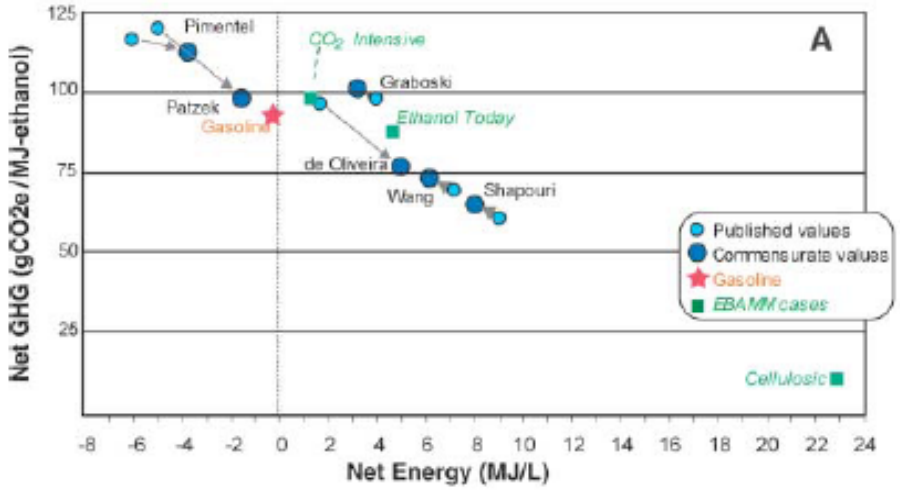
III.B. Energy Return

A serious debate is ongoing regarding ethanol's energy output/input ratio. Some scientists claim that the total energy input to produce ethanol is greater than the energy that can be obtained by burning ethanol for fuel whereas some believe the output/input ratio is greater than one.

The differences between scientific calculations are mainly the result of differing assumptions and by the inclusion or exclusion of certain factors. For example, scientists do not agree about how to credit coproducts (materials inevitably generated when ethanol is made, such as dried distiller grains with solubles, corn gluten feed, and corn oil) in calculations. Farrel and others[49] claim that increases in corn ethanol production will lead to more coproducts that displace whole corn and soybean meal in animal feed, and the energy thereby saved will partly offset the energy required for ethanol production. Shapouri and others' suggestion[50] is based on the fact that all natural gas and electricity inputs are ignored and only gasoline and diesel fuel inputs are assessed. Pimentel and Patzek even incorporate labor force into energy inputs.[51]Essentially, methods and approaches for calculating energy returns differ from each other significantly. As a result, numbers found for output/input ratio also differ.

The following figure summarizes different approaches about net energy returns.[52]

Figure-2: Energy Return Estimates for Ethanol



It becomes apparent that some of the estimates are very optimistic and exaggerated. Critiques about these studies, which suggest that they ignore major inputs, seem correct. On the other hand, pessimistic estimates generally ignore technology improvements in ethanol plants and efficiency increases in corn fields. Arguments about pessimistic studies, for example, that the studies use old data in calculations of irrigation effects, neglect coproducts, etc., also seem convincing. As a final evaluation, we can say with confidence that the energy return of ethanol is positive, but it is not a very stirring number. This makes ethanol a renewable source to some degree, but not a "very efficient" one. Particularly, if we take into account the 1.6:1 ratio - the factor showing that we need 1.6 liter of ethanol to acquire same energy generated by 1 liter of gasoline - ethanol may lose its initial attractiveness.

III.C. GHG Reduction

Similar disputes about GHG reduction are prevalent. Differences in scientific approaches have led to confusion over the actual impacts of ethanol on GHG reduction. One convincing argument by Moller suggests the following:

> Although the use of lower ethanol blends leads to lower exhaust emissions of some volatile organic compounds (VOCs) and of carbon monoxide (CO), there are concerns that they lead to higher emissions of nitrogen oxides (NO_x) that also contribute to the formation of ozone. Some

> studies indicate that the benefits of lower VOCs and CO emissions do not offset the cost of higher levels of NO_x emissions.[53]

Although ethanol can contribute to reducing GHGs, its impact greatly depends upon agricultural practices used in its production. According to Kammen, using ethanol reduces GHG emissions by 18%, but this result is subject to agricultural practices. The type of agricultural practice can affect the final result so much that emissions can increase by 29%.[54] So, we can assume that using ethanol reduces GHG emissions only if the ethanol raw material is grown using environmentally-friendly methods.

One viable option is to move away from corn in favor of alternative feedstock. Sugar cane may be a relatively good alternative and has been extensively used in Brazil. However, climate conditions for growing sugar cane are not widely available in the U.S. Production of ethanol from cellulosic biomass promises to be more efficient and to lower GHG emissions.

III.D. Cellulosic Ethanol

As is discussed later in this paper, the recent U.S. national energy policy act plans to double ethanol production from the current 2 percent of transportation fuel by 2012. But the fertilizer, water, natural gas, and electricity that are currently expended in ethanol production will need to be substantially decreased if such a change is to deliver expected environmental benefits. Because of this, much attention has been focused on cellulosic biomass, which can be identified as residues and wastes from plants not generally used as a food source, as well as cellulosic ethanol technologies, which use woody plants such as switch-grass and poplar. These technologies are likely to include a shift away from intensely farmed monocultures such as corn and have positive effects on soil erosion, fertilizer runoff, and biodiversity.

Because cellulosic technologies can use a wide variety of feedstock, their flexibility may allow for more applications worldwide. Since cellulose-derived ethanol is made from the non-food portions of plants, "it greatly expands the potential scale while reducing competition with food supplies."[55]

Another advantage of cellulose processing is that "it also yields lignin that can be burned to provide energy to run the process and to generate electricity that can be sold."[56] In addition, the calculations for GHGs change substantially when the lignin (an unfermentable part of the organic material) is burned to heat the plant sugars. Kammen states that burning lignin does not add any GHGs to the atmosphere. According to his research, the emissions are offset by the CO_2 absorbed during the growth of the plants, which are later used to produce ethanol.

He adds that "substituting cellulosic ethanol for gasoline can slash GHG emissions by 90 percent or more."[57]

Because of its advantages briefly indicated above, ethanol derived from cellulosic biomass seems comparatively more appropriate as an alternative fuel.

III.E. Major Roadblocks for Ethanol

The success of the ethanol economy in the U.S. is contingent upon widespread consumer adoption of ethanol as a gasoline alternative. Currently, E85 ethanol makes up less than half of one percent of the fuel used for transportation in the U.S. The outlook for ethanol is not as strong as some may have predicted major roadblocks for adoption of ethanol include (i) high cost, (ii) lack of infrastructure, and (iii) price fluctuation.

Conventional gasoline powered vehicles cannot run on E85, because the ethanol corrodes critical system components and will render a car unusable. After-market conversion kits are prohibitively expensive and are illegal in many states because the converted vehicles violate state-mandated emission standards. The alternative is the FFV. However, while FFVs are generally priced similarly to their gasoline counterparts, most FFVs currently being produced are large SUVs and pick-ups that have terrible gas mileage and are expensive to fill even with E85.

Of the estimated 170,000 gasoline stations in the U.S., only about 800 sell E85 to the public and most are located in the Midwest near where E85 is produced. "Most of the E85 retail outlets are in the Midwest (MN, IL, NE, SD, and ND) and over 200 retail outlets in MN alone."[58] Ethanol cannot be pumped through gasoline pipelines due to ethanol's solubility in water; therefore, it is currently shipped to its destination markets by transport truck, rail, or river barge. The lack of dedicated ethanol pipelines not only increases the final price but also creates supply availability problems. Naturally these factors limit the popularity of E85 outside the Midwest. It is evident that "before automakers produce vehicles optimized for E85 and before customers would buy them, there would have to be a guarantee that there would be a substantial supply of this fuel universally available."[59] However, the possible costs for new infrastructures seem enormous and are the greatest impediment to transform the existing system into a new one.

The price of ethanol is constrained because of corn feedstock, which is closely tied to commodity prices for agricultural crops. For example, severe flooding of the Mississippi River in 1993 directly impacted the corn crop in the Mississippi basin, and this flooding resulted in a short-term increase in the regional ethanol fuel price.[60]

In conclusion, while E85 emits less smog-causing pollutants than gasoline, it provides fewer miles per gallon, costs more for the driver, and is hard to find outside the Midwest region. Even with the most

optimistic estimates, ethanol on its own will probably never be able to provide Americans with energy independence in contrast to some claims, but it can be a part of a portfolio of choices, including more efficient vehicles and other sustainable energy sources. The magnitude and timing of this contribution will depend on the development of better methods of producing ethanol than today's corn-based approach.

Although it is evident that ethanol cannot be a sound alternative or a substitute for oil whose supply is at risk, some important provisions regarding ethanol production and utilization have been incorporated into the recent energy act. This inclusion deserves significant attention; therefore, analysis of the recent energy legislation follows.

IV. Energy Policy Act (EPACT) of 2005 and Ethanol Subsidies

Nine days after his inauguration, President Bush launched the National Energy Policy Development Group, known as the energy task force, chaired by Dick Cheney. This group issued a report in May 2001, which became the basis for the first draft of the energy bill. The bill envisaged such giant subsidies for big energy industries, especially for the coal industry that it galvanized environmental groups to take action. At the time, Democrats controlled the Senate and Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle did not let the bill move. But at the beginning of 2003, Republicans took control of both houses of Congress, and three months later, in April 2003, a new version of Cheney's package came onto the agenda.[61] The final version (Domenici Bill) was ready to be voted on by the last week of November, 2003. Although the House passed the bill, the Senate did not have enough votes to pass the bill. This was a quite contentious process and many disputes took place during negotiations.

In 2005, a new version of the energy bill was opened to discussion. In late July 2005, both the U.S. House and Senate passed the Energy Policy Act of 2005, which includes several important provisions. President George W. Bush signed this legislation into law on August 8, 2005 and the nearly five-year fight over the energy bill was over. But one question remained: Why did it take so long? Perhaps a review of President Bush's environmental record provides a better understanding of the long and contentious debate over the EPACT. In addition, we may gain some insight into why even green provisions such as ethanol subsidies have not been perceived as genuine steps for mitigating oil addiction.

IV.A. President Bush's Past Environmental Record

During his six-year reign as governor, from 1994 to 2000, Texas

emitted the most toxic chemicals and carcinogens, and had the highest emissions of CO_2, accounting for at least 10% of the national total. Texas also had the most chemical spills and Clean Air Act violations, and produced the largest volume of hazardous waste under his watch.[62] He protected the state's grandfathered plants, which were polluting much more than any other industries. Not surprisingly, he was heavily supported by these plants and core energy industries during for the presidency campaign.[63]

Once elected as president, he chose a number of former CEOs for his cabinet, most of them from the energy and extractive sectors. Most of the important staff (members of his first cabinet, White House officials, high-level appointees, etc.) had extensive connections with the major players in the energy industry. Although past experiences of this team did not demonstrate they would be a threat to the environmental agenda, the first actions taken by the cabinet pertaining to the environmental issues justified prior skepticism.

The President's first step was to create the energy task force mentioned above. A few days after he created the energy task force, he stated on CNN that environmental regulations in California may be the primary reason for the energy crisis.[64] California utility officials, however, denied that the environmental regulations were responsible for the crisis.[65] In fact, since the crisis, it has been shown that California's energy shock was largely caused by market manipulation and regulatory breakdown, not by environmental regulations.[66]

Bush's next step was to declare a National Energy Policy (N.E.P.) published on May 16, 2001. The policy's defining notion was simple: environmental regulations have constrained America's domestic energy supply. As a matter of fact, this represented the attitude of Bush and his fellows towards the tradeoff between energy production and environmental concerns. Withdrawing from the Kyoto Protocol on global warming was one of the clearest signs of the new American government's position.

In September 2002, while asserting that "the scientific work on global warming was still unsettled"[67], officials from the administration excluded a section devoted to global warming, which had normally been included in the EPA's annual report on air pollution.[68] With the stated belief that there was not enough scientific certainty to begin taking action to reduce global warming, Bush launched a 10-year, $100 million effort to "learn more about natural causes of climate change."[69] His goal was to prove that global temperature changes have occurred naturally.

This and other similar attempts to dispute the scientific consensus on climate change drove the Union of Concerned Scientists, a nonprofit group devoted to the use of sound science in environmental policy, to issue a report in 2004, charging the Bush administration with

suppression and distortion of research findings. Signed by renowned scientists, including 20 Nobel laureates, the report firmly criticized the Bush administration: "There is significant evidence that the scope and scale of the manipulation, suppression, and misrepresentation of science by the Bush administration are unprecedented."[70]

Bush and his appointed officials who came directly from the energy industry were so eager to relieve fossil fuel industries that they loosened important clean-air regulations. For example, a series of rule changes effectively eliminated the regulation requiring a power plant's owner to install new pollution-control devices and others like it.

Bush also reversed several executive directives passed in the final days of the Clinton administration, which aimed to protect 58 million acres of federal land by restricting logging and road building; cancelled a looming deadline for automakers to develop prototypes for high-mileage cars; rolled back safeguards for storing nuclear waste; blocked a program to stem the discharge of raw sewage into America's waters; and reversed Clinton's decrees on clean-air standards for buses and big trucks.[71]

IV.B. Analysis of Some Provisions: Indicators of Intent

At first sight, the EPACT of 2005 seems a very promising law since it involves energy saving incentives for buildings, authorizes loan guarantees for innovative technologies that avoid GHGs, provides subsidies for wind energy and other alternative energy producers, and provides tax breaks for those making energy conservation improvements to their homes, etc. However, upon further examination, one can see other provisions giving enormous subsidies to conventional energy industries. For example, according to Public Citizen, subsidies provided for oil and gas is $6 billion, for coal is $9 billion, for nuclear is $12 billion.[72]

Of the many provisions included in the Act, we will give two examples associated with oil-dependency issues and greening efforts. In this context, we will briefly touch on the tax credit of up to $3,400 available to owners of hybrid vehicles and oil subsidies.

According to the Act, individuals and businesses that buy or lease a new hybrid gas-electric car or truck are eligible for an income tax credit of $250-$3,400–depending on the fuel economy and the weight of the vehicle. Hybrid vehicles that use less gasoline than the average vehicle of similar weight and that meet an emissions standard qualify for the credit. There is a similar credit for alternative-fuel vehicles and fuel-cell vehicles.[73]

The tax credit for hybrid vehicles can be seen as a good initial step for reducing oil dependency. However, it is a temporary and limited incentive. More importantly, it does not promote hybrid vehicles so much as to make them a serious alternative to oil-dominated transportation. A comprehensive analysis of the related provisions of

the law reveals that tax credit rates will soon decrease. IRS provides detailed information about this:

> Since taxpayers may claim the full amount of the allowable credit only up to the end of the first calendar quarter after the quarter in which the manufacturer records its sale of the 60,000th hybrid and/or advanced lean-burn technology motor vehicle, consumers seeking the credit may want to buy early in the year. The phase-out period for a manufacturer begins with the second calendar quarter after the calendar quarter in which the manufacturer records its 60,000th sale. For the second and third calendar quarters after the quarter in which the 60,000th vehicle is sold, taxpayers may claim 50 percent of the credit. For the fourth and fifth calendar quarters, taxpayers may claim 25 percent of the credit. For quarters after that fifth quarter, taxpayers may not claim the credit.[74]

The more important problem than the decreasing rate of incentives is the number of vehicle owners that can benefit from this incentive. In total, 300,000 vehicle owners can benefit from tax allowances during five years. At first sight it may look like a great number, but when we recall that the total number of vehicles is around 250 million in the U.S., we see that this is just a symbolic incentive. Moreover, by taking into account relatively high prices of hybrid vehicles, one can assert that these incentives do not compensate for the price difference between hybrids and conventional vehicles, especially after the third year.

As can be seen from this brief analysis, even in the most noteworthy scheme for clean transportation technologies there is not a promising benefit. In other words, these kinds of provisions, which are supposedly in favor of oil-free policies, seem to being incorporated into the Act just to relieve sensitive people. Another possibility is that they were designed to divert attention of the public away from bulky oil and nuclear power subsidies. Without this and similar gimmick clean subsidies, authorizing $2 billion direct support and various tax breaks for nuclear facilities would not have been so easy. The nuclear industry got subsidies for research, waste reprocessing, construction, operation and even decommission.

The Act exempts oil and gas industries from some clean-water laws, and streamlines permits for oil wells. But more interestingly, the petroleum industry got new incentives to drill in the Gulf of Mexico as if $60-a-barrel oil wasn't enough of an incentive. The oil industry is one of the more mature industries in the U.S, just like nuclear power

industry. Neither industry needs any more incentives.

Provisions to subsidize major energy industries were included into the law whereas some important regulations, which were in the original bill, were excluded. Some of these discussed regulations aim to increase vehicle efficiency standards by 1 mile per gallon for 5 years in a row, to require increased reliance on non-greenhouse gas-emitting energy sources similar to the Kyoto Protocol, to reduce U.S. oil consumption by 1 million barrels of oil per day by 2015.

IV.C. Evaluation of Ethanol Subsidies

The EPACT of 2005;
(i) Requires that Federal Fleet vehicles capable of operating on alternative fuels be operated on these fuels exclusively,
ii) Increases the amount of biofuels (usually ethanol) that must be mixed with gasoline sold in the United States to triple the current requirement (7.5 billion gallons by 2012),
(iii) Provides gasoline refiners and marketers blending ethanol into gasoline with a tax credit of 51 cents per gallon, and 10 cent per gallon tax credit to small agri-biodiesel producers,
(iv) Provides 30% tax credit for gas station owners who want to install alternative fuels infrastructure up to a maximum of $30,000.

In the future, the first provision will probably have no significant impact on consumption of alternative fuels when the consumption reaches a certain level. Currently, however, it does have a significant impact. After the enactment of the bill, its unintended effects have emerged in the form of shortages of E85 in many parts of the country. The Act requires U.S. Federal Fleet FFVs to operate on alternative fuels 100% of the time. Formerly, such FFVs were required to be operated by the end of 2005 on alternative fuels only 51% (i.e., the majority of the time). This effectively means that the U.S. Government's use of E85 has doubled, with the unintended consequences of limiting public availability of E85 and increasing its price. Increased public sector consumption of E85 was also partially responsible for the increase in corn prices, which rose to $3.05 per bushel in January 2007[75], compared to $2.00 to $2.06 per bushel for the previous two market years.

The second provision mandates up to 7.5 billion gallons of "renewable fuel" to be used in gasoline by 2012. Related articles establish a Renewable Fuels Standard (RFS) that will double America's demand for ethanol by 2012. Projected consumption amounts can be seen below.

Table-3: Renewable Fuel Consumption

Year	Renewable Fuels (billions of gallons)
2006	4.0
2007	4.7
2008	5.4
2009	6.1
2010	6.8
2011	7.4
2012	7.5

This provision also provides that a minimum of 250 million gallons of cellulosic derived ethanol will be included in the RFS by beginning in 2013. Despite its promising content, the late beginning period of incentives for cellulosic ethanol can be perceived as a flaw. As we mentioned earlier, cellulosic ethanol is a comparatively more appropriate and sustainable choice than ethanol derived from corn. If ethanol is considered as a serious complementary fuel to the oil, first of all the cellulosic ethanol would have to be subsidized.

The third provision may be the best one in comparison to the others. This credit will benefit small agri-biodiesel producers by giving them a 10 cent per gallon tax credit for up to 15 million gallons of agri-biodiesel produced. In addition, the limit on production capacity for small ethanol producers increased from 30 million to 60 million gallons. It not only encourages small farmers to deal with ethanol production, but also stimulates distribution networks by giving a 51 cents tax credit per gallon of ethanol used as motor fuel.

The fourth provision may be well-intended, but provides insufficient incentives. In this provision, fueling stations are eligible to claim a 30% credit for the cost of installing clean-fuel vehicle refueling equipment, e.g. E85 ethanol pumping stations. Under the provision, a clean fuel is any fuel that consists of at least 85% ethanol, natural gas, compressed natural gas (CNG), liquefied natural gas (LNG), liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), or hydrogen and any mixture of diesel fuel and biodiesel containing at least 20% biodiesel. This will be in effect through the end of 2010. One has to notice that this tax credit is not dedicated to promote only renewable alternative fuels, rather it includes fossil fuels such as CNG, LNG, and LPG.

While assessing this provision we can argue that the amount of tax incentive is insufficient despite the reasonable end date for the tax incentive. American Petroleum Institute estimates it will cost gas stations up to $200,000 to install pumps and tanks for E85.[76] Under

these circumstances, many small gas station owners may be reluctant to install new pumps. Hence, it is still ambiguous whether or not this provison will help alternative fossil fuels such as LPG and CNG.

The second and third provisions are direct and first and fourth provisions are indirect subsidies for ethanol. As we discussed earlier, subsidizing ethanol production based on corn growing is the least sustainable way among alternatives. Nearly four months before the enactment of that legislation, Pimentel and Patzek warned about the cost of ethanol:

> If the production costs of producing a liter of ethanol were added to the tax subsidies, then the total cost for a liter of ethanol would be $1.24. Because of the relatively low energy content of ethanol, 1.6 l of ethanol has the energy equivalent of 1 l of gasoline. Thus, the cost of producing an equivalent amount of ethanol to equal a liter of gasoline is $1.88 ($7.12 per gallon of gasoline), while the current cost of producing a liter of gasoline is 33c.[77]

As a result of new legislation, the level of subsidies has increased considerably. State and agricultural subsidies as well as the EPACT of 2005 support the corn and ethanol industry. But some claim that ethanol production yields negligible benefits for farmers, and, that farmers' profits are minimal. According to them, several big corporations are making huge profits from ethanol production. For example, Senator McCain, while criticizing draft energy bill, said in his press release "it is now a very big business -tens of billions of dollars that have enriched a handful of corporate interests- primarily one big corporation, ADM. Ethanol does nothing to reduce fuel consumption, nothing to increase our energy independence, nothing to improve air quality."[78]

One of the environmentalists, Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., who participated in legislation process as the representative of National Resources Defense Center (NRDC), explains in a different way why ethanol subsidies were given. According to him, there was a strong resistance among senators, who believed that this bill was aiming to establish oil and gas development as the dominant use of federal lands, to subsidize the building of more nuclear power plants, and to exempt polluters from core provisions of America's clean air and water laws.[79] To break the resistance, some subsidies were provided: "Among the biggest subsidies were multi-bilion dollar packages for ethanol manufacturers, include to lure support from farm-state Democrats. The tactic prompted a series of demoralizing defections by Midwestern Democrats, including our former champion, Tam Daschle. Daschle had long promoted ethanol as a salve for South Dakota's economic woes. He

was in a very tight race, and his in-state political advisers told him that if he didn't support the energy bill with its ethanol provisions, he was politically dead."[80]

Kennedy's claim makes sense when it is considered together with two issues: (i) the EPACT's provisons concerning with coal, oil, and nuclear industries, and (ii) past environmental records of President Bush and his team.

The EPACT of 2005 did not aim to respond the needs of a sustainable energy policy. Its related parts to the transportation are unlikely to improve efficient energy use and contribute to reduce oil dependency. Although some provisions seem useful, they are mainly bribing policies to supporters of the law. Some Democrat senators were convinced to say "yes" to this bill by offered lucrative projects in their home districts. It was such a disputable process that Wall Street Journal condemned Republican senators for engaging in "months of plotting to buy enough votes with some $95 billion in tax breaks and pork-barrel spending."[81] Therefore, few provisions, which can be considered as a part of sustainable strategy, are in fact a coloring mechanism to hide the great victory of the core energy industry.

Conclusion

According to a broad range of estimates, the projected date for peak oil looms close, and oil reserves may very quickly be running out. Moreover, rising instability in the world's major oil supplying region is likely to keep oil prices high and increasing. Since a considerable amount of oil is used for transportation purposes, this is the sector in which urgent measures must be taken if global energy security is to be assured.

Ethanol is widely considered to be the primary alternative to oil and has been significantly subsidized by the EPACT of 2005. However, as this study has shown, the ongoing debate about whether ethanol is a sustainable, efficient, and clean fuel, is far from over. Even if ethanol is assumed to be technologically viable and environmentally preferable, the structural changes mandated by the EPACT of 2005 fall dramatically short of those that would be required to make ethanol economically competitive..

In order to protect the environment while ensuring the stability of the global energy supply, more than a forced shift to ethanol will be required. In fact, a fundamental paradigm shift is needed in order to maintain sustainability and ensure energy security. In the case of the U.S., this means a transition from heavy fossil fuel consumption to a concerted regimen of energy efficiency, and the development of new clean technologies. In this transition, the role of government can neither be ignored, nor overstated. Over the long haul, the public sector will be

a pivotal player in encouraging consumers to make choices that fulfill their wants and needs today, without depriving posterity of their right to do the same.

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Learning to Labor:
What Happens to African Women's Employment in the Course of Educational Transitions 1991-2005

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ABSTRACT:
This paper tests the human capital hypothesis as key to women's socio-economic advancement in the specific context of Africa. It investigates the extent to which recent gains in education have increased women's employment. Using data from 20 African countries, the total change in women's employment is decomposed into relative contributions of changes in education and returns to education, versus social change processes. Findings suggest that recent gains in human capital explain only a fraction of the changes in employment, with much of the latter associated with social change. Results caution against relying instrumentally on education as a vehicle for women's economic advancement.

The last twenty years have seen notable gains in women's education, in both nominal and relative terms. In 1970, the average African female had only 1.6 years of formal education, but the figure rose to 2.5 in 1990, and by 2000, it was 3.0 years.[1] Similar achievements relative to the African male have also been noted by the same source. While in 1970 the female/male ratio in educational attainment was only 60, this ratio improved to 65 in 1990, and more recently to 74. The question being increasingly raised now is whether such progress in education has been accompanied by advancement in women's economic welfare.

The purpose of this study is to explore whether gains in women's education have translated into parallel gains in employment in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). It does so through a large-scale historical macro-analysis of sub-Saharan African countries to examine the effects of contemporary educational transitions on women's employment over the past 15 years. The study quantifies the relative contributions of human capital, returns to human capital, and general social change in accounting for recent trends in women's labor force participation. It employs statistical methods that can account for unmeasured influential factors and distinguishes between informal and formal employment.

There are several justifications for such investigation now. Whereas

the thesis of women's education as an agent of socio-economic success was taken for granted, new skepticism about the effectiveness of education in this regard has begun to emerge. Part of this skepticism is due to methodological dissatisfaction with cross-country correlations, the common basis for country comparisons. Cross-national correlations have shown that more education is associated with more employment.[2] Yet, such evidence can be misleading. National-level comparisons adjust only for only a limited set of country characteristics. With a few exceptions,[3] the important differences in informal and formal occupations are rarely considered. Further, cross-sectional analysis cannot capture evolutions in the education and employment relationship. Part of the skepticism also stems from recent studies that have begun to qualify the relevance of education as a direct channel for women's socio-economic mobility and wellbeing.[4] However, most of these studies come from Asia, with only a few based in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, no studies in Africa have adequately explored the presumed economic benefits from recent gains in human capital in a historical perspective.

The paper begins with a discussion of the theoretical influences that define women's employment behavior. The next section looks at how past research in Africa has addressed these defining features and the knowledge gap. Empirical concerns that can confound the effect of education on employment are then discussed. The data and methods used are then described, followed by a presentation and discussion of the findings. The final section concludes with the study's insights and policy directions.

Theoretical Background

Human capital theory provides a general framework for understanding the importance of education for development. The perspective emphasizes the primacy of abilities and education in the development of skills and, ultimately, in labor market success. The perspective, couched in economic theory, posits that education is directly related to participation and returns in the labor market.[5] Thus, women's increased human capital and experience should facilitate their entry into the labor market. By extension, as the education gap narrows, so should the gap in the labor market.

Yet, the link between educational transitions and labor force participation extends beyond the absolute effect of education per se to how educational transitions affect the duration of schooling, transition into the labor market, and economic opportunities and rewards. Prolonged duration of schooling and delayed entry into the labor force can shorten individual work experience and reduce the lifetime rewards to education. Education has intrinsic benefits, but lower long-term economic rewards can decrease the value of education. However,

delayed labor market entry can depress labor supply and raise wages at aggregate levels with a subsequent rise in the demand for both education and labor. Similarly, while increases in the proportion of educated women can enhance the acceptance of women's changing economic roles, educational transitions can be counter-productive where they lead to greater competition for scarce jobs, stemming from expansions in the sheer numbers of educated women. Human capital theory, in its simplified form, fails to address these issues.

Related to its educational transitions, sub-Saharan Africa has been undergoing demographic transitions, such as changes in age at marriage, other marital events, family structure, and, more recently, the onset of fertility transitions. More schooling leads to later age at first marriage, increase in the prevalence of non-marital unions, and single-headed households. These changes, in turn, increase women's propensity to participate in the labor market. Likewise, fertility (and child mortality) declines are also associated with educational transitions, even as the mechanisms continue to elude scholars. These declines, in turn, translate into general reductions in maternal mortality and gains in life expectancy. Lower fertility, further enhanced by gains in life expectancy, increases the time available for non-childrearing/bearing activities. Subsequently, women's ability to engage in gainful employment and capacity to advance their careers is expected to improve.

Beyond the above transitions, the urbanization of African countries has also transformed women's economic activities and the meaning of paid work, with a direct impact on how labor force participation is conceptualized and measured. Urbanization leads to a lower reliance on subsistence agriculture and a greater demand for consumer goods. It, therefore, raises the need for paid work. Indeed, urbanization not only affects the demand for agricultural products, but the every character of agricultural work as well. What used to be viewed as agricultural and non-economic work now assumes an important place in the economy. One manifestation of this evolution is the shift from voluntary and unpaid farm labor at peak periods to similar, but cost-related, labor. Urbanization also indirectly influences work opportunities. Urban labor markets offer greater economic prospects than rural ones. However, whether women reap these urban benefits depends on their distribution across different occupational sectors, particularly with respect to their representation in the more profitable formal sectors.

At the same time, urbanization processes can weaken extended family/social networks that presumably ease the incompatibility between women's outside work and childcare and family obligations. In fact, childcare, domestic services, and other activities, such as hair braiding, garment sewing, and embroidery, were previously regarded as a given and offered free of charge. These now involve a cost and fall under the umbrella of informal economic activities. While this

expansion fosters distribution and improves the economic status of those who otherwise would not have been gainfully employed, it has implications for gender economic equality. In urban settings with minimal or costly childcare services, women with more education will have to trade off intermittent withdrawals from formal work and paying heavily for these services. Such withdrawals can reduce the scope and prospects for career advancement, challenging policy efforts towards closing the economic gender gap.

Enormous heterogeneity exists across African nations in terms of educational and employment transitions, policies and regulatory reforms, and level of development. Similarly, countries and societies within countries vary in local social and cultural features, and in their responses to women's changing economic roles within these broad national conditions. Such contextual diversities can confound the education-employment relationship, but cross-country comparisons that inform conventional evidence ignore them. The above conceptual transformations and contextual differences not only impact employment status, but also women's capacity to contribute and benefit from the development process. In a similar vein, the changing definitions of work over time and across societies bear directly on how women's economic activity is analyzed.

Finally, contemporary transitions in Africa are occurring under duress. The expansion in women's education has been accompanied by growing school age populations, due to population momentum[6] stemming from the region's recent history of high fertility. Shifting from a global share of only 10 percent in 1950 to 16 percent in 2000, Africa now shelters the majority of the world's school-age population.[7] This population momentum, the largest ever given the onset of fertility transitions, has been accompanied with high economic dependency ratios in the region (i.e. the reliance of a large cohort of the young on a small number of working adults). Similarly, the region disproportionately carries the global HIV/AIDS burden. In 2004, of the 36.9 million people living with HIV/AIDS globally, 23.6 million were housed in sub-Saharan Africa. Within a short period of two years, the figure rose to 24.7 million in 2006.[8] The epidemic, which predominantly affects both adults in their prime productive years and children, is eroding the region's current and future socio-economic resource. Added to tight development budgets, these challenges hinder efforts toward providing decent means of economic livelihoods on the continent. Therefore, questions as to whether economic dividends anticipated from the educational transitions are forthcoming are increasingly being raised.

Two recent reviews[9] suggest that education by itself cannot lift women out of their social and economic deprivation. The latter review[10] specifically concludes that education is "*a necessary, but not sufficient investment for achieving gender equality or improving women's*

wellbeing." In the same vein, other studies suggest that patriarchy as an institution can resist the potential benefits associated with educational transitions[11] or the presumed intergenerational spillovers from women's human capital.[12] Thus, women can continue to be disadvantaged in the labor force despite contemporary improvements in their human capital. Yet, research empirically assessing these emergent skepticisms in Africa is limited.

Hypothesis

In view of the constraints facing the continent and the emergent questions raised about the ameliorating role of education, this study posits that the changes in women's labor force participation over the past 15 years have been driven neither by education nor the returns to education, but rather by other socio-economic forces.

Previous work and knowledge gap

Studies on the relationship between women's education and labor force participation consist of both micro- and macro-studies. While the majority of these studies are based in Asia, a few studies on Africa do exist.[13] Although these African studies have contributed to our understanding of the association between education and labor force participation, several concerns remain. First, much of the evidence indicates a persistent low labor force attachment, but the responsible factors are inconsistent. While some authors in Africa and elsewhere point to discrimination within the labor market[14] and others[15] cast doubt on this proposition.[16] Instead, they attribute women's poorer employment prospects relative to men on their low educational endowment. Such lower economic benefits to women's education further imply that they may be less motivated than men to seek employment and acquire schooling.[17]

A second concern relates to the cross-sectional nature of studies on Africa. All the studies employ a single period. Therefore, they cannot capture the effects of historical gains in education on labor force participation. While most studies have examined the returns to education, a third concern is that they emphasize earnings more than labor force participation.[18] Fourth, none distinguish informal from formal labor force participation. Schultz[19] shows that the labor force is far from static and changes from primarily informal to largely formal. Failure to consider the informal sector, where women tend to be highly represented,[20] can obscure the reality of African women's labor force behavior.

Beyond being cross-sectional, another concern centers on the micro-level focus of previous studies. Moreover, many are confined to a

single country with some using only urban data[21] or rural data.[22] Hardly any macro-research on the region exists and no studies have undertaken large-scale historical assessments of the influences of contemporary educational transitions on labor force participation. A macro-study by Schultz[23] is close to the present study and examines changes in women's labor force participation in developed and developing countries. However, it included only one African country (Cameroon), probably due to data inadequacy at the time of the study, and the findings are now dated. Updates[24] on the returns to education exist, but these address earnings and do not focus on women. Thus, the extent to which contemporary sub-Saharan African educational transitions enhance women's economic opportunities/well-being through greater labor force participation, and ultimately alleviate national poverty, remains an empirical question.

Empirical Issues

Quantifying the gains from social interventions has been particularly difficult due to the limited availability of data needed to establish causality and the possibility of reverse causation.[25] The macro-economic context of countries has increasingly defined labor markets. Some of these defining forces include economic policy reforms following the economic crises of the 80s and 90s and the ensuing privatization of African labor markets.[26] If assertions pointing to the greater discriminatory character of the private sector relative to the public sector hold, then the privatization of African economies may disadvantage women. Such expansion may channel women further into self-employment and other less profitable informal work. Thus, quantifying the changing distribution of women across formal and informal occupational sectors can shed light on how contemporary African transitions are benefiting them. Although cross-sectional data cannot capture change, no studies in sub-Saharan Africa have adequately explored the deduced economic benefits from recent gains in human capital in a historical perspective.

While some of the above contextual variables can be measured and easily compared across countries, some are hard to measure. There is a growing literature indicating that failure to account for these confounding unmeasured influences can bias results.[27] Unmeasured influences can derive from both individual and community attributes. One such individual attribute includes work experience. According to the Mincerian model, experience is critical to labor market success. However, the available data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program does not provide information on age of school graduation nor work continuity, both of which make it difficult to meaningfully measure experience. Work duration as well as quality and relevance of acquired human capital to existing labor market requirements have

not been measured in African surveys. The same holds for economic ambitions and goals and how these affect propensity toward work, regardless of one's human capital. Circumstances where women balance paid work and unpaid care work in the wake of AIDS-related mortalities in Africa have begun to emerge in the recent literature from the region.[28] Such elevated workloads can jeopardize women's career growth and development, but may be hard to measure and compare accurately under weak data collection environments.

Unmeasured community attributes can include variation in economic opportunities arising from broader national policies and earnings differentials across heterogeneous occupational sectors, all of which are hard to measure. Employer discrimination and norms and societies' changing attitude toward women's evolving household and economic roles are equally hard to gauge. These empirical concerns can complicate the education effect with failure to account for their influences, yielding imprecise interpretations.

Data and Methods

Data

Most past studies on the labor market returns to African women's education have relied on data from one country within a single period. This study takes advantage of data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) Program.[29] The DHS Program is one of the leading sources of nationally representative demographic data on developing regions. The strength of the DHS data, for the purpose of this study, derives from replication across multiple countries over several periods, thereby facilitating cross-country comparisons. More importantly, it permits one to document change and compare the historical experiences of a large set of sub-Saharan countries.[30] The data, constructed for each country, covers two survey periods. The earlier survey period spans from 1991 to 1999, while the final survey periods date from 1997 to 2005. The DHS women respondents' file is used to generate the data. While an inclusion of men would have been interesting, the male information provided is generated from only a sub-sample of men (the husbands) and, therefore, not representative of all men.

Dependent variables

The main dependent variable is labor force participation, (1) inoverall employment[31] or (2) in the skilled sector.[32] Overall employment makes no distinction between occupational sectors and includes all non-agricultural work outside the home. It should have lower human capital requirements for success, and, therefore, closely resembles informal work. For this reason, this inquiry considers it as "informal"

work. Skilled participation, which denotes occupations with greater human capital prerequisites, should provide a measure of formal work ("formal" hereafter). Such differentiation between formal and informal occupations can undoubtedly elucidate factors that govern women's participation choices and behavior.[33]

Independent variable

The main independent variable is education, measured by number of years of schooling attained. To account for possible curvilinearity, models include both a linear and a quadratic term. The study attempted to differentiate schooling levels, but the estimates obtained were unstable because of the lower distributions of women at secondary and higher schooling levels.

Controls

Three sets of correlates are included to control for various demographic, socio-economic, and cultural influences. The first set is demographic in nature and considers family composition variables that bear on women's time constraints and capacity to engage in paid employment.[34] The second set of correlates is socio-economic and captures women's economic need to work.[35] Finally, the third set of controls reflects cultural attributes.[36]

Methods of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this paper is countries, even though the source data is individual-level. Both macro- (across countries) and micro- (for individual countries) level analyses were conducted. African countries have been projected in contemporary literature and popular media as a homogeneous body. To test for such homogeneity across time, inequalities in employment outcomes among countries were estimated in the macro-analysis using the squared coefficient of variation. This index of inequality, which measures deviations from the mean, is most desirable for the purposes of this comparative analysis because it is a relative index that can account for differences in country population sizes. The formula used in calculating this index is given in equation 4.[37] Three main analytical approaches were used to estimate the two employment outcomes for each country and time period: logistic regression, fixed effects modeling, and regression decomposition.

Logistic Regression

Given the dichotomous nature of the outcome variables, logistic regressions are used to model a woman's odds of being employed as a function of her human capital, net of several correlates as outlined

in equation 1.[38] Four models are run, sequentially incorporating the sets of correlates outlined above. The first model (Model 1) estimated the bivariate returns to women's education according to the four labor force regimes for each country. This basic model assessed the gross returns to women's human capital in that it only adjusted for basic controls, including education square, age, and age square. Model 2 added the demographic influences, Model 3 additionally considered the socioeconomic controls, and Model 4 further incorporated the cultural variables. Thus, each model is more complex than its predecessor.

Fixed Effects Modeling

The logistic regressions used thus far cannot address any potential bias arising from variation in unmeasured fixed country effects. One such country difference is likely to originate from variation in clusters in which respondent women live. The PHREG procedure is capable of handling these unmeasured fixed effects,[39] including cluster variation. Re-estimating Model 4 using the PHREG procedure in SAS introduces this methodological refinement. The generated fixed effects model (Model 5), is therefore the preferred and final model on which interpretations are based.

Regression Decomposition

While logistic regression estimates the cross-sectional and absolute magnitude of educational effects on women's employment, decomposition methods were used to estimate relative effects. Thus, the analyses showed how much of the total change in women's employment is attributable to change in their education as opposed to change in other effects. In this paper, the total change in women's labor force participation between the two periods studied was derived from predicted probabilities, estimated according to equation 2.[40]

The total change was then decomposed into the different regression components[41], namely, the baseline, the effects of absolute education, and the effects of returns to education, following equation 3.[42] This allows one to assess the relative contribution of education to women's changing labor force participation and to test the human capital perspective. The influences of other socio-economic factors not considered in the regressions are included as a residual component of the baseline. Baseline effects, therefore, reflect country or contextual variation. The decomposition is conducted for each country.

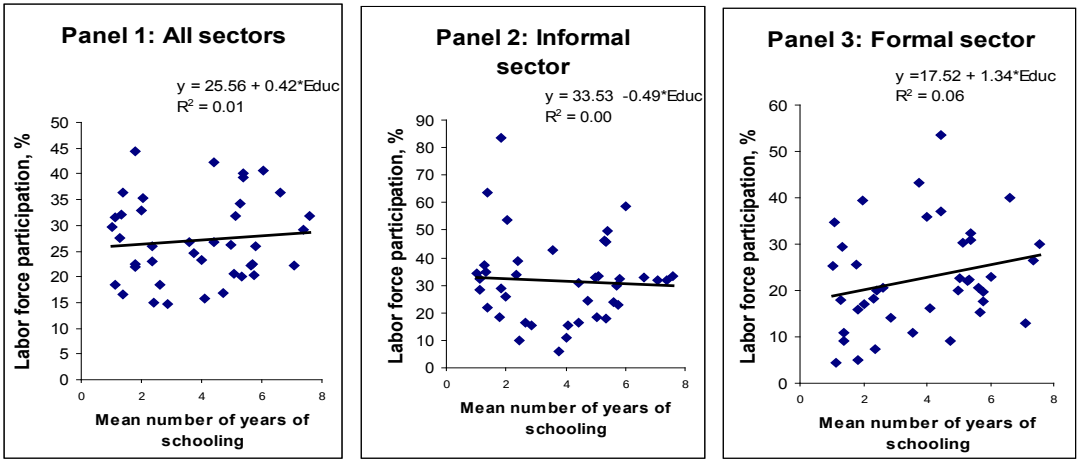
Findings

Macro-level Associations

Figure 1 shows a cross-sectional relationship between education and labor force participation for the 20 sampled countries. Figure 1 (Panel

1) indicates that women's education is associated with labor force participation, with the latter rising by 42 percent as years of schooling increase, but the association is rather weak (R^2 = 0.01). This cross-sectional pattern is nonetheless consistent with human capital theory and conventional wisdom, both of which suggest a positive association. The same cross-sectional relationship is re-examined, differentiating between informal (Panels 2) and formal work (Panels 3). The results reveal differences between the two sectors. Women's education is now inversely related to informal labor force participation (beta = -0.49). However, it is important to note that the association is weak, as manifested in country digressions from the regression line and the low R-square (R^2 = 0.00). Contrastingly, education is positively associated with formal labor force participation. Further, the extent of the effect is larger (beta = 1.34) and the association is stronger (R^2 = 0.06) compared with informal participation. The weak effect of education on informal activity is unsurprising, given the lower skill requirements within this sector. Similarly, the stronger link between education and formal work suggests that education should enhance women's access to the formal sector and supports human capital expectations. The findings, therefore, underline the importance of making a distinction between informal and formal sectors in studying women's economic activity. These cross-national level correlations, however, ignore historical changes in the relationship and do not consider the differences in stages of educational and employment transitions across countries.

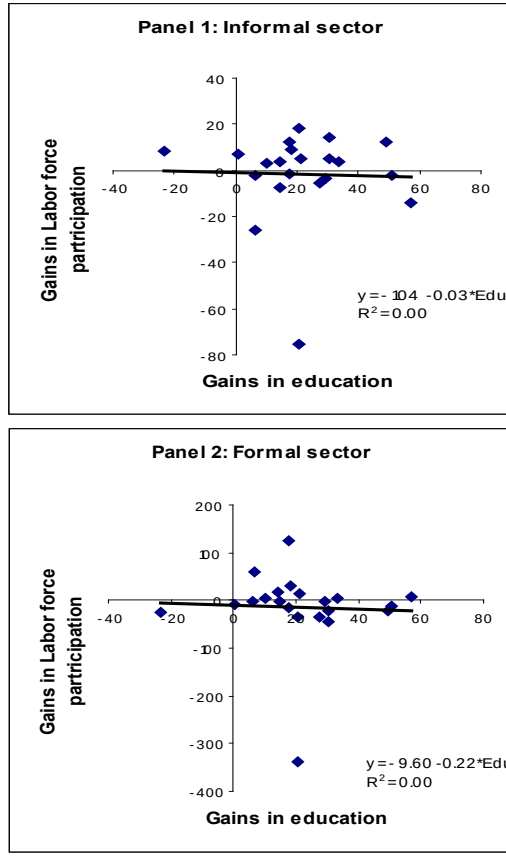
Figure 1. Country-level correlations between women's education and labor force participation, 20 sub-Saharan countries



Historical trends in the relationship between progress in women's education and employment from 1991 to 2005 are shown in Figure 2.

Panel 1 (for the informal sector) indicates a negative association over time (beta = -0.3), implying that as women gain more education, they tend to participate less in informal economic activities. However, as the R-square shows, trends in the association are weak (R^2 = 0.00). Similarly, trends in the effect of gains in women's education on formal labor force participation are negative (beta = -0.22) (Panel 2), meaning that more education has not translated into women's greater access to the formal sector. While the association is rather weak, it is still stronger than observed for informal work. The finding that women participate less in the informal sector as they become more educated is not alarming. Yet, the fact that more education has not enhanced formal employment prospects, the sector where human capital is deemed to be more relevant, counters theoretical predictions.

Figure 2. Trends in the bivariate returns to education, 1991-2005

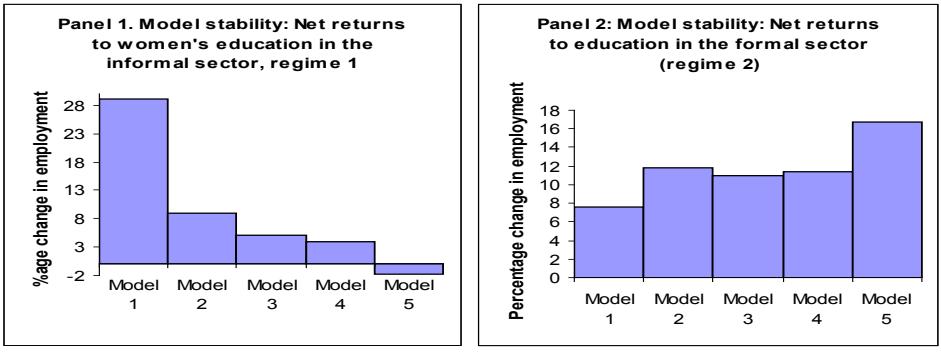


With respect to the homogeneity of sub-Saharan countries, the results from the squared coefficients of variation (CV), shown in Appendix Table 1 (last rows of Panel 3),speak to the contrary. Over time, African countries have converged in returns to women's education in the informal sector. But, they have diverged substantially in the effect of education on access to the formal labor market, the sector viewed as capable of uplifting economic wellbeing. However, the findings thus far are bivariate and do not consider the multitude of correlates upon which participation hinge. The impact of these correlates on the education effect is captured by the micro-level (i.e. multivariate) returns to education below.

Micro-level Correlations

Figure 3 presents the returns to education net of influential correlates from the micro-analyses. Importantly, the figure shows the impact of correlates on the effect of education on labor force participation within the informal (Panel 1) and formal (Panel 2) sectors across the five different models.

Figure 3. Impact of correlates on the returns to education



Stability of the Returns to Education

The models estimate the impact of women's education on employment, net of classic controls added sequentially. The models progress from the simplest to the most complex as additional sets of controls are considered (Figure 3). Therefore, they reflect the stability of the education effect (Panel 1) as other influential factors are considered. The stability of the education effect (averaged across all countries under each regime) within the informal and formal labor market is shown in Panels 1 and 2 respectively (Figure 3). Model 1 under Panel 1 reveals a large gross effect of education (i.e. adjusting for the most basic correlates only) on informal work (odds ratio = 1.29). However, as one moves through the models from left to right with adjustments for additional sets of correlates, the impact of education declines substantially. Indeed, in

the final model (Model 5) where unmeasured factors are controlled for, the net education effect becomes negative (odds ratio = 0.98). Although these findings refer to regime 1, where the education effect is highly significant for all countries, similar shrinking in the education effect is visible across the remaining three regimes.

On the other hand, within the formal sector, the employment returns to education generally increase with model complexity under all the regimes (Appendix Table 2: Panel 2). The only exception to this is regime 1, where the effect of education drops in intensity. This suggests that the actual education effect would be masked if these correlates were excluded from the analyses. In other words, excluding important correlates would make it difficult to isolate the actual education effect from other effects. The section that follows goes beyond regime to country level, to examine in greater detail the education effect in terms of direction of association and its significance to employment.

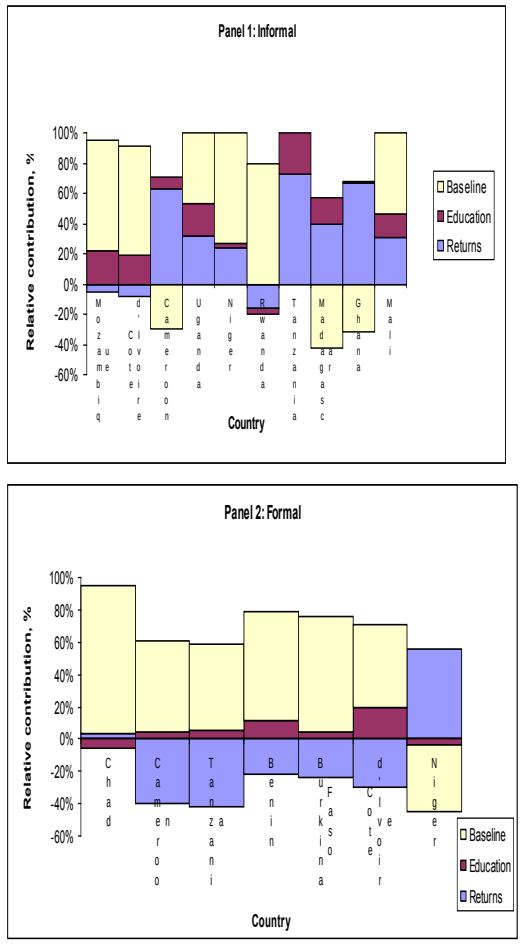
Micro-level Associations

Recall that the net or final effects of education are determined for the most recent country surveys only, and are based on the estimates from the fixed effects modeling of unmeasured factors given in Model 5 (Appendix Table 2: Panels 1 and 2). In ten out of the 20 countries studied (50 percent of the sample), the net effect of education in the informal sector is significant, suggesting its relevance to women's informal work (Panel 1). Half of these countries fall under regime 1 and are in the early stages of their educational and employment transitions, with the remaining half spread across the remaining three regimes: Senegal under regime 2; Cameroon and Zambia under regime 3; Ghana and Kenya under regime 4. Even as education is relevant in these countries, substantial heterogeneity is discernible, with the effect being positive in some countries (Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mozambique, Cameroon, and Kenya) and negative in others (Ethiopia, Rwanda, Senegal, Zambia, and Ghana). This further emphasizes the internal heterogeneity among countries. For the remaining 50 percent of the countries sampled under regimes 2 through 4, the effect of education is non-significant, meaning that education is unrelated to women's informal economic activity.

With respect to the formal sector, Appendix Table 2 (Panel 2) shows that the impact of education, the net of correlates, is significant and generally positive in eight countries, which comprise 40 percent of the sample (Mozambique, Rwanda, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, and Senegal). The net education effect is more pronounced in countries under regime 2, marked by low education and high employment, followed by countries symbolized by low education and low employment. For the rest of the sample (regimes 3 and 4), the net education effect is non-significant, meaning education is unrelated to women's formal labor force participation.

In sum, based on the multivariate micro-level results, education appears to be important for informal labor force status in the initial stages of the transition, although its effect appears to be conditioned by recent histories of political and civil unrest (Ethiopia and Rwanda [see regime 1 under Appendix Table 2: Panel 1]). As countries progress in their transitions, the education effect on informal as well as formal employment generally wanes and becomes more pronounced within the formal sector. This ties in with what is known in developing country settings: education, net of influential factors, is critical to formal work. given the domain's greater skill requirements and regulatory nature relative to the informal sector.

Figure 4. Components of gains in women's labor force participation



While these net effects consider influential correlates and are insightful, the effects are periodic[43] in nature. Therefore, they cannot account for historical trends. Furthermore, they reflect absolute effects and do not tell us the relative contribution of education to women's changing labor force participation. The components of these changes were determined through decomposition techniques with the findings presented below.

Decomposition Results[44]

Figure 4 shows the relative contribution of education to changes in women's informal (Panel 1) and formal (Panel 2) labor force participation. Recall that in each sector the components of change were derived from the effects of education, returns to education, and the baseline. The baseline component comprises of factors not included in the regression, essentially, the residual. Therefore, it reflects country-specific socio-economic processes not associated with education, but with generalized social change. Comparing the relative contributions of these components allows one to assess the merit of the human capital thesis as it relates to contemporary changes in women's labor force participation. Countries[1] are grouped according to whether they registered a gain or reversal in women's labor force participation probabilities in the past 15 years. The detailed results (predicted change in labor force participation and the relative components) are presented for the informal (Appendix Table 3a) and formal (Appendix Table 3b) occupational sectors. To facilitate comparison, results are presented visually in Figure 4: Panels 1 and 2.

Components of the Gains in Labor Force Participation

Women's informal labor force participation increased in ten countries, and, in six of these (Mozambique, Cote d'Ivoire, Uganda, Niger, Rwanda, Mali), the baseline component proves to be the dominant factor behind the changes, as evidenced by the height of the bars (Figure 4: Panel 1). The employment returns to education component is the main force driving the gains in 4 countries only (Cameroon, Tanzania, Madagascar, and Ghana). Except for Ghana, which is in later stages, these countries are midway in their educational employment transitions. Thus, while other socio-economic factors mostly explain the gains in informal participation, the returns to education are important in some contexts. The limited role of employment returns to education in the informal sector, suggested by the bivariate trends (Figure 2) and the net results (Figure 3), is confirmed only partially by the decomposition results. Even more striking is the impact of the baseline on changes within the formal realm (Figure 4: Panel 2). Out of the six countries where women have made strides in this domain, the baseline component is

the overriding factor in five countries. Niger is the only country where returns to education have been driving the gains in formal labor force participation.

Components of the Reversals in Labor Force Participation

Women's informal labor force participation declined in eight countries (Appendix Table 3a), while formal labor force participation declined in 12 countries (Appendix Table 3b) in the period studied. With a few exceptions, the baseline component is the main factor driving these reversals within both the informal and formal sectors. How does the informal sector compare with the formal sector in terms of these processes? First, women's prospects of participating in the formal sector have been much lower as evidenced by the lower predicted labor force participation. The smaller proportion of countries registering gains within this sector (47 percent) compared with the informal one (56 percent) is not encouraging.

Summary and Discussion

The cross-sectional examination shows a weak effect of education on informal activity and a stronger effect on formal work, suggesting that education enhances women's access to the formal sector. These findings are not alarming and support human capital expectations. However, a historical assessment of trends in this relationship refutes the above cross-sectional evidence and counters theoretical predictions. *More education has not led to more labor force participation since the 1990s*. This is particularly so in the formal sector, where human capital is deemed to be more relevant and capable of uplifting economic wellbeing. These historical findings are striking and challenging international development efforts at promoting economic gender equality and eliminating poverty.[45] Similarly, African countries have converged in returns to women's education in the informal sector in the period investigated but have diverged substantially in the effect of education on access to the formal labor market. Such evidence fits quite neatly with emerging macro-level evidence on the growing socio-economic inequality among African countries.[46] The results, therefore, warrant differentiation between informal and formal occupations in studying women's economic activity.

The study finds employment returns to education to be stronger and generally positive within the formal sector, while a weaker relationship and greater variation in its direction is observed for the less regulated informal domain. This agrees with the cross-sectional association in Figure 1 as well as human capital arguments. The findings are also consistent with Schultz (1990), who noted that informal labor markets

become more formal with development. Beyond occupational sector, prevailing employment opportunities are critical and facilitate women's employment prospects. A combination of low education and low employment opportunities enhances the effect of education on informal work, while access to formal work is determined by a combination of low and high employment opportunities. This dependence on the stage of transition signals the presence of some element of competition. Under enabling contexts, such as those marked by low education and high employment opportunities, the few educated women are able to obtain formal employment. As the transition progresses and women gain more education, as depicted in contexts of high education and high employment, as well as high education and low employment, the formal labor market becomes saturated, limiting further entry. Women begin to be funneled into the less profitable sectors as shown by the results in Appendix Table 2: Panel 1 (regimes 3 and 4). Thus, evidence from the most recent surveys indicates that the education effect depends not only on occupational sector, but also on the stage of the education/employment transition, particularly in terms of prevailing employment structures and opportunities.

The decomposition findings give the components of the observed change in women's employment. Results confirm the growing importance of other socio-economic processes in defining women's formal labor force experience, as Figure 3 on the stability of the education variable illustrates. Countering human capital predictions, education per se or the employment returns to education. within both the informal and formal domain, is generally unrelated to the observed changes in women's employment. Surprisingly, the evidence is even stronger with respect to the more formalized sector, where progress in women's education is presumed to pay off. In five countries (Cameroon, Tanzania, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire), the employment returns to education component falls under the negative axis, further confirming the negligible impact of education relative to country-specific factors on labor market trends. Indeed, in several countries (Cameroon, Tanzania, Madagascar, Ghana), women's education has been channeling them less towards the formal sector and more towards the less profitable informal sector.

The findings suggest that sub-Saharan women have not been reaping the benefits to their education, and, by extension, not fully enjoying the anticipated economic wellbeing from such education. This is consistent with the revisionist claims made in Asia questioning the role of education as a force for economic wellbeing and social status.

While the estimation of the specific enabling socio-economic processes is beyond the purview of this paper, plausible factors are identifiable from the micro-level multivariate analysis and the decomposition exercise. The micro-level evidence shows that education

is critical for access to employment, especially for formal work in the initial stages of the education and employment transitions, but that education is unrelated to employment in countries that are more advanced in their transitions. This is especially reflected in the varying employment outcomes under different labor market regimes (Appendix table 2). The decomposition results (Panel 2 in Figure 4) show that countries in their infant stage of the education and employment transition have generally been driving the gains in formal employment on the continent, providing additional support from the micro-level findings. Thus, the two sets of findings (micro-level and decomposition) are complementary. Together they refine our understanding of women's evolving employment behavior and the context of economic structures and opportunities within which they seek reward for their education.

Such evidence points to labor market saturation influenced by the expansion in education, growing populations, and stalling economic progress, but also to hindering socio-cultural norms or discrimination. With the onset of fertility transitions in SSA, the region is perhaps faced with its largest youthful population ever. Thus, the limited role of education on women's economic prospects can be tied to national economic factors and the enormous challenge of providing jobs for mushrooming young populations. As fertility transitions become more insidious and the population momentum wanes, a window of demographic dividends opens up that can be tapped to enhance employment opportunities. Two visible signs in this direction include gradual declines in 1) the proportion of young populations from 27 percent in 1990 to fewer than 26 percent in 2005 and 2) total dependency ratio from 92 to 81 between 1990 and 2005.[47] With labor market growth and economic progress, women's employment prospects can be expected to improve. Yet, whether and how such demographic dividends bear economic and social dividends for women and resonate positively with the paper's title, "Learning to Labor," will not be a given. It will depend not only on enabling national environments, typified by effective and efficient educational and economic policies, but also on how accepting and resilient a society becomes to women's evolving roles in a changing Africa.

Conclusion and Policy Directions

Conclusion

This paper investigated the changes in women's labor force participation and the relative contribution of the educational transition to these changes, distinguishing between informal and formal participation. Several important points, unclear until now, have emerged.

First, findings do not support the human capital arguments.

Changes in women's employment, especially in the formal sphere, have not mirrored gains in human capital. Progress in women's access to the labor market has not been due to their education, but rather due to facilitative local socio-economic processes. Such context-related findings are overlooked by cross-sectional evidence and emphasize the continued use of historical data for greater precision.

Second, even where education is important, it is contingent on the stage of educational and employment transitions. It is only relevant in countries in the early stages and unrelated to employment as the transitions progress. In some instances, the informal sector turns out to be the employer of last resort, as women become more educated.

Third, an important finding is that the processes shaping women's current labor force status, as well as changes in status, differ markedly between the informal and formal labor market, underlining the need to make the distinction in such studies.

Fourth, the findings defy the popular notion of SSA as a homogeneous body. Evidence on the unevenness among African countries in terms of their educational and employment transitions, as well as the defining features of women's economic behavior, runs throughout the entire analyses.

Fifth, failure to account for unmeasured or unobserved factors in analyzing women's employment behavior biases outcomes.

Research and Policy Directions

For sustainability, wide-ranging and reinforcing policies, rather than unidirectional educational policies, should be emphasized. Given the observed heterogeneity of African educational and employment transitions and the dominant role of socio-economic forces, policies should be tailored to the individual country contexts, focusing specifically on prevailing labor market regimes. Finally, the increasing significance of education in the less profitable informal sector raises concerns about the extent to which education can lift women out of economic deprivation. Policies designed for equity and poverty elimination, therefore, must recognize the inherent differences between women's informal and formal worlds of work, particularly with respect to enhancing profitability of the informal sector, while at the same time enhancing greater access to formal sector occupations.

Future Work

The findings that local socio-economic processes, rather than education, have been the main factors behind women's employment behavior underline the importance of looking to alternative sources of women's

changing economic behavior. Future analyses, therefore, will explore the creations of this behavior, focusing on demographic, community, and macro-factors through a comparison of historical micro- and macro-level data. Future studies will also analyze qualitative data to complement the quantitative findings.

Appendix Table 3a. Decomposition results for the relative contributions of education to changes in women's employment, DHS countries in sub-Saharan Africa

				Predicted Employment Probabilities						
				Overall			% of total change associated with			
Countries		Average sample size		lst	2nd	%age Change		Baseline	Education	Returns
Registered reversals in employment										
Burkina Faso	*6354*	*9416*	*12477*	0.879	0.263	-0.62	-3.014	100	4	-4
Zambia	*7059*	*7359*	*7658*	0.247	0.137	-0.11	-0.724	128	-7	-21
Kenya	*7540*	*7868*	*8195*	0.376	0.254	-0.12	-0.572	236	-3	-133
Chad	*7454*	*6770*	*6085*	0.395	0.275	-0.12	-0.544	107	-48	41
Zimbabwe	*6128*	*6018*	*5907*	0.272	0.191	-0.08	-0.455	6	-23	117
Namibia	*5421*	*6088*	*6755*	0.208	0.148	-0.06	-0.412	15	-2	87
Ethiopia	*15367*	*14719*	*14070*	0.269	0.196	-0.07	-0.411	141	-21.145	-19.483
Benin	*5491*	*5855*	*6219*	0.652	0.597	-0.05	-0.234	230	-47	-83
	60814	**64090**	67366							
	Average			0.39	0.25	-36.18	-0.85	124.96	-17.15	-7.80
Registered gains in employment										
Mali	*9704*	*11277*	*12849*	0.343	0.386	0.04	0.186	54	15	31
Ghana	*9405*	*7548*	*5691*	0.436	0.485	0.05	0.194	-89	2	187
Madagascar	*6255*	*7102*	*7949*	0.334	0.392	0.06	0.253	-286	121	265
Tanzania	*9238*	*9784*	*10329*	0.083	0.111	0.03	0.318	0.149	27.361	72.490
Rwanda	*6551*	*8486*	*10421*	0.026	0.037	0.01	0.375	133.763	-7.341	-26.422
Niger	*6503*	*7040*	*7577*	0.271	0.367	0.10	0.445	73	3	24
Uganda	*7070*	*7158*	*7245*	0.135	0.204	0.07	0.495	47	21	32
Cameroon	*3871*	*7264*	*10656*	0.201	0.304	0.10	0.554	-73	17	156
Cote d'Ivoire	*8099*	*5570*	*3040*	0.420	0.572	0.15	0.614	88	23	-10
Mozambique	*8779*	*10599*	*12418*	0.079	0.169	0.09	0.868	81	24	-6
	141780	**151770**	161760							
	Average			0.07	0.10	32.01	0.23	4.70	12.69	36.52
Total sample	278069	**297685**	317301							
				AVERAGE	0.31	0.26	-15.03	-0.05	0.28	0.02	0.02
					0.39	0.21	-45.85				

Appendix Table 3b. Decomposition results for the relative contributions of education to changes in women's employment, DHS countries in sub-Saharan Africa

Countries and types	Average sample size			Predicted Employment Probabilities: Formal 1st	Formal 2nd	Formal %age Change	Total change in employment (logits)	% of total change associated with: Baseline	Education	Returns
Registered gains in employment										
Chad	*7454*	*6770*	*6085*	0.028	0.204	0.18	2.198	102	-6	4
Cameroon	*3871*	*7264*	*10656*	0.032	0.102	0.07	1.237	269	20	-189
Tanzania	*9238*	*9784*	*10329*	0.048	0.130	0.08	1.078	317.23574	30.357	-247.592
Benin	*5491*	*5855*	*6219*	0.065	0.168	0.10	1.061	117	20	-37
Burkina Faso	*6354*	*9416*	*12477*	0.020	0.055	0.03	1.023	137.78196	7.517	-45.299
Cote d'Ivoire	*8099*	*5570*	*3040*	0.053	0.088	0.03	0.541	124	48	-72
Niger	*6503*	*7040*	*7577*	0.299	0.313	0.01	0.065	-381	-33	514
	47010	*51697*	**56383**							
	Average			0.08	0.14	84.25	1.04	111.01	12.08	-23.09
Registered reversals in employment										
Mozambique	*8779*	*10599*	*12418*	0.111	0.000	-0.11	-11.022	97	-1	4
Madagascar	*6255*	*7102*	*7949*	0.533	0.029	-0.50	-3.628	59	5	36
Ethiopia	*15367*	*14719*	*14070*	0.378	0.114	-0.26	-1.553	107	0.675	-7.377
Zimbabwe	*6128*	*6018*	*5907*	0.205	0.054	-0.15	-1.503	85	6	9
Uganda	*7070*	*7158*	*7245*	0.246	0.080	-0.17	-1.322	157	4	-61
Zambia	*7059*	*7359*	*7658*	0.127	0.049	-0.08	-1.051	107	11.360	-18.624
Rwanda	*6551*	*8486*	*10421*	0.313	0.151	-0.16	-0.939	294	-4	-190
Kenya	*7540*	*7868*	*8195*	0.098	0.042	-0.06	-0.915	731	-53	-578
Mali	*9704*	*11277*	*12849*	0.244	0.141	-0.10	-0.676	121	2	-23
Namibia	*5421*	*6088*	*6755*	0.055	0.040	-0.01	-0.319	-644	-96	840
Ghana	*9405*	*7548*	*5691*	0.210	0.192	-0.02	-0.113	-362	4	458
Senegal	*6310*	*10456*	*14602*	0.148	0.140	-0.01	-0.065	91	-75	84
	95589	*104675*	**113760**							
	Average			0.23	0.09	-61.51	-2.08	89.33	-15.13	25.80
Total sample	189609	**208068**	226526							
			AVERAGE	0.18	0.11	-41.07	-0.69	28.61	-0.28	-10.69
				0.56	0.42	-25.76				

Fatou Jah is a PhD candidate in Demography and Population in the Department of Development Sociology at Cornell University. Broadly, her research examines the relationship between socio-economic changes (educational and demographic transitions), cultural change, and inequality in developing countries, particularly in the course of Africa's Development. *I thank Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue for his useful comments but errors remain mine.*

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[30] Countries selected and according to sub-region included in West Africa: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal; Central Africa: Cameroon and Chad; East Africa: Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe; and Southern Africa: Namibia.

[31] Overall employment is measured dichotomously by current paid activity in any sector with engagement in agricultural activity or unpaid family-work as the reference category.

[32] Skilled employment is also measured dichotomously by the proportion of employed women in professional, technical, and managerial, as well as in skilled manual work. Thus, conditional on being employed, this outcome models skilled participation activity against all other non-agricultural participation.

[33] A finer distinction between occupation sectors is desirable, particularly within formal and informal sectors given women's over-representation in the latter sector, but the occupation classification adopted by the DHS precludes such level of distinction.

[34] These include four variables that measure whether (1) the respondent has one or more births in the preceding year before the survey, (2) other female adults are present in the household, (3) she is the wife of the household head, and (4) she resides in an urban versus rural setting. The first variable is expected to create competing demands on women's time while the second is likely to free up women's time from household and child care activities for paid work outside the home. Being the wife of the household head can be a deterrent for outside work because of increased household demands on her time as well as greater husband's disinclinations toward wife's public activity. Finally, women's economic gains and well-being accruing from education will likely depend on community-level employment opportunities. While urban settings generally offer greater work opportunities than rural ones, residence in an urban location can reduce potential household help and childcare from extended kin. This correlate is therefore expected to capture community or structural effects that may bear on women's labor force participation.

[35] The first two considers the educational level of respondent's husband and the second considers the work status of respondent's spouse. Both variables can work in either direction, positive or negative. They can act as deterrent/ disincentives to women's work where spouse's educational and occupational status is high enough to provide for family economic needs. But they can also result in spouse's greater openness to women's changing family and economic roles and therefore support wife's economic activity. The third

control, whether respondent's spouse resides with her, is expected to reduce economic constraints on the woman. The fourth correlate is family socio-economic standing, measured by a socio-economic index derived from a factor analysis of aggregated household amenities and assets. An inverse association is presumed to exist between the index and informal employment in situations where returns to human capital are low. Contrastingly, high family status is presumed to be influential in women's access to prestigious or formal occupations.

[36] The two cultural variables, respondent's ideal number of children and her approval of family planning, are intended to capture changing perceptions.

[37] $CV2 \approx [\sum_{i} P \ (1-r)^2]$
Where (what goes here?) refers to individual countries, pi denotes sample size of country surveys, and r reflects the ratio of country sample size to total sub-Saharan sample size (summed up from country samples sizes).

[38] Equation 1: $\text{Log } (P/1-P) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 H + \beta_2 D + \beta_3 E + \beta_4 C + \varepsilon$
where P/1-P is the odds that a woman (i) is employed versus unemployed; β_0 estimates the baseline; $\beta_1 H$ is the parameter estimating her human capital; $\beta_2 D$ is the parameter estimating her demographic characteristics; $\beta_3 E$, the parameter estimating her economic constraints; $\beta_4 C$, the parameter estimating her cultural attributes; and ε, the estimated fixed cluster effects.

[39] The PHREG procedure under SAS (see Allison, 1995 below) controls for unobserved heterogeneity, including fixed effects of community. It also permits a comparison of the ordinary regression estimates with the PHREG estimates to establish the extent to which failure to adjust for unobserved effects can influence the substantive conclusions of the study.
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[40] Equation 2: $LFP \approx \exp(\alpha + BX) / [1 + \exp(\alpha + BX)]$
where LFP is the predicted employment probabilities; α is the baseline coefficient; and BX is the parameter of the independent variables included in the decomposition.

[41] The decomposition was adapted from Firebaugh, G. and B. Goesling, "Accounting for the Recent Decline in Global Income Inequality," *American Journal of Sociology* 110(2):283-312, 2004.

[42] Equation 3: $\Delta LFP \approx [\sum \Delta\alpha^* E] + [[\sum \Delta E^* \alpha]$
where ΔLFP is the change in employment between the two periods; $\Delta\alpha$ is the change in the baseline component; and ΔE is the change in the education component.

[43]The paper attempted quantifying changes in the net returns to education but abandoned the idea because of incomplete data for several countries in the earlier surveys. Thus, the net employment returns generated are from the final surveys only (Figure 3).

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The Immigration-National Security Nexus:
Immigration in Contemporary France

Charity J. Tubalado

ABSTRACT:
Immigration in the United States at a national level has been recently associated with Homeland Security rather than social policy. This article seeks to examine the effects of immigration on governments and on societies when immigration becomes a threat to national security. Knowing the major threats caused by immigration can help to formulate better immigration policy. This paper seeks to examine whether immigration has a greater effect on the security of the government or on the stability of society. It observes the effects of immigration using the methods and points of view from two different paradigms in the field of International Security: Conventional Security Studies and the Copenhagen School. The latter school of thought, the Copenhagen School, argues that immigration is a matter of societal security, while the former, Conventional Security Studies, argues that immigration is a matter of national security (i.e. the security of the state). This article uses four case studies in France: the 2005 riots, the 1981 Lyon riots, the 2000 Strasbourg bomb plot, and the 1995 Paris bombings. It concludes that viewing immigration only through the lens of national security eliminates the important impacts that immigration leaves on the security of society as a whole, and consequently ignores important social effects.

In the United States, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security reveals a certain emphasis on the national security aspect of immigration. The Department of Homeland Security is responsible for domestic security from terrorism as well as natural disasters. This organization, in charge of domestic defense, absorbed several key entities dealing with immigration: the Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, the Transportation Security Administration, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, and the U.S. Coast Guard. The essential purpose of this structure of organization was ensuring national security by protecting U.S. borders from terrorists. While it seems politically viable for the U.S. Government to justify strict border controls on the grounds of national security, it is far more difficult for politicians to openly justify such policies on the grounds that a large influx of immigrants threaten the culture and stability of American society.

National security, as defined here, concerns the protection of the state as an entity, the government and its stability, its military defense, and most importantly state sovereignty. Societal security concerns the stability of the society within a state and its cohesiveness. While a threat to national security may be an invasion of one state into another, such as the invasion of Poland by Germany during World War II, a threat to societal security may be racial tension, such as the Los Angeles Watts Riots in the 1960's.

This article is an effort to address the immigration-security nexus. I argue that immigration is not a significant issue to the conventional notion of 'national security' or the security of the government and its existence. When immigration causes conditions of insecurity within a country, the victim of this insecurity is society, immigrants and non-immigrants alike.[1] Governments should institute more social policies dealing with the insecurity caused by immigration, rather than solely relying on border controls. It is simply not enough to pass social immigration policies to the hinterlands of national security policies because this would mean only addressing one very small aspect of immigration. Moreover, treating immigration as a social issue, in turn, addresses the national security aspect of immigration by incorporating immigrants into society and removing a potential threat. As such, immigration policy is social policy.

Careful examination of contemporary events in France leads to the conclusion that by emphasizing aspects of national security, analysts and policymakers fail to perceive and may consequently fail to address the severe impacts of immigration on societal security. By confronting the hard-core security issues in this paper, in the realms of International Relations and International Security, I seek to prove a stronger point by taking a more difficult route. I make observations on immigration and security using the methodological approaches and views of two schools of thought in the field of International Relations. I compare the relative merits of each school of thought in explaining immigration and security.

The Dialogue in International Security

There are two schools of thoughts currently involved in a dialogue about international security: the Realism approach, and the Copenhagen School of International Security or the Constructivist approach. I choose to explore events that are manifestations of insecurity caused by immigration through four case studies.[2] Using a Realist approach, I examine these conditions of insecurity by looking at the actors and the nature of the action. Using the Constructivist approach of the Copenhagen School, I examine the discourse created by these conditions, specifically the discourse of the mainstream media.[3]

Insecurity is not always inextricably linked to the state, as Realists would contend. *Security* should not always be coupled with the concept of '*national' security,* or in other words, the security of the state alone. For instance, the political discourse rarely links national security to the actors and actions involved in conditions of insecurity created by immigration. The political discourse rests in the realm of the threat posed against society.

Conventional security studies, particularly the paradigm of the Realism approach, focus on the state and military defense as the referential object of security.[4] Survival of state sovereignty is "the common understanding of the term 'national security.'"[5] Therefore, if immigration is a threat to security, then it threatens the physical security of the state. The Realism approach "emphasizes the need to tighten up territorial borders and to fight illegal immigration."[6] No distinction is made between illegal immigrants, refugees, and those seeking asylum because "they are third-country nationals whose entry into the state's territory must be controlled for the sake of internal security and stability."[7]

The key words in the Realist discourse about security would include military defense, border controls, state sovereignty, power, and national interest. Therefore according to Realist logic, if immigration is truly a threat to national security, observation of the insecure conditions created by immigration should reveal a heavy threat against the state and its institutions, but more importantly, its sovereignty. Moreover, discourse makes linkages between the actors and actions of the conditions of insecurity to notions of the threat to state sovereignty, as well as the threat of the state's physical existence and the threat against government institutions. On the contrary, immigration may not pose a grave threat to the physical security of a state, its existence, or its political sovereignty, but rather, may threaten societal stability within the state - an issue that conventional security studies fails to fully address. For example, when immigrants migrate to France while France continues to face problems of integrating a multitude of these immigrants into French society, the immigrants, including their French-born children, become marginalized from French society. Thus, even as second generation immigrants, they continue to maintain a separate identity from the notion of 'French' identity. The second generation then finds itself caught in between identities because they are considered neither French nor 'other.'

Furthermore, one must consider what happens if this lack of integration turns into complete alienation from society. This alienation can breed an identity hostile to French identity. These migrants, or their children, may act out their frustration through open acts of violence, which can destabilize society.[8] Immigration can also threaten security when immigrants enter the country with a political agenda, an extreme

case being terrorists. In this case, these immigrants would threaten societal security by destabilizing society through violent means.

The Copenhagen School answers questions about immigration that conventional security does not and cannot. In this approach, the insecurity conditions create societal destabilization and loss of identity. This school asserts that "[t]he capacity of social, economic, political, and administrative institutions to integrate large numbers of immigrants, and the resistance of some immigrant communities to assimilation, affects the stability of society and therefore the ability of receiving states' governments to govern", such as the influx of immigration in France.[9] Hence, the referent object of security "is not the state—as either the government or a territorial entity – but the shared identity which constitutes a common social 'we".[10] Moreover, there are "less common" migration-security concerns that are military problems, such as terrorist activities.[11] In fact, France has experienced all these conditions of insecurity, which the Copenhagen school thoroughly maps out.

The Copenhagen perspective allows the study of a particular "insecurity condition" tied to identity.[12] According to the school, one aspect "that contributes greatly to societal insecurity is the perception of citizens that their state and society have become much more open to foreigners of all sorts, and that they no longer have the firmly bound quality that formerly seemed to be the case."[13] Another form of insecurity results from the "multifarious social changes" associated with immigration, such as crime, unemployment, etc.[14] Most notable are the distinct cultural, linguistic, and religious identities immigrants hold. Identity is important because the "slip from self / other relations to friend / enemy questions, defines security policy and also seems to play an important role in the construction of the political identity of the state."[15] Author Huysmans illustrates immigrants as the figure of "enemies," who "are clear threats located outside a state, even if they are territorially inside, they are externalized in terms of membership."[16]

In the Copenhagen approach, security discourse includes keywords such as identity, culture, language, social change, society, and self versus the other. The image or word of "immigrant" receives a negative connotation when it is linked to threats against society, images of societal instability, hostility, and more importantly, antagonistic identities. Therefore according to the logic of the Copenhagen school, if immigration is a threat to societal security, then immigration threatens societal stability and identity. Moreover, the discourse makes linkages between the actors that are involved under the conditions of insecurity and their actions, identity and societal instability.

Case Selection

I have chosen some pivotal events from each case study because they are a manifestation of an insecurity condition related to immigration. I chose events that created national security discourse, which labeled immigration as a type of threat that reflected either a Realist or Critical Security logic. The discourse on immigration as a type of threat is already present, which is why examining the dialogues is important. The point is to examine the nature of the threat and how it relates to security. What kind of insecurity condition does each selected event create? What is the nature of the discourse?

The first question is why did I choose France? In relative terms, "the developed world has been far more affected by immigration."[17] France, a developed country, represented the circumstances in which immigration posed a threat to both the state and society and had been a significant political issue. For instance, since the 1980s, there has been a rich discourse on the issue of immigration in France, which has returned to the public eye due to recent political events.[18] Additionally, France has always served "as the iconic republican model of national identity…universalistic and homogenizing,"[19] and within this "iconic republic model," evidence shows that there is a growing alienation amongst the immigrant populations and their children.[20]

The time period from which events are chosen begins in the 1980s and ends with important events in 2005. The 1980s is an important time period to start because prevailing literature on immigration acknowledges this time as the start of the focus on the condition of immigrants in France and their effects within and upon French society.[21] More importantly, the 1980s were the beginning of movements of collective action within immigrant communities, such as the Beur movement.[22] After having narrowed down the period and the time period of comparison, the next step was to explain the choice of events. To demonstrate events closely related to national security, I chose events of terrorism because they can be attributed to political radicalism. This set of events has the propensity to fall under the category of state security. As a contrast, I chose a second set of events that tended to be considered more as social issues. I chose events that caused public unrest within immigrant population of France, which are considered more of a threat against society.

The first case study is on the 1981 riots in the suburbs of Lyon called "Les Minguettes". The second case study is the 1995 metro bombings in Paris, allegedly carried out by the Le Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA), an Algerian Islamic fundamentalist group. The third case study is the discovery of a bomb plot, purportedly planned by Algerians or French-Algerians in Strasbourg in December 2000. The final case study is based on the recent rioting that broke out in suburbs in Paris and spread throughout the country in 2005.

All of these case studies involve immigrants or their children. The children of immigrants born in France are technically not immigrants themselves. However, I included them in the immigrant population because in the cases of public unrest, the collective action of this large minority became a threat. This minority still holds "grievances, real or imagined" about social and economic disparities, etc.[23] This choice of events confronts Realist logic in that the source of the threat is not coming from immigration flows into a state, but rather, an immigration condition bred within the state. All of these case studies are an indication, or rather a manifestation, of an insecurity condition that has threatened French security.

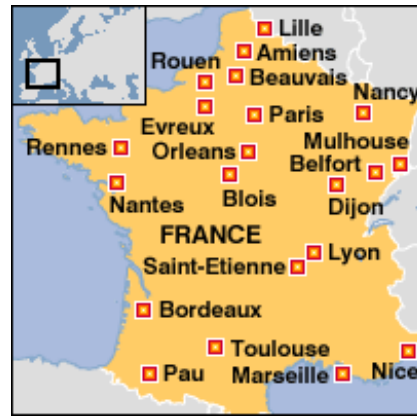
Examining the discourse of the French media and important French political figures and policymakers, it was necessary to limit the amount of discourse studied due to the nature of this article.[24] Therefore, I limit my study of discourse to the two main sources of news in the country: *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*. I do not find this problematic to my analysis because of a phenomenon that occurs in the French media and realms of policy called, "la pensée unique", or, according to John R. Bowen, "a single way of thinking."[25]

France 2005: "Riots" in the 'Banlieues'

This case study deals with a succession of events that occurred in an almost two-month period between October and November 2005 in France. First, I assess the event through the Realist approach, which means that I evaluate the actors and actions that cause the insecurity condition. Realists are concerned with border control, the political agenda of allowing immigrants to enter, and most importantly the affect of immigration on state sovereignty. Who are the actors? How did they enter the country? What is the nature of the insecurity condition, the extent of violent behavior and the locations of violence throughout the state? After assessing the Realist's concerns, I begin to analyze the media discourse surrounding the event. Does the media discourse reflect concerns of national security or the deeper notion of societal security?

In this case study, one event was a catalyst that sparked a series of violent actions. On October 27, 2005, in the Parisian suburb, or 'Banlieue' of Clichy-Sous-Bois, two young boys, Zyed Benna and Bouna Traore were electrocuted after climbing into an electrical sub-station while being chased by the police. News of their death sparked 'violent actions' in Clichy-Sous-Bois, which resulted in the burning of 15 cars. Clichy-Sous-Bois is a suburb with large numbers of immigrants from North Africa. The violent action was so extensive that local authorities were given 'emergency powers' to impose curfews and restrict people's movements. On November 3, 2005, the violent actions spread beyond Paris and into other immigrant-populated suburbs in France.

Figure 1 (Source: bbc.co.uk) Areas which were the most affected by the violent actions.



The areas shown in Figure 1 are all major cities in France with suburbs where large immigrant communities live. Most of the violent actions took place in these suburbs, with the exception of Lyon, where rioting reached the city center on November 12, 2005. BBC news listed "key flashpoints," which illustrate the types of violent actions: general rioting, car burning, gunshots fired against the police, destruction of public transportation, destruction of schools and other public buildings, and the use of petrol bombs. The amount of violence peaked on the night of November 6, 2005, when 1,408 vehicles were burnt on the single night, resulting in 395 arrests.[26] The total number of burnt vehicles, from the beginning of the events (October 28) to the final day (November 17) was 9,193. A total number of 2,921 police questionings took place following the events. Each night, on average, more than 11,000 policemen were deployed throughout France and about 90 cars were burned.[27] A total number of 56 police officers were injured. The cost of the damage throughout France totaled around 200 million euros. Furthermore, 75 to 80 percent of the people questioned in relation to the violent acts were known criminals with records for illegal activities prior the events in October and November.[28]

Thus, the nature of this long series of events is quite serious. The actors who promulgated the violence were the residents of major 'banlieues', or suburbs. More notably, the actors were mainly youths between the ages of 12 to 25 years.[29] Half of the people arrested were younger than 18 years of age.[30] The actors were not immigrants who had recently migrated into the state with a political agenda. Instead, they were the children of immigrants. The insecurity condition could not have been prevented by stricter border control because the actors were either born or raised within the sovereign state of France.

The death of two members of one community mobilized large groups

of this migrant community into action. The violence was destructive as a result of the large numbers of people involved, not because the actors had significant military or political capabilities. The violence was directed against private property (i.e., cars), but also notably against public and state institutions (i.e., schools, government agencies, police officers).[31] Large parts of major cities experienced different forms of violent unrest. Looking back on Figure 1, this episode of violent behavior by the youths spread throughout the entire sovereign state. Despite the widespread violence and the incredible amount of destruction, only the interior police were brought to duty.

The mainstream media discourse found in *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* was dominated by concerns of society and identity. Certain articles did reveal facts and figures about the amount of violence, the areas of violence, and the numbers of police officers sent to each area, as general news does. Nevertheless, certain phrases and notions were recycled repeatedly by the press and politicians, such as President Jacques Chirac, Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy, and Minister of Social Integration, Azouz Begag: the actors of the threat were characterized as "youths of the suburbs,"[32]"children of foreigners,"[33] "sons and daughters of immigrants,"[34] "youth in social rupture,"[35] and "minorities." Notably, President Chirac referred to them as "sons and daughters of the Republic whatever their origins are."[36] In the November 6, 2005, issue of *Le Monde*, perpetrators of the violent acts were referred to as "our neighbors." Nicolas Sarkozy was highly criticized for calling them "une racaille", or a rabble, or riffraff[37]. Thus, one can see a dynamic distance between "us" and "them", which set the youth in a separate social category, whether purposefully or not, and continues to set them apart as immigrants.

The description of the insecurity condition (the violent unrest, or violent actions) is more interesting. Issues of identity and society once again dominate the discourse. A few articles referred to internal security, but only in reference to the safety within the suburbs and necessary police numbers. Interestingly, in the November 6, 2005, issue of *Le Monde*, a French official stated that the movement was directed against institutions of the Republic, while the November 7, 2005, issue of *Le Figaro* mentioned the "powerlessness of the French government."[38] Furthermore, phrases such as "urban guerillas,"[39] "street delinquency,"[40] and "urban violence"[41] were used to describe the events.

Much of the discourse focused on the social malaise confined in the suburbs. Articles also spoke frequently of "the ills of French society,"[42] "integration,"[43] "a threatened society,"[44] "crisis of identity,"[45]profound malaise, discrimination, naturalization, unemployment, the failure of the French model of integration, and marginalization. Some of the harsher statements called discrimination "the poison for society."[46] Sarkozy was particularly harsh in describing the suburbs as "gangrene"

that must be "eradicated."[47] These are all the conditions and descriptions associated with the events. These are all different ways of focusing on the implications these events have on society.

In realist terms, the actors of this movement are not powerful enough to provide a direct threat against the existence of the French state, yet the amount of destruction (to property) that they caused was enormous. Their actions were not planned nor highly coordinated. They had no military capabilities. The violent actions mostly involved arson, although some actors had small guns and petrol bombs. Thus, the insecurity condition does not constitute a direct threat to national security. Nevertheless, state institutions were still affected by the violence. These findings show that society carried the burden of the threat. The media discourse centers on issues of identity, social integration, and the malaise of French society caused by the marginalization of these groups.

Attempted Bombing in Strasbourg 2000

This case study is about a different type of violent action. With a case that is linked with national security, one wonders who were the actors involved and what was the nature of their actions? Who carried the burden of the insecurity? Furthermore, what element of the action did the media focus on? This insecurity condition was not a culmination of a series of events, but rather a single planned event. On New Year's Eve of 2000, a group of men allegedly planned to detonate a bomb in the famous Christmas Market of Strasbourg. Investigators of the bomb plot believe they planned to plant a bomb in the middle of the bustling Christmas Market and perhaps inside a synagogue in Strasbourg.[48]

The actors in this event were four men who were discovered and arrested by the police in Frankfurt, Germany. The names of the arrested suspects are Salim Boukhari, Aeroubi Beandalis, Fouhad Sabour, and Lamine Maroni. These four men were convicted for "conspiring to plant a bomb and for weapons violations." They could not be convicted for belonging to a terrorist organization, although prosecutors claimed that the men were part of a terrorist network.[49] One suspect was dropped from the trial due to lack of evidence. The group of four men is now known as "the Frankfurt Group," or the "Meliani cell,"-- a group associated with a larger network of "predominantly North African extremists called the Non-aligned Mojahedin, with ties to Al-Qaeda".[50]

The four men were all immigrants from Algeria. Maroni, Sabour, and Boukhari planned and funded the Christmas Market plot in Great Britain. Maroni entered as an asylum seeker, hence receiving housing and other benefits from the British government. All four men had allegedly spent two years training at Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan before arriving in Britain, where they spent three months planning the bomb plot. Maroni and Boukhari used stolen or forged passports to

enter into Germany, where all three lived in two rented apartments in Frankfurt.[51] These actors were not born or raised in France. They purportedly came into Europe with a political agenda, although they claimed to authorities that extremists within Europe had recruited them while they were living there.[52]

What is the nature of the violent action? Although the plot failed, thanks to British intelligence and the German police, *The Observer* asserts that if the plan had been successful, "the carnage in Strasbourg would have been enormous"[53]especially considering the fact that the Christmas Market is the largest market in France. The police had also discovered 44 pounds of potassium permanganate, acetone, hydrogen peroxide, and battery acid—basic bomb ingredients -- in Frankfurt, along with homemade detonators, long-range rifles,, a hand grenade, revolvers with silencers, sub-machine guns, and ammunition. Officials think that the plotters planned to make bombing devices using pressure cookers packed with nails and explosives.

The actors were older male immigrants, trained to perform this specific violent action. They did not interact with, or participate in French society. At least within France, they had no political power. However, they had limited yet dangerous armed capabilities. The action itself was planned and highly organized. It would have involved dangerously powerful explosives and other weapons. Had this event taken place, it would have been in one major city in France. The violence was targeted against tourists and families -- civilian members of society. In a homemade videotape, the plotters described the market scene by saying, "Here we see the enemies of God as they stroll about."[54] As noted, the shoppers at the marketplace were referred to as the "enemies."

The media discourse surrounding this event focused on terrorism, especially concentrating on the 'military' nature of this event. The actors were characterized as "militants"[55] and "combatants."[56] Media focused on the actors' training in Afghanistan and emphasized the connection between the four plotters and other terrorists within France, Europe and around the world. More notably, often calling the plotters "militants" or "groupes islamistes", (Islamic militants), the media focused on the religious nature of their political agenda.[57] They were also called "combatants of faith." The music heard on the videotape evidence was referred to as the "traditional music of the mudjahadin."[58] The media also focused on how the plotters referred to the market shoppers as "mécreants", or non-believers and heathens.[59]

Moreover, along with this focus on the religious aspect, the media seems to have termed them as a battle against the west. The media saw the Cathedral and the Marketplace in Strasbourg as symbols of western culture.[60] In the September 13, 2001, issue of *Le Monde*, an article stated that such acts of terrorism were an Islamic threat that weighs on all the

western states. Both *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* framed these actors as the "other", the "enemy" and the militant Islamic fundamentalists who are threatening the West.

Interestingly, the September 13 issue of *Le Monde* discusses the profile of these Islamic fundamentalists: they were simple youth raised in the sensitive quarters of the French suburbs who grew up in France with a better education.[61] The fact that the media related this event with other youths living in the suburbs is very noteworthy and indicative of the kind of threat immigration is creating. This fact shows that the media has equated the threat of the young men raised by immigrant parents in the suburb to the threat of the Islamic fundamentalist.

The media focused a great amount of attention on the threat of terrorism, the connection between terrorists and other groups, the possibility of terrorist networks existing in France, as well as the military capacity of such groups. While the word 'security' is never mentioned in the media, the word "threat" is almost always mentioned to reinforce the idea of the danger to France as a whole, not necessarily just the state or French society. The media discourse was also dominated with discussion on the identities of the terrorists, their religions, their countries of origin, their perceived hostility against the west, whether or not more terrorists were breeding among immigrant populations living in French society. The attempted terrorist attack was not aimed against a state institution, but against a public space, and thus against society as a whole. Although the media discourse focused on the military nature of the attack, much of the discourse was dominated by discussion about identity.

Lyon "Riots" 1981

The next case is also one of public unrest, but at a smaller scale than the events of 2005; however, the actors and the nature of the action are similar. The question is whether or not the nature of the insecurity conditions in 1981 was similar to the ones in 2005. The question is also about how similar or different the media discourse was about the issue.

Although the public disturbances that took place in Lyon in the summer of 1981 were not of the same scale as the recent unrest throughout France in 2005, the event is marked as being among the first occurrence of immigrant grievance seen in France by the media and the political sphere.[62] Exploring the nature of this incident and the treatment of this incident by the media is therefore important. The event in Lyon was called, "Les Rodéos des Minguettes" and constituted the first of various public disturbances that occurred in the "heated summer" (l'été chaud) of 1981. This summer marked the first time that the press highlighted the French suburbs as a place of malaise and formed the link between immigration and the violence in the banlieues..[63]

The public unrest took place July 7 , 1981, and lasted until the end of the month.[64] It was confined to three suburbs of Lyon, known as the 'three V's': Vénissieux, Villeurbanne, and Vaulx-en-Velin. These events became popularly known as "the Rodeos of Minguettes" because participants stole cars from the city and drove them into the suburbs to set them ablaze. *Le Monde* cited that "dozens" of cars were burned in these incidences. A total of 250 cards were burnt in the summer of 1981. The violence further escalated after the establishment of a police commissariat in Vénissieux, Along with burning of cars, there were reports of robberies and violence against the police and city officials, such as throwing rocks and other objects.[65] There were also reports by the local media, *le Progrès de Lyon*, of the destruction of public spaces and private property.[66] There were even reports of the use of Molotov cocktails against police forces trying to sustain order.[67]

Despite the constraints of determining the total or average number of participants involved in the event, *Le Figaro* reported that about 150 participants were involved on the event of the 21st. The participants were described as "bands" of people by the media. The actors in this event were the same as those seen in the more public disturbances. The suburbs in Lyon have a similar high concentration of immigrants from North Africa.. According to the press, a majority of the participants were of North African, or Maghreb, origin, generally referred to as "young immigrants." It appeared that these actors also had no political or military capabilities. Similarly, the nature of the violence was not well planned. The destruction was against both public and private property, public places, commercial buildings, police forces, and other local officials. The violence was limited to three suburbs of Lyon, although in the later summer months, it did spread to Avignon and Marseilles.[68]

The mainstream national media's reaction to this event was fascinating. During the entire month of July, while these events were taking place, *Le Figaro* published only one article on the issue, while *Le Monde* published only two. None of the articles made headlines, but were restricted to the regional section of the newspapers. The only newspaper to provide daily information about the events was the local newspaper in Lyon, *Le Progrès de Lyon*.[69] In fact, the national news media covered up many of the incidences during the disturbances in July.[70] Yet, at the same time, there was plenty of coverage of the public disturbances in England, specifically in Liverpool. On page 4 of the July 7, 1981, issue of *Le Monde,* the title read "Battle between the police and young immigrants in Liverpool."[71]

This event and the following events of the summer of 1981 established the framework for today's media discourse concerning the link between violent actions in the French suburbs and immigration.[72] The media schema for the recent "émeute", (translated as rioting), began with these events. The same discourse permeates until today.

Urban violence was ultimately linked to immigration, rather than as a failure of social welfare funding to the suburbs.

The three articles published in July by *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* show the beginning of this discourse. The July 14th publication of *Le Monde* titled the event as, "In the suburb of Lyon, Lukewarm Summer at Vénissieux." In the July 23rd publication, the event was entitled "The Welcome of Strangers: The difficult dialogue between the French and the immigrants at Vénissieux". *Le Figaro* entitled the event as, "New Incidences at Vénissieux: ruffians against the police."[73] The description of the actors was similar to the ones used in recent events: "jeunes immigrés" (young immigrants) or "jeunes maghrebins", or "jeunes d'origine maghreb" (youth of North African origin).[74] These words attached the issue of immigration to these events by focusing on the origins of the actors. Furthermore, they attached a negative image to the youths by describing them as delinquents, "voyous", or hoodlums, "vermin,"[75] and describing the events as, "dangerous collaborations,"[76] generated by hate and anger.[77] The media created an identity issue, even in the titles, creating a distance between the immigrant and the Frenchman. *Le Monde* seemed to focus more on the identity issue than *Le Figaro*, which focused more on the nature of violence and the various crimes committed. However, this time, both newspapers spoke of these events in terms of the problems associated with the employment, housing, and other social issues in the suburbs of Lyon.

This condition of insecurity was limited to the suburbs of a major French city. It involved the same actors and the same type of violence as the recent disturbances in 2005. The violence was directed against symbols of society and state alike: private property, government institutions, and government officials. This event marked the beginning of the discourse focusing on immigration, urban violence, and the societal instability caused by both. The three articles that published news on the event were mostly dominated by notions of identity, immigration, and hostility among the immigrant youths.

Terrorist Attack: Paris 1995

Unlike the Strasbourg bomb plot of 2000, this event was not foiled beforehand. The actors involved in this event were similar to those in the Strasbourg bomb plot. The ensuing media discourse was also similar. On July 25, 1995, during rush hour traffic, a bomb exploded in one of the trains at the Saint-Michel metro stop, "in the heart of Paris."[78] The attack killed eight people and wounded 150. The train consisted of eight cars designed to hold between 1500 and 2000 persons.[79] According to the authorities, the bomb was "rustic," not made by specialists..[80] It was simply made from a bottle of gas emptied of its contents and replaced with nails, nitrate and methyl because that kind of explosive liquid is

easier to handle than a liquid such as nitroglycerin.[81] Authorities also estimated that there were about 3 to 4 kilograms of these explosives used for the attack, producing 30 tons of debris after the explosion.

According to authorities, the bomb, with a retarder, was placed underneath one of the seats of the train. It exploded as soon as it stopped at Saint-Michel and the automatic doors opened.[82] The Saint-Michel metro station, although a public location, is located near a number of important government buildings such as the palace of justice, the police prefecture, and the seat of the judicial police of Paris. It is situated 20 meters below the river Seine and is one of the deepest metro stations in Paris.

The perpetrators were eventually proven to be clandestine members of the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA), an Algerian Islamic fundamentalist group involved in the Algerian civil war. On October 30, 2002, two Algerian men were convicted of the bombings in the French courts: Boualem Bensaid and Smain Ait Ali Belkacem. Both men were 34 years old when convicted.. They were both connected to the GIA and other attacks that took place throughout France the same year. Thus, the actors were similar and connected to the actors involved in the attempted bombing of Strasbourg in 2000. They were both older male immigrants, raised in Algeria, members of an Islamic fundamentalist network who went to France with a political agenda and limited military training.[83]

The media discourse focused a great deal of attention on the general horrific scenes from the aftermath of the explosion, the victims, and the government reaction in the form of heightened security around the public transportation system. Markedly, the images of the terrorist bombings resembled those of a battle, the only difference being that the dead and wounded were civilian members of society, not soldiers or government officials. The July 27th edition of *Le Figaro* called the wounds "blessures de guerre", or war wounds. This same edition called the attacks "a new war." One witness recalled, "There were pools of blood, an unbelievable stench of powder and death."[84] Additionally, the suspects were suggested to be "brigades"[85] and "commandos."[86] Most of the articles emphasized the fact that these attacks took place in "lieux publics"[87] or public places. Moreover, the media concentrated heavily on the nature of the violence and the brutality. There were constant references to "massacre"[88] and "carnage."[89]. The violent act itself was described as "irrational,"[90]"murderous,"[91] "cowardly,"[92] "criminal"[93] and "barbaric."[94]

More remarkable was the amount of media attention given to the origins of the terrorists. No organization or person initially claimed responsibility for the attack, however, by the end of July, the media was emphasizing the North African origins of the perpetrators. In fact, from the very beginning, the media constantly mentioned the

possibility of Algerian terrorists despite the paucity of proof. This time round, however, two other possible regions of origin were suggested: Serbia or Middle East. However, these two possibilities received less media exposure than the Algerian possibility. The July 26 edition of *Le Figaro* printed an article by researcher, Jean-Christophe Ruffin, which signaled the possibility that the terrorists might have belonged to Serbian or Bosnian terrorist networks. The July 27 publication of *Le Monde* stated that Grench authorities has suspected Algerian terrorist networks because method of the bombing were similar to ones used by Algerian networks that conducted terrorist attacks during the 1980s. The article called the attack a possible "exportation of the Algerian conflict in France."[95]

The media discourse concentrated on the possibility of the attack being from Algerian terrorist networks. The discourse was heavy with discussions about identity. The media stressed the North African origins of the GIA, frequently mentioning "Arabe"[96] (Arab), "Nord-Africain"[97] (North African) or "Maghrebin"[98] (from Maghreb or North African region). The religious fundamentalist element of the GIA was constantly mentioned. The media also referred to the attack as "la piste islamiste"[99](lead by Islamists), rather than simply "la piste Algérienne" (lead by Algerians). If "Algerian" was used as a description, it was frequently followed by "intégriste"[100](fundamentalist), which adds the religious identity to the description. *Le Monde* quoted alleged GIA letters addressed to various "western" embassies that stated that "the impious ones will be killed."[101]

Furthermore, an emphasis was placed on the hostility or hatred that the GIA had cultivated against France.[102] The media had framed North African immigrants or the Muslim "intégriste" (fundamentalist) as "the figure of the adversary."[103] An article in the July 27th publication of *Le Figaro* interviewed the scholar Didier Bigo, who stated that the French had to turn to the countries of North Africa, and to Islam, to find its adversary because the end of the Cold War had left France depriving of any such adversary.

Le Figaro seemed more open to the possibility of other leads than *Le Monde*. Nevertheless, the argument supporting Algerian terrorism, along with the hostile identity of the Islamic fundamentalists involved in the attack, received much more attention than other discourse. In general, the media discourse during the 1995 Paris metro bombings seemed to focus on the brutal nature of the attacks and the possibility of perpetrators being Islamic fundamentalists from Algerian descent... Security was only mentioned in terms of safety with respect to transportation and public spaces. The concept of national security or state sovereignty was not evoked. The media mentioned running identity checks and searching for illegal immigrants, but these were simply described as procedures undertaken by the government in search for the perpetrators.

Conclusion

The notion that the identities of immigrants are separate from those of the French is a theme that flows throughout the media discourse arising from insecurity conditions since the 1980s. Labels have since been placed on the actors who participate in these acts of violence. Certainly, some of these labels may have been true as described. For example the actors were of North African origin (at least a majority of the participants of the public disturbances, although not all) and in the case of the terrorist acts, they were indeed Islamic fundamentalists. However, it is important to note the context of these descriptions. These labels were used along with other words that conjure up certain images and connotations about immigrants. Youths of North African origins were connected to immigration, failed integration, delinquency, violence and hostility. Newly arrived North African immigrants were blamed for refusing to integrate and for being hostile.

The immigrant label is associated with an identity that is not just separate from the French identity, but in fact, one that is hostile to the French identity. The media has made this identity to look hostile by linking it with negative words, such as 'violent acts,' 'delinquency,' and 'terrorism.' The linking of these identities to violence suggests that immigrants are threats to the stability of society, culturally and politically. As stated by Professor Didier Bigo, an assistant professor in Paris's 'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris', the immigrant is portrayed as the adversary.

This article does not suggest that immigration automatically causes societal instability. It only argues that when immigration does cause insecurity, it is societal insecurity. The state has no identity beyond its own society, only a legal monopoly on coercion. If a state has an identity, it is only a reflection of its society. Discourse does not establish reality. It merely presents one view of reality. Discourse chooses what part of reality should get a voice. One can assume that an objective reality exists. Even looking at this reality, and ignoring the discourse, one can see that these events indeed threatened society. The state was only marginally threatened. In the case of the terrorist disturbances, where state security was at risk, the targeted places were public spaces: a marketplace and the public transportation system. The terrorists in the Strasbourg 2000 event referred to the shoppers of the Christmas Marketplace as heathens that should go punished. In the article, the state of France was not mentioned. However, even when the state is verbally threatened, like France was by the GIA in the 1990s, the target was not a state institution, but the public transportation system.[104] Other terrorist attacks, in contrast, directly targeted government institutions yet it always seems that while state capacity, or state sovereignty, survives the attack, the society became the victim. The

media discusses the security issue of immigration when making the linkage between these insecurity conditions and immigrants. At the same time, however, it emphasizes identity and society.[105] Perhaps government policies should take into account the threat against society because, in the modern western state, the government institutions are made legitimate and accountable through society. The government has the monopoly on power, but it is society that gives the government the consent to this power. Restricting immigration policy to the concept of national security (i.e. the security of the state) by Realist definitions limits the ability of governments to truly address the threats associated with immigration. Does it matter if the state is secure when its society is not?

France's immigration policy introduces the kinds of threats immigration poses. Contemporary France undoubtedly has a problem with immigration, as illustrated by he riots of 2005. If discourse chooses what part of reality gets a voice, then as far as these events are concerned, the immigrant community has been left veritably mute. That is where policy should begin - an understanding of the intentions of immigrants and their communities when developing immigration policies. Even the children of immigrants, who are French citizens, have little to no representation in the French government. One of the few ministers in the French government, if not the only, of immigrant origin is Azouz Begag, the Minister of Social Integration.

In 2004, the French government instituted a controversial social regulatory policy concerning immigrant communities, namely, the headscarf ban.[106] Opponents of the ban argued that it violated freedom of religion and religious expression. Proponents of the law stated that in the public sphere, there is no place for garish expressions of religious beliefs and that there is only the common good and the state. This concept helps promote integration and builds the French notion of a model secular society that involves the participation and representation of all its citizens.[107] This policy, whether one is for or against it, is a good start because at least it addresses a social issue stemming from problems with immigration. Yet, this law was created seemingly without major consideration of the sentiments of the immigrant community, especially since the government has virtually only one representative from that community.

The creation of the United States Department of Homeland Security as a response to the September 11th attacks, at least at the national level, places immigration under the umbrella of national security by the very fact that most of the immigration agencies were placed under this department. In fact, most of the U.S. agencies that implement immigration policies are under the supervision of a department with the word "Security" in its title. Dealing with immigrants, even those

who pose a terrorist threat, goes beyond the scope of conventional national security.

Policymakers need to distinguish between the various types of immigrants. Most immigrants are not terrorists but migrate due to various push/pull factors – such as economic opportunity, asylum, better education for their children, etc. If policymakers can begin to understand the roots of the problems underlying immigration, then they can begin to create effective immigration policies, which correctly address the burdens of society. In this world of globalization, countries cannot completely close their borders to the movement of people. Therefore, policymakers should no longer hide behind the curtain of national security but should address the societal conflicts that arise due to immigration.

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[Endnotes]

[1] The importance here is the emphasis on insecurity conditions caused by immigration. There are plenty of instances throughout history where immigrants have integrated into society. After all, the United States is a country founded on immigration. Even in the United States, there have been instances of immigration problems, if one thinks of the massive Irish and Italian immigration populations in New York city for example. However, in order to address how immigration can cause security problems, one needs to address the events where problems occurred.

[2] Various scholars have suggested that migration affects host state's economic stability, but economic instability can be a manifestation of a number of different causes, such as bad fiscal policy. I want to choose events that are a more palpable expression of insecurity.

[3] Constructivists or Critical Security Studies rely more on the fact that discourse creates reality. Realists, on the contrary, rely more on the fact that discourse is only a mirror of reality. Constructivists, therefore, focus on words and perceptions, rather than deeds.

[4] Rudolph, Christopher, *National Security and Immigration: Policy Development in the United States and Western Europe Since 1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006),23.

[5] Ibid., 23.

[6] Lavanex, Sandra, "Migration and the EU's New Eastern Border: Between Realism and Liberalism." *Journal of European Public Policy* 8, no. 1 (Feb

2001):24-26.
[7] Ibid., 26.
[8] These concerns of course all assume the existence of a coherent notion of French identity. This assumption itself may be debated. I assume for the purposes of this paper that there has to be some cohesive notion because without a notion of French identity, no threat exists against societal security.
[9] Waever, Ole and others, eds. *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 162.
[10] Williams, Michael C. "Identity and the Politics of Security." *European Journal of International*
Relation 4, no. 2 (1998):435.
[11] Waever, *Identity, Migration and the New Security,* 162
[12] Huysmans, Jef. "Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier." *European Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 2 (1998): 226-55
[13] Waever, *Identity, Migration and the New Security,* 156
[14] Ibid.156.
[15] Huysmans, *Security!*, 240
[16] Ibid.242.
[17]4.6% of the population of the developed countries were migrants in the 1990s, compared with 1.6% in developing countries. Most migration occurring in the world is not from the less-developed countries to the well developed countries, but within the less-developed countries themselves. This figure is in absolute terms. Ibid.,275.
[18] Cesari, Jocelyne. "Ethnicity, Islam, and les banlieues: Confusing the Issues." *Social Science Research Council*, November 30, 2005, http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/Cesari/ (accessed October 16, 2006).
[19] Duchesne, Sophie and Anthony Heath. "Patterns of Identity: An Empirical Comparison of
French and British Conceptions of Nationality." *Workshop on National Identity and Euroscepticism*. (University of Oxford: Center for the Study of Democratic Government, 2003).
[20] Waever, *Identity, Migration and the New Security,* 178.
[21] For examples, see authors Cesari and Maillard.
[22] For examples, see authors Bloul and Fernando.
[23] Waever, *Identity, Migration and the New Security,* 178
[24] A longer research paper would warrant a wider amount and variety of discourse to be examined for sure.
[25]Bowen, John R. *Why the French Don't like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*.
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007),3. Bowen, an American anthropologist studying French society, finds that "French politicians, writers about public affairs, television 'talking heads', and philosophers are much more likely to read one another's work, be related to one another, or indeed be the same person than is the case in most in other countries." They are all "caught up in webs of reciprocal promotion".
[26] According to the BBC; see generally www.bbc.co.uk.
[27] Le Monde, 15 Nov. 2005
[28] According to the French Minister of the Interior; see generally http://www.

interieur.gouv.fr/.
[29] Roy, Olivier. "The Nature of the French Riots." *Social Science Research Council, November 18, 2005,* http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/Roy/,
[30] Ibid.
[31] This description does not assume that the actors had a specific aim in mind. Dispute exists between whether or not this unrest is organized or random.
[32] "les jeunes des banlieues" (Le Figaro, « Le chef de l'Etat crée le «service civil volontaire» 18 Nov 2005; Le Monde. « Une fièvre de novembre » 15 Nov 2005)
[33] "les enfants des étrangers" (Le Figaro, « Alain Finkielkraut : « L'illégitimité de la haine », 15, 18 Nov 2005 ; Le Monde 15 Nov 2005)
[34] "les fils et filles d'immigrés" (Le Monde, 15 Nov 2005)
[35] « jeunes en rupture sociale » (Le Monde. «Quel est ce pays qui brûle ? » 10 Nov 2005)
[36] "les fils et filles de la République quelles que soient leurs origines" (Le Figaro, 15 Nov 2005)
[37] Le Figaro, «L'éducation ou la sauvagerie » 31 October 2005. Le Monde, 15 November 2005
[38] "mouvement…dirigé essentiellement contre les institutions de la République » and "l'impuissance du gouvernement français". (Le Monde, « Les émeutes restent intenses en Ile-de-France et s'étendent en province », 6 Nov 2005)
[39] « la guérilla urbaine » (Le Figaro. 31 October 2005)
[40] Le Monde, 15 Nov 2005 ; Le Figaro, 31 October 2005
[41] Le Monde. « Les émeutes restent intenses en Ile-de-France et s'étendent en province » 6 Nov 2005 ; Le Figaro 31 October 2005
[42] "les maux de la société française" (Le Figaro 18 November 2005)
[43] Le Monde, 15 Nov 2005; Le Figaro. « Inquiétude et ironie à l'étranger » 7 Nov 2005; Le Figaro, 15 Nov 2005.
[44] Le Monde 15 Nov 2005; Le Figaro, 18 Nov 2005; Le Figaro, 15 Nov 2005 .
[45]Le Figaro. «Le chef de l'Etat crée le «service civil volontaire», 15 Nov 2005.
[46] Le Figaro 15 Nov 2005.
[47] Le Figaro, 31 Oct 2005.
[48]"Al-Qaeda's Bombers used Britain to Plot Slaughter" *The Observer,* 21 April 2002.
[49] "Four Convicted of Strasbourg Bomb Plot", *The Guardian Unlimited,* 10 March 2003.
[50] Ibid..
[51] "Al-Qaeda's Bombers used Britain to Plot Slaughter", 21 April 2002.
[52] "Four Convicted of Strasbourg Bomb Plot", 10 March 2003.
[53] "Al-Qaeda's Bombers used Britain to Plot Slaughter, 21 April 2002.
[54] Ibid..
[55] Le Monde, « La DST soupçonne des militants islamistes d'avoir préparé des attentats en France» 24 Mar 2001; Le Monde « En France, le gouvernement déclenche le plan Vigipirate au seuil maximal - Une enquête ouverte » 13 Sept 2001;
[56] Le Monde, 24 Mar 2001
[57] Le Monde, 24 Mar 2001; Le Monde 13 Sept 2001 ; Le Figaro « Jean-Louis Bruguière - « Ne baissons surtout pas la garde ».12 Sept 2001 ; Le Figaro. « La France sur la piste des réseaux Ben Laden. » 10 Oct 2001.

[58] Le Monde 24 Mar 2001; Le Monde 13 Sept 2001;
[59] Le Figaro « Les réseaux français au coeur des investigations » 14 Sept 2001; Le Figaro 10 Oct 2001.
[60] Le Monde 13 Sept 2001.
[61] Whether or not it is true that the French suburbs are breeding grounds for terrorist recruitment is highly contested. For example, in his article in Ch.4 of International Migration and Security: Opportunities and challenges. Eds. Guild, Elspeth and Joanne van Selm, Didier Bigo states that this information is actually not true, and that terrorists have had to continue to search outside of Europe for recruits.
[62] Cugny, Yann. « Délinquance et Emeutes Urbaines : Traitement médiatique et politique 1981-1992. » Section Politique et Société. Seminar « Histoire Contemporaine de la société française » 2002-2003.
[63] Mucchielli, Laurent, "Violences et insécurité, fantasmes et réalités dans le débat français. "
La Découverte,13
[64] Tissot, Sylvie. « Vaulx-en-Velin, Octobre 1990 : retour sur une émeute. » Collectif les mots sont
importants. Nov.2005. <<http://lmsi.net/article.php3?id_article=305>>. 20 Nov 2006.
[65] Le Monde.
[66] Cugny, p.13
[67] Ibid. 12.
[68] Le Monde and Le Figaro.
[69] Cugny, p.12
[70] Tissot
[71] Cugny, p.12
[72] "Bataille rangée entre policiers et jeunes immigres à Liverpool"
[73] Cugny, p.10-12
[74] « Dans la banlieue de Lyon: Eté tiède à Vénissieux » Le Monde 14 July 1981. « L'accueil Des Etrangers : Le difficile dialogue des Français et des immigrés à Vénissieux » Le Monde 23 July 1981. « Nouveaux incidents à Venissieux : Voyous contre policiers » Le Figaro 23 July 1981.
[75] Le Monde 14 July 1981; Le Monde 23 July 1981; Le Figaro 23 July 1981.
[76] Le Monde 14 July 1981.
[77] Le Monde 14 July 1981.
[78] "la haine" and "la colère" Le Monde 14 July 1981; 23 July 1981.
[79] Le Figaro « Attentat au cœur de Paris » 26 July 1995.
[80] BBC «http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2378997.stm » ; Le Figaro 26 July 1995
[81] Le Monde « L'attentat dans le RER » 27 July 1995
[82] BBC « http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2378997.stm »; Le Monde « La police est convaincue que l'attentat du RER est lié à la guerre civile algérienne » 31 July 1995
[83] Le Monde « L'analyse de l'explosif au cœur de l'enquête sur l'attentat de Paris » 28 July 2995; 31 July 1995
[84] BBC <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2378997.stm>>
[85] Philippe Massoni, Le Monde 27 July 1995.
[86] Le Monde 27 July 1995. 31 July 1995;

[87] Le Monde 31 July 1995
[88] " public places ", Le Monde 27 July 1995, 31 July 1995 ; Le Figaro 26 July 1995, "La France sous haute surveillance" 27 July 1995
[89] Le Figaro 26 July 1995; Le Figaro 27 July 1995; Le Monde 27 July 1995
[90] Le Figaro 26 July 1995; Le Monde 28 July 1995
[91] Le Figaro 26 July 1995, 27 July 1995; Le Monde 27 July 1995
[92] Le Figaro 27 July 1995 ; Le Monde 28 July 1995;
[93]Le Figaro 26 July 1995; Le Figaro 27 July 1995 ; Le Monde 27 July 1995;
[94] Le Figaro 26 July 1995; Le Monde 27 July 1995;
[95] Le Figaro 26 July 1995; Le Figaro 27 July 1995
[96] "une exportation en France du conflit algérien"
[97] Le Figaro "Trois portraits-robots pour un attentat" 31 July 1995
[98] Le Figaro 31 July 1995
[99] Someone from the Maghreb (North Africa). Le Monde 31 July 1995.
[100] The Islamist lead, as opposed to the Algerian lead.
[101] " intégriste", i.e. fundamentalist
[102] "les impies seront tués froidement" Le Monde 27 July 1995.
[103] Le Monde 27 July 1995, 28 July 1995, 31 July 1995; Le Figaro 27 July 1995.
[104] Le Figaro 27 July 1995.
[105] Public transport can be considered a state institution, but I maintain that it is nevertheless a public space, where civilians or members of society interact with each other.
[106] I make the argument in this case that discourse reflects or emphasizes parts of reality. The argument can be made that reality is changed if the discourse is framed differently and no linkages to security and immigration, or immigration and society, are made. One can even go further to suggest that there is no reality without discourse. But the scope of this research paper does not reach far enough to address that topic.
[107] "Loi relative à l'application du principe de laïcité dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics." <<http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/html/actualite/actualite_legislative/2004-228/laicite.htm>>
[108] For more information about the headscarf law, please see Bowen's book. There are many arguments for and against this law. One important one for the law is the protection of the French notion of "laïcité", which generally means secularism in the public sphere. The other important reason is the protection of Muslim women in schools from discrimination but also from violence.

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VIEWS & REVIEWS

Perspectives on and analyses of current public policy discourse

Medicare for All:
Issues of Policy and Politics

Eva DuGoff

The 2006 midterm election was a huge upset for the Democratic Party, bringing an end to six years of one-party Republican rule and twelve years of Republican control of Congress. Most political analysts identified President George W. Bush's policy in Iraq as the number one issue that caused voters to give control back to the Democrats in Congress. The number two issue was health care.[1]

Americans want health care reform. A poll conducted by *USA Today* in October 2006 found that 79 percent of respondents would approve of efforts to expand health insurance to the uninsured.[2] Within the main health care issue, respondents seemed to be concerned about a wide range of sub-issues including the increased cost of health insurance, inability to afford much needed medical services and prescription drugs, and concerns regarding health insurance companies prioritizing profit over patients' health.[3]

Health care advocates who are tracking the consistent increase in uninsured and underinsured Americans are seeking to make health care reform a major issue in the upcoming 2008 presidential election. The advocates have an eye towards providing attainable universal health care, also known judiciously as "Affordable Coverage for all Americans". Advocates hope that, if voters send candidates to office on an "affordable health care for all" platform, those federal lawmakers will have enough political capital to succeed where President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stumbled.

One way to build momentum is to develop strong legislative proposals that can be used later on by presidential candidates and even potentially by the President. There were three main bills in the 109th Congress that aimed to provide affordable health care for all Americans: John Conyers' (D-Mich.) single-payer health care plan; Representatives Pete Starks' (D-Calif.) AmeriCare plan; and Representative John Dingell (D-Mich.) and Senator Edward M. Kennedy's (D-Mass.) Medicare for All plan. At the tail end of the 109th Congress, Senator Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) introduced a universal health care bill, the Healthy Americans Act, which guarantees Americans' access to private insurance. In December, America's Health Insurance Plans (AHIP) introduced a plan to achieve universal insurance coverage through a private-public partnership. However, this plan has yet to be introduced as a bill.

This paper surveys the landscape of policy and political issues

surrounding one of the universal health care proposals, Medicare for All. The Medicare for All plan builds on the current Medicare program that provides health care coverage for U.S. residents 65 years and older or for those who are seriously disabled. The first section will place this discussion in context introducing the background history of Medicare in connection with the universal health care movement and introduce the current players. The second section will address the policy issues, such as what types of services should a national health care plan provide and how should a national plan interact with pre-existing government health care plans. The third section will review the political issues and the players involved on both sides of the divide. The conclusion will bring these different pieces together by discussing how presidential hopefuls and interest groups are trying to position themselves for the future.

Background

In 1916, American Medical Association (AMA), a membership organization representing physicians, came out in favor of compulsory health insurance.[4] The leaders of AMA were impressed by the national health care systems being established in European countries. At the same time, however, the union labor movement, represented by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, opposed national health insurance, preferring to obtain health insurance through collective bargaining.[5] Gompers famously said, "Compulsory sickness insurance is based upon the theory that they [workers] are unable to look after their own interests and the State must interpose its authority…."[6] After the war, the AMA and labor unions reversed their positions. The AMA is now firmly opposed to a national health insurance plan while the union leaders have become staunch supporters of the removal of the issue of health insurance from the collective bargaining table.

President Harry Truman, who took over Roosevelt's final term in office and was then elected in 1948, vocally supported a national health insurance plan that would put modern medical care within the reach of many Americans. However, President Truman was frustrated in his attempts by the political power of business, insurance companies and the AMA. In response to their strong opposition and the difficult nature of moving legislation through a hostile Congress, the Truman administration decided to find a health care proposal that was more politically palatable. In 1952, the Truman administration introduced the vision of Medicare as health insurance for all people receiving Social Security benefits—the elderly, widows, and orphans—who as people on a fixed-income needed protection from unexpected health care costs.

In an article recounting the history of Medicare's development,

Social Security and Medicare's architect Robert Ball described the Medicare program's design as motivated by what was considered to be most politically feasible.[7] Eventually passing under Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965, the actual Medicare legislation was first introduced in Congress in 1957. [8] Mindful of the staunch opposition from the AMA and the insurance industry, proponents of universal health care involved in the drafting of Medicare denied a connection between Medicare and a broader agenda. As Robert Ball noted:

The enactment of Medicare three decades ago left an incomplete paper trail. Although the public record leading up to enactment is extensive—dozens of hearings, speeches, debates, reports, and committee reports of congressional intent—there are also gaps, mostly to do what we who advocated Medicare had in mind. We all saw insurance for the elderly as a fallback position, which we advocated solely because it seemed to have the best chance politically. Although the public record contains some explicit denials, we expected Medicare to be a first step toward universal national health insurance, perhaps with "Kiddicare" as another step.[9]

Now a new generation of advocates and policy makers believe that Medicare should be the basis for the yet unfulfilled promise of national health care. Proponents of this position include progressive-minded interest groups such as the AFL-CIO, the Change to Win Coalition, Medicare Rights Center and Campaign for America's Future. From the academic world, Yale political scientist Jacob Hacker has taken up the cause, advocating for Medicare for All at public events as well as recently writing a book *The Great Risk Shift* and publishing a paper through the Economic Policy Institute called, "Health Care for America."[10] According to its proponents, the Medicare program is the best vehicle with which to provide universal health care, because it has the following built-in advantages:

1. Medicare is one of the nation's most popular social programs;[11]
2. Medicare already has an existing provider and payment structure giving enrollees near universal access to any doctor or hospital in the country; [12]
3. Medicare is proven to be more cost-effective and efficient than private health insurance.[13]

Even though Medicare remains one of the federal government's most popular social programs after Social Security, and indeed as part of the larger Social Security program, Medicare has been undergoing significant policy changes that may make it a less popular political vehicle. The introduction of privately managed care plans to Medicare has been met with varying levels of enthusiasm and success. While these plans provide additional services to the standard Medicare benefits, they often do so by reducing coverage in other areas and by limiting

the choices of doctors and hospitals. Furthermore, the implementation of the Medicare Part D prescription drug benefit created widespread confusion and a brief period of chaos among Medicare beneficiaries.[14] Unlike the traditional Medicare system, Part D is administered through private plans—adding an additional level of complexity for the beneficiary and bureaucracy for the the two agencies responsible for the administration of the Medicare program – the Social Security Administration and Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services.

Additionally. for the first time in 2007 Medicare beneficiaries will face means-tested premiums. Medicare beneficiaries who earn more than $80,000 a year will pay higher premiums, undermining Medicare for All proponents' rhetorical position that Medicare is a social insurance and not welfare. Means-testing may drive healthier (and wealthier) beneficiaries out of the Medicare program, leaving the impression that Medicare is not a program for all Americans, but just another welfare program for poor seniors. If viewed as a welfare program, Medicare would no longer be a politically palatable vehicle to use for universal coverage.

In addition to these challenges, universal health care proponents still have to face-off against strong opposition in the business, payer, and provider communities. The major players who oppose government-sponsored universal health care proposals are the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA), Association of Health Insurance Plans (AHIP), and the American Medical Association (AMA).[15]

The long history of the universal health care movement and subsequent Medicare legislation create a unique challenge for advocates and opponents because many of the substantive policy issues have become long-standing, highly-charged political issues, creating deep divisions between different interest groups and lawmakers.

Policy Issues

Services

What types of services should Medicare for All provide? Lawmakers have struggled with what services should and should not be covered by a federal plan. While some services, such as hospitalization, rehabilitative and occupational therapy, preventive care services, seem like obvious components of any basic health care package, other services such as family planning, mental health services, long-term care, end-of-life care, pharmaceuticals, dental and vision services leave room for debate.

The Kennedy-Dingell bill addresses this policy problem by

following the path of least resistance. The Medicare for All plan will cover all services that are covered by the traditional Medicare fee-for-service plan while including some improvements. These improvements include treating mental health services the same as medical services in terms of payment, early and periodic screening and diagnosis services, home and community based services, and additional benefits that the "Secretary determines appropriate."[16]

The Kennedy-Dingell bill leaves out family planning, dental care, and vision services. Other government health plans, such as Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) do provide dental care for poor children and some adults over 21 years old.[17] Vision care can be, but is not always, covered under Medicaid and CHIP. In addition, the Kennedy-Dingell bill does not cover long-term care services, which will continue to force the seriously disabled and elderly to eliminate much of their income and assets in order to qualify for long-term care services through the Medicaid program.

Interactions of Medicare for All with Other Federal Programs

Another important policy issue is how this new program should interact with or duplicate other government programs such as Medicare and Medicaid. With the creation of a Medicare for All plan that can cover all United States residents, the question remains: What becomes of the other existing and popular health care programs such as Medicaid with 55 million enrollees[18] and Medicare with 43 million enrollees that provide critical health care services for some of the poorest and vulnerable Americans[19]?[20]

On one hand, the maintenance of the Veterans, Department of Defense, Medicare and Medicaid programs would be duplicated through the creation of a national health care plan. However, the ending of any of these programs would be a monumental endeavor. The transfer of beneficiaries into a new national program presents similar logistical problems to those encountered during the 2005-2006 transfer of qualified Medicaid enrollees from Medicaid onto a Medicare prescription drug program. Which is to say, some people inevitably fall through the cracks.

For example, some beneficiaries will not read the mail alerting them of what they need to do in response to the program change, while other beneficiaries will have moved during the transition period complicating the government's ability to communicate with them. Additionally, there are inevitable computer data errors, such as name-matching, that terminate health insurance coverage to people who rely on government support. In addition to those that fall through the cracks, some beneficiaries will not understand how to use the new program,

effectively denying them access to medical care.

One way of avoiding such a massive transfer of people is to build Medicare for All around these programs. Medicare for All could act as secondary insurance to Medicaid and Medicare recipients and as primary insurance for children and adults who do not have employer-based coverage. While this may be easier to implement, the downside would be that building Medicare for All around the pre-existing programs would only perpetuate the sectioning of Americans into separate risk pools: high-cost beneficiaries (the elderly and the poor) and a low-cost beneficiaries (youth and working-age adults). From an economic standpoint, sustaining separate insurance pools would undermine the benefit of having one national insurance pool over which to spread health costs. Another advantage of maintaining one risk pool is its size, through which the government can leverage its purchasing power to get the best prices for services and pharmaceuticals.

The Kennedy-Dingell legislation seeks to avoid both of these outcomes by phasing out the traditional Medicare program. Beneficiaries in the national plan age will stay in the Medicare for All plan and not transfer into traditional Medicare.[21]

Instead of avoiding conflict on this issue, if the Medicare for All plan sought to end Medicaid within a reasonable timeframe, at least two beneficial effects would result. One, it would eliminate the Medicaid program which suffers from negative connotations as a welfare program, limiting its appeal to many Americans who may qualify for Medicaid. As long as people see Medicaid and other government programs as a hand-out to the poor, both potential beneficiaries and policymakers will be reluctant to accept it. However if the Medicare for All program is seen as a social insurance program like Medicare and Social Security—two programs that have close to 100 percent enrollment of eligible individuals—then Medicare for All will reach more people. A second advantage would be that by ending Medicaid, the federal government would relieve the states from a heavy budgetary burden.[22]

In order to avoid the errors of the Medicare prescription drug benefit transition, the Medicare for All plan should include a safety net for people who are transferred from Medicaid to Medicare for All. The bill could provide funds so that the Medicaid program could be extended to overlap with the start of the Medicare for All program. As such, the Medicaid program would serve as a safety net to ensure that beneficiaries would be able to access medical care and prescription drugs during the transition period. This will allow pharmacists and doctors to catch Medicaid beneficiaries who fall through the cracks and ensure that their patients are successfully transferred into the Medicare for All program.

Political Issues

The political issues surrounding the universal health care, and thus the Kennedy-Dingell Medicare for All bill, range from the ideological to the technical. The biggest issue that divides interest groups is whether the federal government should be in the business of providing health insurance. Other politically divisive issues include the future role of private health insurance and funding.

Should the Government Provide Health Insurance?

The fundamental political (and moral) issue in this debate is whether the federal government has an obligation to ensure access to affordable health care for all citizens. Opponents of a Medicare for All system argue that such extensive government involvement in health care is unnecessary. more costly, and will lead to the delivery of lesser quality health care. Proponents of government-sponsored health care argue that health care should be equally distributed, providing a certain minimal level of security through "shared risk," and resulting in a system that is less costly.

The traditional opponent of national health insurance, the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), offers four classic arguments against government-sponsored health care plans. In a set of talking points on single-payer health care, NAM argues that single-payer health care plans lead to medical rationing, higher costs, and lower pay for physicians. Each of these arguments will be explained in turn.

According to NAM, medical rationing will take two forms. One is that there will be substantial delays before new medical technologies are covered. NAM's talking points include the following from the free-market tilted National Center for Policy Analysis: "Studies show that during the 1970s, heart patients in the United States received needed pacemakers four times more frequently than British patients, and 20 times more often than Canadian patients."[23] NAM offers a handful of other examples illustrating that the US health care system provides greater access to new technologies - such as MRIs, cardiac catheterization, and CAT scans - than do single-payer systems. As a function of medical rationing, patients in single-payer systems receive a lesser quality of care.

The second form of medical rationing is the waiting period between needing or wanting to see a doctor and actually seeing a doctor. NAM cites the Fraser Institute saying, "Canadian patients wait an average of 6 weeks after referral from a primary care physician to see a specialist, and then wait another 7.3 weeks on average before they receive treatment. Total waiting time has jumped 43% since 1993."[24] Further supporting the point that lag-times are onerous, opponents of single-payer systems note that natives of single-payer systems go to foreign countries for more expedient care. A 2004 *Washington Post* article on medical tourism

noted that in 2003, an estimated 150,000 foreign patients traveled to India for medical care.[25] The article notes that in addition to visitors from other developing countries, these hospitals are attracting a growing number of British and Canadian patients who are "becoming fed up with long waits for elective surgery under overstretched government health plans."[26] The *Los Angeles Times* reported a growing trend of American medical tourists. [27] However, no U.S. agency curerently tracks the number of Americans who travel overseas for medical care.

In addition, opponents argue that single-payer systems lead to higher costs. NAM cites single-payer efforts in Washington State as leading to "increased taxes, increased costs, and increased regulation."[28] A Heritage Foundation commentary on Europe's Health Care for All model, quoted Alphonse Crespo of the Institut Constant de Rebecque in Switzerland who said, "Citizens always wind up paying for health care, either through taxes, insurance premiums or out-of-pocket costs."[29] Costs are higher in single-payer systems, according to opponents, because of higher utilization of services, extra costs due to service delays, and administration costs.

Lastly, single-payer systems result in lower compensation for doctors. NAM's talking points note that according to the *Wall Street Journal*, around 2,000 Canadian health care providers, including approximately 500 doctors, emigrate to the U.S. each year and fewer health care providers in Canada has meant longer lines for Canadian patients.

All these arguments lead up to the point that government-sponsored health care is unnecessary because the private market is more efficient and provides a wider range of choices. The private insurance market increases competition thereby generating competitive prices and providing the best medical care. The private market place also ensures that Americans can choose the health care they want. The concept of choice was played up in the famous and effective HIAA "Harry and Louise" television advertisements that claimed the Clinton plan limited choice.[30]

The emphasis on consumer choice and its implied counterpart, liberty, is a powerful rhetorical device for opponents of single-payer systems. To live in a single-payer system is to reduce your options—"giving up your personal autonomy and your freedom."[31] This camp offers Medical Savings Accounts (MSA) and Health Savings Account (HSA) as policy alteratives that provide low-cost options for increasing access to health care while allowing the consumer more choices regarding his or her medical care. MSAs and HSAs are high-deductible health plans that are linked to tax-free savings accounts. Beneficiaries can direct part of their paycheck to these savings accounts for medical expenses. If a beneficiary does not use all of his or her savings, any money remaining in the account at the end of the year is rolled over into the next year's account.

Proponents on the side of government-sponsored health care find Health Savings Accounts and Medical Savings Accounts to be woefully inadequate solutions. Jacob Hacker criticizes these plans as undermining risk-pooling in the private sector, favoring the wealthy and healthy while leaving behind beneficiaries who are at risk of accumulating uncompensated health care costs.[32] Hacker says that "[u]ltimately, Health Savings Accounts in could tear apart the already tattered fabric of risk-pooling in the private sector."[33]

Unlike NAM, proponents of a Medicare for All plan argue that the government needs to step in to ensure "health security" and a more equitable distribution of resources. In its letter of support for the Medicare for All Act as introduced on April 25, 2007, the AFL-CIO articulated three main reasons for its support. The first reason is the 45 million Americans living without health insurance. The second is the "[t]ens of millions more [who] worry about losing the coverage they have."[34] A Commonwealth Fund study on the underinsured estimated that, in 2003, 16 million Americans were uninsured.[35] The study found that underinsured adults were more likely to forego medical care than those with more substantial coverage. The third rationale stems from the fact that American businesses are at a disadvantage in the global marketplace because of the high cost of employee health benefits.

In a separate endorsement, John Horgan, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2222 and Jobs with Justice Health Care Action Committee, emphasized certain practical advantages of Medicare for All:

> "The taxpayer dollars currently being wasted in bureaucratic inefficiency can be redirected to cover everyone. A national Medicare for All plan would have the *mass buying power* to negotiate reasonable charges for prescription drugs and health care services. By covering everyone, we could eliminate the *divisive means testing* of the poor."[36]

Horgan argues that a national Medicare for All plan would be both more cost efficient and more fair to the poor because it would remove the means testing requirement.

Advocates of universal health care also emphasize that this type of system would engender more freedoms than under the current system. An advocacy group, the Physicians for a National Health Plan, argues, "Patients would regain free choice of doctor and hospital, and doctors would regain autonomy over patient care."[37] Some also argue providing access to good, affordable health care will enable people to live fuller and more productive lives because they will be healthier and will not have to deal with a fragmented health care system.

Briefly, I will respond to some of the charges laid at the door of universal health care advocates by NAM and other opponents. Perhaps most disconcerting is the charge that single-payer plans will lead to medical rationing in the U.S. health care system. After all, both the Canadian and British models suffer from long lines and slower coverage of new medical technologies. If the current system of Medicare is faithfully expanded, as proposed by the Kennedy-Dingell bill, introduced in 2006, then I see no reason why medical rationing would necessarily occur. Generally speaking, if a doctor determines something to be medically necessary, then it is covered under Medicare. Under the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003, Medicare is not even allowed to take into consideration cost-effectiveness or comparative effectiveness studies of comparable treatments funded by the government.[38] So long as Medicare continues to pay service providers primarily based on utilization, there will be little incentive for doctors and hospitals not to use the latest medical technologies.

Regarding the charge that government-sponsored health care will reduce physician pay; it seems likely that this may be a real impact, but only indirectly. If Medicare payment rates are the standard and politicians seek to cap physician payment rates as a way to control costs, then doctors will likely feel the effect on their pocket books. However, this line of argument does not take into consideration that physician offices and hospitals will have significantly less paperwork under a Medicare for All type program that is a government administered plan with private plan options. In addition, a Medicare for All program would bring an estimated 45 million uninsured and 16 million underinsured persons into the health care system. Access to health care services for these 61 million people could off-set payment rate caps because of the increase in patient volume.

Role of Private Health Insurance

The private health insurance industry sees universal health care as a threat that will take away a huge portion of its business by cutting into profit margins and limiting opportunities to expand.

The Kennedy-Dingell bill seeks to neutralize the health insurance industry by providing a larger role for private insurance. First, employers can continue to provide health insurance coverage to employees through a private carrier. Second, private insurance companies can compete for government contracts to provide health insurance to members of the Medicare for All plan, which is similar to the structure of the Medicare Advantage (formerly Medicare+Choice) plans and the Medicare Part D program. Lastly, private plans can provide supplemental insurance to provide additional coverage similarly to the Medigap Supplemental Insurance program.

Paying for a National Health Plan

If there is anything that is going to raise industry's and voters' hackles it will be the thought of new taxes. Unfortunately, the Medicare for All legislation does just that. The Kennedy-Dingell bill institutes a new payroll tax on employers (7 percent) and on employees (1.7 percent) as seen in last year's defeated California universal health care bill.[39] Alternatively, there can be "pay-or-play" provisions similar to the Massachusetts universal health care legislation. According to the Massachusetts' Health Care Access and Affordability Conference Committee Report, "The bill creates a "Fair Share Contribution" that will be paid by employers, with more than ten employees, who *do not* provide health insurance for their employees, to make a fair and reasonable contribution to the cost of employees' health care costs. The cost of not providing health insurance for employees is estimated to be approximately $295 per full time employee per year. [40] In addition, employers with ten or more employees who do not offer their workers health insurance or access to a cafeteria plan offered through the Connector (a purchasing pool which should not to be confused with a risk pool) can be assessed a Free Rider Surcharge. The surcharge requires employers to pay anywhere from 10 to 100 percent of the cost of care for employees in the Massachusetts Uncompensated Care Pool.[41]

A third option is a mixed option similar to the San Francisco's Health Access Plan that was approved by Mayor Gavin Newsom in June 2006.[42] The Newsom plan requires medium-sized companies (twenty to ninety-nine workers) to spend a minimum of $1.06 an hour per employee on health care services. Large-sized employers (100 or more workers) will be required to spend a minimum of $1.60 an hour per employee on health care services.

According to JoAnn Volk, one of the AFL-CIO senior lobbyists, the payroll tax is not an issue that concerns her constituency or union business. Volk said that union employers pay 20-30 percent of their payroll for health care. The Medicare for All payroll tax, assuming the employers moved all their employees over to the government program, would significantly ease their burden. Volk said that union members understand that health care is an issue that needs to be taken "off the bargaining table." Members have seen possible raises get taken away because of growing health care costs.[43]

However, judging on the most recent universal health care battle under the Clinton Administration, business interests are not tempted by government-run universal health care. While recent rumblings from major business leaders like Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz[44] and Wal-Mart CEO H. Lee Scott[45] might suggest that businesses are warming up to a larger government role in employee health insurance plans, it

is hard to predict what business leaders will do until there is a serious option on the table. In fact, co-founder and former vice-chair of Nextel Morgan O'Brien, now of Cyren Call Communications, and Tom Sidman, former general counsel of Nextel and current general counsel for Cyren Call , primarily see the problem of rising health care costs as an issue out of their control. Sidman said, "Health care is like the weather."[46]

Sidman complained that as a small business with only twelve employees, Cyren Call has little market power to negotiate with the health insurance companies. On the flip side, Nextel's Sidman said a company like Nextel with 17,000 people did have the market power to bargain with the health insurance company for lower costs. Nextel had the power to be innovative, trying measures like providing a free gym, with the intent of lowering both medical costs and premiums.

Based on media reports, Cyren Call Communications's O'Brien expressed positive interest in the Massachusetts universal health plan. He noted that from the perspective of a small business, a "state plan would offset what we don't have - market place power." However, O'Brien and Sidman described their primary interest regarding health care as negotiating the best deal possible directly with the insurance company, without going through federal or state lawmakers. Even though Cyren Call's health care expenses are roughly double the rent for their McLean, Virginia office, O'Brien and Sidman expressed different reasons for not focusing on health care reform. O'Brien said that lobbying on health care would distract from Cyren Call's core mission. On the other hand, Sidman explained that a 2 percent rise in the company's health care costs would give him little reason for pause, but a 2 percent rise in the company's largest expense, lobbying, would cause him great concern. Considering the costs and benefits, Cyren Call's short-term interests are not met by investing in health care lobbyists.

Conclusion

Since this bill is one in a long history of bills on this issue, the factions and the issues that divide them are already well-formed. While the Medicare for All proposal does little to win support from opponents offering few concessions, except for the role of private health insurance participation in the program, it does build off the Medicare's strong track record and infrastructure. With eyes set on the next presidential contest, interest groups and presidential candidates are trying to position themselves for the future and frame this issue on their own terms.

Opponents of universal health care are trying to control the terms of the debate. Business associations such as NAM argue that the way to control health care costs and expand coverage is through personal responsibility manifested as consumer-driven health care. These groups

are pushing the provision of health savings accounts (HSAs) with some success. HSAs are high-deductible health plans that are coordinated with a tax-free savings account. These plans are often cheaper for employers because they shift costs away from the health insurance company and directly onto the beneficiaries. NAM and the American Medical Association contend that by forcing the consumer to face the high-costs of medical care, he will then utilize services as the lower cost provider forcing health care providers such as hospitals and physicians to bring down their costs.[47] In addition, opponents used the 2006 mid-term congressional elections to shore up support for their position by donating to Democratic congressional candidates. A report from the *Wall Street Journal* indicated that insurance and pharmaceutical companies were giving significantly more to Democratic candidates than in recent election cycles because it appeared the Democrats would have more power.[48]

Proponents of universal health care and the Medicare for All legislation are also trying to frame the debate for the future. George Washington University professor and Center for American Progress Fellow Jeanne Lambrew, who was part of a lead group of health policy experts advising 2006 congressional candidates on health care messaging, suggests that universal health care advocates should not focus the discussion on a specific plan, but rather focus on goals. She warns that the longer a plan is out in the public, the more people can "pick it off."[49] For the most part, advocates for universal coverage are doing just that.

The end of the 2006 mid-term elections essentially kicked-off the presidential campaign season and health care has been a top issue. The SEIU along with the Center for American Progress have continued to press the sitting Congress and the presidential candidates on the health care problem. In January, the SEIU announced an alliance with AARP and the Business Roundtable to "press for real solutions to the most serious problems facing Americans today: the high cost of health care and long-term financial security."[50] The following month, SEIU joined with Wal-Mart to announce the "Better Health Care Together" partnership with AT&T, Intel, Kelly Services, Inc., Communications Workers of America, Center for American Progress, the Howard H. Baker, Jr. Center for Public Policy, and the Committee for Economic Development. In March, the SEIU held a candidates forum in Nevada on universal health care. All the Democratic candidates came out in favor of universal coverage, but offered few details.

The next big debate in Congress on universal health care may happen before the next president takes office. The Citizens' Health Care Working Group, a committee commissioned by Congress to generate a nation-wide discussion on how to provide affordable health care to all Americans, sent its findings to Congress and the President on September

29, 2006. The group's number one recommendation was that the government needs to "Establish public policy that all Americans have affordable health care."[51] On March 14, 2006, the President responded to the report rejecting several of the group's recommendations and fundamentally disagreeing with the group's suggested approach of mandates and government intervention. According to Health and Human Services Secretary Michael O. Leavitt, the President favors "consumer choice and options."[52] After receiving the President's response, Congress has forty-five days to hold hearings on Citizens' Health Care Working Group report and the President's report.

These congressional hearings will give presidential hopefuls in Congress, Senators Sam Brownback (R-Kans.), Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-New York), John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Barak Obama (D-Ill.), opportunities to further develop their positions on universal health care and for other presidential candidates not in Congress— John Edwards, Rudy Guiliani, Duncan Hunter, and Mitt Romney—an opportunity to respond. The hearings will also be an opportunity for academics, advocates and business interests to outline their vision of what the health care system should look like and to lodge their support for the various options in discussion.

As these discussions in Congress and on the campaign trail go forward, if presidential candidates follow Professor Lambrew's advice, they will steer clear of particulars and focus on the broad principles of affordable coverage for all, an issue that most Americans, broadly and generally support. However, if candidates and members of Congress go into the particulars of different plans, I expect that Kennedy-Dingell's Medicare for All plan, will become a major player.

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Carbon Trading:
A Method for Preserving the Environment and Reducing Poverty

Andrew Timothy Siwo

If Benjamin Franklin was alive, he would likely add global warming to the list of certain things in life. This phenomenon, which, until recently, has been taken lightly, has become a priority for policy makers. This issue is extremely important to Americans because, unlike insular issues such as Social Security or gun control, global warming has universal implications. Admittedly, addressing global warming is a daunting task, one far more complex than most domestic issues. Still, the United States must seize the opportunity to lead the fight against global warming.

The United States, is the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases and responsible for 25% of annual global emissions.[1] Most consumers contribute to global warming through carbon dioxide emitted from vehicles. To combat these tendencies, Congress has provided tax benefits for consumers who purchase hybrid vehicles. Indeed, as early has 1975, Congress amended Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards for car manufacturers to make vehicles more fuel- efficient.[2] While this is a positive step, it is minor compared to the action still needed from the United States. Carbon Trading is an advancing concept with multiple benefits including the creation of a free-market for trading carbon credits, reductions in poverty, and most of all- environmental preservation.

The First Step

The Kyoto Protocol was a missed opportunity for the United States to actively get involved in global environmental responsibility.[3] The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty negotiated in Kyoto, Japan in December of 1997 under the United National Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).[4] The goal of the Kyoto Protocol is to have a collective reduction of emissions levels at 5% below 1989 recorded levels by 2012[5]; the treaty was not entered into force until February 16, 2005. The United States continues to be agruably the most developed nation to not participate in the Kyoto Protocl.[6] Since its negotiation, over 150 countries have signed the treaty.[7] Participating countries agree to invest in emission- reduction or carbon-sequestration projects in developing

nations rather than use more expensive emission-reduction methods in their own countries. The international influence the United States carries is critical to the world perception of the gravity of environmental responsibility.

Kyoto Protocol Methods of Quantifying Reduction

The preeminent carbon trading model is a "cap and trade" model. Countries cap their carbon emissions at a certain level. Firms within the country are given permits that allow them to emit a declared amount of carbon dioxide during a set amount of time (i.e. one month). Firms who have met their caps will have successfully reduced their carbon emissions. Firms that have emitted less carbon dioxide than their caps have credits. Firms that have gone over their caps can competitively purchase credit in the carbon market from entities with credits. This process is known as a known as a carbon trade. If firms exceeding their camps choose not to purchase these credits, they are penalized. The severity of the penalty is costlier than purchasing credits in the market, which forces firms to offset through the market or not exceed their allowances. Still, the more firms exceed their caps, the higher the cost of a carbon credit. Ultimately, firms under their caps benefit from reducing their pollution with and opportunity to sell their credits, while firms that are over their cap are penalized.

Under the Kyoto Protocol, there are three recognized mechanisms which members are recognized for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions:

Joint Implementation (JI) - developed countries with high costs of greenhouse reduction create projects in other developed nations with lower costs;

Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) - developed countries engage greenhouse gas reduction projects in developing countries where the costs of projects are lower. In this case, the developed nation earns carbon credits and the developing country receives capital to continue the created projects;

International Emission Trading (IET) - countries trade in an international carbon market. Countries with credits sell to countries over their cap and countries over their cap buy from countries with surpluses.

Reducing Poverty

One of the major effects of global warming is the drastic weather pattern shifts. These shifts cause decreased water availability, displacement of people, , exposure to vector and water borne diseases and lower agricultural yields.[8] Developing nations, unequipped to deal

with these issues, face crippling losses. For many of these countries, natural disasters lead to a dependence on relief organizations. For example, World Bank statistics show that in 1998, Hurricane Mitch caused 165,000 citizens of Honduras to fall below the poverty line, which was coupled with a 29% loss of crops due to climate variation.[9] Moreover, a scant crop yield for developing nations which normally have large farming populations can cause famine and undernourishment.

Case in Point or An Alternative

With developing nations being so affected by global warming, it is important to discover ways to lower carbon emission. John Van D. Lewis, former member of the United States delegation to the Kyoto Protocol, points out that over 2 billion of the planet's rural poor must rely on subsistence farming; this reliance causes deforestation of land that could be used to plant trees to sequester carbon dioxide.[10] Much of the world's carbon is held in soils, which makes the preservation of land, especially in developing nations, central to fighting global warming.[11] Argroforestry[12] is critical in sustainable land maintenance for rural and depressed farming areas. For example, the Haitian export economy is reliant upon its mango industry. Instead of chopping down and burning mango trees to make and sell charcoal, rural farmers could be encouraged through subsidies to grow and nurture their trees.

According to the United States Department of Energy, sequestration is "one of the most promising ways for reducing the build up of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere."[13] Carbon sequestration is the process of long-term storage of carbon dioxide so that the build up of carbon dioxide concentration in the atmosphere is reduced. These storage sites, known as *carbon sinks,* can be stockpiled, given a value, and traded. The value created by these sinks can become incentives for developing nations to cultivate and nurture lands versus destroying them.

Inevitably, when it comes to survival for farmers, preserving land is not an immediate priority. With the innovative incentive of creating profitable storage sites, farmers would be subsidized for nurturing and cultivating land with the added benefit of preserving soil (for carbon sequestration), producing a crop, and mitigating global warming. The carbon credits generated from sequestration on farms can be traded in established markets.[14] Benefits include reducing carbon dioxide, which would have been generated had the farmer burned trees, and providing income for the farmer. Farmers also reap the benefits of better soil fertility and landscape. Furthermore, a project like this can bring jobs to the local community in response to needs for management assistance in cultivation.

Preserving the Environment

The objective of emissions trading is to reduce pollution, and thus reduce global warming. The efficacy of the cap and trade model results from the fact that there is a finite number of permits available to emit carbon dioxide, which allows for assessment to be quantifiable. Private markets in the United States have already taken action in establishing a carbon market, despite the United States not being involved in Kyoto. The most popular and successful voluntary market is the Chicago Climate Exchange (CCX). It provides a market for voluntary trading with companies that have signed on to reduce their emissions. The exchange allows for trading of all Greenhouse Gases: carbon dioxide ($CO_{2)}$, methane (CH_4), nitrous oxide (N_2O), perfluorcarbons (PFCs), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF_6). Corporations on the CCX include Ford Motor Company, DuPont, IBM, and Motorola. Universities such as University of California, Berkeley, and Michigan State as well as cities like Chicago and Berkeley participate in CCX. The goal of CCX to reduce emissions. Membership in the CCX is legally binding, forcing all participants to be accountable and responsible for their emissions. While all participating memebers have the option to trade carbon credits, some corporations have donated their credits to non-profit agencies. Also some environmental groups, such as the Clean Air Conservancy retire credits, which decreases the amount of credits available and driving up the price of credits. Governments would also need to routinely evaluate and reduce caps to continue to drive down emissions.

Table I: CCX Carbon Financial Instrument (CFI) Contracts - Market Data February 2007

Product	Vintage	Open	High	Low	Close	Chg	Volume
CFI	2003	$3.35	$4.05	$3.35	$4.05	$0.75	264,500
CFI	2004	$3.40	$4.00	$3.40	$4.00	$0.70	280,800
CFI	2005	$3.35	$4.00	$3.35	$4.00	$0.70	607,700
CFI	2006	$3.35	$4.00	$3.35	$4.00	$0.70	599,200
CFI	2007	$3.35	$4.05	$3.35	$4.05	$0.70	1,024,700
CFI	2008	$3.35	$4.00	$3.35	$4.00	$0.70	354,000
CFI	2009	$3.35	$4.00	$3.35	$4.00	$0.70	282,000
CFI	2010	$3.35	$4.00	$3.35	$4.00	$0.65	299,500
Total Electronically Traded Volume							3,712,100

Price and volume reported in metric tons □□$_2$. Change based on previous days close price.

Source: Chicago Climate Exchange

Table I shows the typical February trading volume and prices from the Chicago Climate Exchange. The prices show the contract cost for a carbon credit. A contract allows members to emit 1 metric ton of carbon dioxide. The price of a contract on the CCX has remained steady between

$3 and $4 a contract. The volume of contracts has risen noticably as more members join the CCX. The vintage column represents the year the carbon allowance was given. Currently the CCX members can trade contracts from 2003-2010. The CCX hopes by 2010,the cap and trade model will be government mandated and no longer an option for carbon emitters. The European Climate Exchange boasts more than 25 countries actively trading emissions and is Europe's leading market place for carbon trading. Both are owned by the Board of Climate Exchange Place, which is traded on the London Stock Exchange.

The CCX is not the first emissions trading program in the United States The first emissions program was the Acid Rain Program, which was created by the 1990 Clean Air Act. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) sponsored Acid Rain Program developed a sulfur dioxide trading system requiring electric utility companies to reduce the 1980s level of sulfur dioxide (SO_2) emissions 30-50% by 2010, by far the most ambitious emissions reduction attempt. Brian McLean, EPA's Director of the Office of Atmospheric Programs Office of Air and Radiation testified about the EPA's success in reducing SO2 through the cap and trade model before the House Energy and Commerce Committee and Subcommittee of Energy and Equality. McLean reported that SO_2 emissions from power plants have been reduced by over 40%. So far, the power plants have used only 2/3 of the estimated budget and the greatest reductions were achieved in the highest SO_2 emitting states..[15]

Skeptics

Even the most noble of causes is not perfect or free from criticism, skepticism and bureaucracy. One of the major objections against having the United States ratify the Kyoto Protocol is that the Kyoto Protol would have serious business implications. Indeed, the Kyoto Protocol would create enormous pressure for major corporations bound to a finite amount of carbon emissions; this action would constrain United States economic development, with consumers ultimately paying higher prices for goods through increased energy costs.

The United States would benefit if the Kyoto Protocol recognized deforestation carbon removals as an eligible offset. Carbon sinks such as farmland, rangeland, and forests all have capability to sequester carbon dioxide. While the United States and other developed countries have pushed for this implied reduction opportunity, Kyoto has felt that the United States is attempting to avoid its responsibility. Any international agreement still must be passed in the Senate and this type of friction does not bode well for United States international involvement.

The market for trading sequestration credits has yet to be established. Still, deforestation is worsening while an acceptable international method of eligible carbon offsets is in limbo. Tropical deforestation

is responsible for roughly 20% of worldwide anthropogenic carbon emissions.[16] The current Congress is not seeking additional negotiations for the United States ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. Although campaigning for energy alternatives through emissions trading, after election, President George W. Bush's interest ceased. On March 13, 2000, Bush sent a letter to Republican senators that his administration would not seek to restrict the emission of carbon dioxide by power plants.[17] Shortly thereafter, United States Energy Department Secretary Christine Todd Whitman reported that the Kyoto Protocol was dead in the Bush Administration.[18]

Conclusion/Recommendations

1. Forge a marget for sequestration

Despite concerns of the United States pertaining to the Kyoto Protocol, the United States has the strength and resources to forge Clean Development Mechanisms among many developing nations and create a carbon trading market that will inevitably be embraced throughout the international community. Forging an international sequestration market will also put pressure on UNFCCC to reconsider its position of not certifying credits generated through sequestration.

2. Begin discussions with heads of state

Heads of state in developing nations can play a pivotal role in influencing major business owners and local community leaders in marketing the benefits of the CDMs and promoting the criticality of land preservation. Often, even beginning a project requires political approval of some sort, thus relations with decision makers are crucial.

3. Identify a universally accepted method for verifying credits

The verifying and registration of credits is a common concern among Carbon Trading critiques. Verification of carbon credits yields dubiously different results from various regulators, thus lacking consistency and transparency. A universally accepted method of accurately verification and registration of credits will add credence to the aims of Carbon Trading.

4. Provide consumer incentives

In addition to tax benefits, governments should provide consumers with other incentives for reducing emissions. Tax benefits for driving hybrid vehicles is a start. Extending a similar benefit scheme, encouraging reduction of energy in homes and other aspects of life, may have positive results as well. Such efforts should be consolidated.

5. Respond to favorable Supreme Court ruling

On Just recently, April 2, 2007, the Supreme Court ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) must regulate greenhouse gases.[19] This ruling is significant for global warming as it brings hope for future mandatory emissions regulation in the United States. The CCX is a proven model for a carbon trading market and should be used to create a mandatory greenhouse gas trading system consistent with the intent of the Supreme Court ruling.

Carbon trading offers a method for the reduction of poverty and generation of income. It gives developing nations environmental responsibility, which allows them to remove the dependency stigma plaguing international relief efforts.

The immense impact of global warming on developing nations destroys years of efforts to stabilize their economies. Moreover, an immediate response global warming must be met with continuous dialogue and reasonable, verifiable, and accepted methods of reducing emissions.

Andrew Timothy Siwo is a 2008 Masters in Public Administration candidate at the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs. He has work experience in the mortgage and securities industries and maintains a NASD (National Association of Securities Dealers) Series 7, 63, and 24 licenses. Siwo received his B.A. (cum laude) from Morehouse College majoring in Accounting. Siwo can be contacted at ats45@cornell.edu.

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Interview with U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III

Denise M. Ziobro

A Cornell Institute for Public Affairs (CIPA) alumnus, U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel Isaiah (Ike) Wilson III is a professor in the Department of Social Sciences and the Director of American Politics and Public Policy at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. An Army aviator, military historian, and strategist, he is a graduate of the U.S. Army's School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS), a postgraduate program focused on the strategic and operational levels of war policy and planning. He holds a number of masters degrees, including two Masters in Military Art and Science (MMAS), an M.P.A., and an M.A. in Government from Cornell. LTC Wilson also holds a Ph.D. in government from Cornell University.

Lieutenant Colonel Wilson was recently featured in a *Washington Post* article entitled, "Don't Send a Lion to Catch a Mouse," on March 5, 2007, which reports on research that he and a colleague are conducting on asymmetrical warfare, with an eye to the Iraq conflict. Lieutenant Colonel Wilson is also the author of a forthcoming book on his war planning experiences entitled, *Thinking Beyond War: Why America Fails to Win the Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan Press, October 2007).

TC: Please describe the premise of your forthcoming book, Thinking Beyond War.

The book is really an examination of what's been clearly at the center of the political debate over the Iraq war. Specifically, it harkens back to the debates that have raged since 2003, and back to the take away from the experience of Vietnam. It discusses what has become an urban legend, a myth, that despite our unmatchable prowess of being able to wage and win every military battle in war situations, we still find ourselves struggling to win the peace.

The "winning the peace paradox" is something that has been haunting us since the end of the Vietnam War. I wanted to do more than a historical study; I wanted to perform an empirically based analysis of that paradox and determine whether it was real or mythological. If it

was real, was it unique to the US? If so, I wanted to determine whether it applied to Iraq specifically, or Vietnam, or if it was more systemic.

I spent a year in Northern Iraq, not only as a historian but also as a war planner, and felt first hand the reality of the paradox. I had to deal with it in the first year of the war in Northern Iraq. I wanted to use my research to find potential explanations of the paradox, and ultimately, to search for some viable alternative solutions to that paradox. The largest portion of the book is a case study analysis applying theories from social and policy science and organizational theory to the Iraq war between 2003 and 2005. The goal is to create a better approach to intervention policy, one that yields more effective results.

The research for this book goes beyond applied social science and policy science to seek explanations, to identify causes and causal mechanisms, and to identify if there are any structural flaws that lie in the U.S./western approach of war and peace through implementation of intervention policy. If there are flaws in our organizational structure we can command and control them, so I am hopeful.

TC: What does the phrase "winning the peace" mean?

To define the term specifically, in comparison to the definition for viable peace and security, a United States Institution for Peace (USIP) program officer, Michael J. Dziedzic published a book in 2003 that promotes this idea of viable peace. The book argues that victory is defined based on nothing less than the political objective (i.e., the attainment of some form of viable peace and stability through the application of national/multinational power) and not on object of any one or number of national or multinational instruments of power (to include military power) nor the tools used to carry out the intervention policy. I believe that winning the peace is not defined according to what you can do in battle because there is never a military solution when talking about war policy; there is always a long term outcome of peace that needs to be analyzed.

Often, especially in the present kind of war we are facing in Iraq - a war of insurgency - there is no military solution, just a political solution. As indicated in the USIP book, the prerequisites for an international intervention to be deemed legitimate, legally right, ethically just, and effective are increasingly becoming based not so much on whether that intervention force can affect a change of regime through the application of military power ("out with the old") but more so on whether the intervener can and will remain to assist in the completion of the regime change - the creation of a new and more legitimate *status quo post bellum*. This new and emergent international norm, which took hold

after the Cold War, was then concreted through changes in international humanitarian law and through the way the international community viewed intervention policy. These changes exhibit a challenge to the traditional international regime, which argued for the respect of territorial state sovereignty.

The changes, which emerged in the 1990s, have caused a spike of international intervention in internal wars (the internationalization of internal wars), and caused a new demand on the members of the international community to increasingly involve themselves in crisis affairs. One requirement of these legitimized interventions is to create and to begin a new status quo post bellum that eradicates all of the negatives of the old regime that caused the crisis event. This new world view is exemplified in Colin Powell's pottery barn example: if you break it, you buy it.

Success, true results, and victory are dependent upon the ability to maintain a new status quo post combat, which is based more closely on restoring good governance and civil society, and even nation building. Victory now goes well beyond the military tasks and functions. To achieve viable peace, and to ultimately "win the peace", interventions must be seen as legitimate in the eyes of the local people, those about to be governed under the new regime. Furthermore, that sense of legitimacy must be sustained by the intervention force—an effort that rarely if ever proves achievable through unilateralism.

TC: How has the United States changed its military operations as a result of the war in Iraq and how should the United States have changed its military operations as a result of the war in Iraq?

If we analyze the beginning phases of the war, particularly from the 19th of March 2003 to the tearing down of the statue on the 9th of April 2003, our intervention, particularly our military intervention, was an example from the textbooks. The intervention was extremely successful in terms of the regime change and also in terms of how we have traditionally defined regime change and American warfare: destroying our enemy forces and winning with our military force.

However, analyzing the war on and after the 10th of April 2003, we see the paradox. We win every battle but we are left without a proper plan to address the current Iraq problem, because the problem changed since our initial intervention.

Once we became successful with the regime change, we were then responsible for the implementation of a more legitimate and more stable regime, which is built on the concept of good governance. However, we did not calculate the second part of the regime change when going into the invasion and intervention. We only planned and allocated resources for the first part of the regime change and failed to see that our original plan would only help us win battles, not the war. We were left to finish the invasion and intervention but, because of the change in the problem, were unprepared to finish what we started in terms of the full scope and scale and nature of the war itself.

We knew that we weren't finished, yet we declared the mission accomplished. That statement was accurate but, at the same time wrong. The statement was accurate, if the only thing we wanted to achieve was to eradicate the old regime. If that was the political objective of the war, then the President was right to say that by the 1st of May 2003, the mission of the war was accomplished. However, the statement didn't speak to the main objective of the war. In fact, by nature, when you remove the old regime, you always need a new regime and new status quo post war. Yet, to accomplish this, we were and still are under-resourced and under-prepared.

After the regime change, we began to move toward an acceptance of this new kind of war (of counterinsurgency and nation building) that was now before us far too slowly. As we delayed, we gave elements of the old regime time to regroup and, as a result, we saw the birth of the insurgency and have been playing catch up ever since. In this new war, we have been plagued by the lack of resources in relation to the quality and quantity necessary for a counterinsurgency campaign. We have also lacked the leadership to wage the types of operations required to convince the local people of our legitimacy. However, the appointment of General Petraeus, as commander of the Multi-National Force - Iraq (MNF-I), was a decision in the right direction. Our current ambassador, Ryan C. Crocker, is also great, and is the right person in that position to support the Iraqi government in the national building effort.

TC: How have policies of the current administration affected the United States' ability to project its power through non-military means?

There is a systemic lack of resources, operational planning know-how, and operational experience across the other non-military U.S. federal agencies that continue to hobble U.S. intervention policy. There are a lot of shortcomings in our internal structures for peace. For example, we have two separate structures for peace (non-war) and for war, yet, to

achieve a viable peace political objective, we must be able to integrate the military with the other-than-military instruments of power to create effective holistic tools of progress. We have to marry the military with other national and multinational efforts into an integrative whole and provide resources to intervention policy accordingly.

Despite our ability to win at the village level, it doesn't mean that we will win the war. This paradox haunts us on the battle and peace side of the war. At the heart of this paradox, it haunts us regardless of the strategic leadership. It is not a result of designing, promoting, and implementing the policy at a given time and it is not a problem that is manifest by the current administration and not by what they did or what they failed to do.

A lot of people have convinced themselves that in the next 18 months with a regime change of our own, when the Bush regime leaves power, the new regime will fix everything about this problem. That is not correct. We should not be surprised if we find that the next executive, whether Democrat or Republican, will be almost as hobbled in their abilities to do better in these interventions than the Bush administration. In fact, Clinton felt the same horrors of the paradox as the Bush administration. There are systemic flaws within the existing institutional structure and organizational culture defining the U.S. concept of and approach to intervention that if not identified and corrected, will certainly persist and continue to haunt our interventions despite how dramatic our own political regime change may be in 2008.

TC: How has the education you received at CIPA helped you in your successful career?

As soon as I came back from Iraq in 2004, I immediately came back to CIPA, so that I could share my personal experiences and let the CIPA community know the value of the program and Cornell education. I wanted all the Fellows to know that I used every tool that I learned in CIPA, the Department of government, and frankly, from across the entire Cornell campus. The core courses in the curriculum allowed me to gain fundamental skills in public administration and politics, and statistical and quantitative methodology. In addition, the flexibility of the program allowed me to develop the wide array of social science tools that I new I might need in the continuing years of my public service as a military planner and strategist

To be a military officer and an expert in war policy, it is essential to learn where war policy derives its purpose and the role that we serve in terms of its political objectives. It is very important for military officers

to learn the politics behind the policy, and my CIPA degree merged all of these different, yet very useful skill sets.

As an officer in the United States Army, I try to encourage other young officers to attend programs like CIPA—and am committed in my new directorship role at the U.S. Military Academy in maintaining a steady flow of young officers to CIPA. CIPA taught me not only the multi-disciplinary approaches to public policy problem solving and imbued in me the knowledge of how to apply multi-disciplinary approaches to public affairs, but more importantly, the essentiality of strong, expertly educated and trained public affairs professionals to the preservation of good and ethical democratic-republican governance.

Denise M. Ziobro is currently pursuing his Masters of Public Administration (MPA) at Cornell University. A 2008 MPA candidate focusing on international development and trade, Denise graduated from The Pennsylvania State University in 2006 with a B.A. in Political Science and a minor in Anthropology. Denise is also the co-managing editor of The Current.

Corrections to the Fall 2006 edition:

1. “The Rise of African NGOs”:

- In our previous edition of *The Current*, Vol. 10, No. 1, we noted that the author of “The Rise of African NGOs,” Sakabe, is a graduate student of Development Sociology. She is not a graduate student of the Department of Development Sociology.
- During the editing process, we made a decision to delete a quote at the beginning of the article, “Question: What does one need to start up a NGO in Uganda? Answer: [A SUV, a Foreign Donor, and a House in the Suburbs],” however, we failed to delete footnote 5 in the endnote section of the article.

2. “A March of Nickels and Dimes for Recycling: A Study of the present ‘State’ Bottle-Bills”

- In his biography, the author noted that “he hopes that he can again use inspiration from his enjoyment of situation comedies to explore and help improve environmental programs.” We would like to inform our readers that during the editing process, we made a decision to remove a Seinfeld bottle deposit episode presented by the author in his article.

Submission Guidelines

The goal of *The Current*, the public policy journal of the Cornell Institute for Public Affairs, is to present timely, relevant research and analysis on contemporary issues in public policy. Articles and views presented generally emerge out of a range of fields and disciplines while holding in common the scope of policy examination and consequent recommendations. While many of the contributions presented comprise the original research of CIPA Fellows, contents are supplemented by contributions from other scholars at Cornell University and academic institutions, along with those of practitioners in the public and non-profit sectors. Shorter pieces with more of a policy paper format are welcome under the Views & Reviews section, as are book reviews. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal are the author's sole responsibility; publication does not imply the endorsement of the editors or publisher. The journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars or practitioners who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate.

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Articles and views should be written in clear, jargon-free English with adequate documentation. We aim to be accessible to a variety of readers ranging from scholars to policymakers both foreign and domestic. Textual style generally follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*. References and citations should be included as endnotes presented at the end of the text.

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Article text should be preceded by a maximum 100-word abstract setting forth the topic under discussion and the public policy dimensions in view. The author should indicate the central thesis of the article and how particular arguments will be presented in its support.

Submissions should be approximately no more than 30 pages double-spaced. An 11-point Georgia font is preferred. Pages must be numbered. Please prepare your submission with appropriate subheadings if applicable. Consult recent issues of *The Current* as a guide (www.thecurrent.cipa.cornell.edu).

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